

THE JOURNAL OF

NEGRO HISTORY

THE JOURNAL OF

NEGRO HISTORY

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CARTER G. WOODSON

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THE JOURNAL OF
NEGRO HISTORY

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME X

VOL. X., No. 1. JANUARY, 1925

FRED LANDON: <i>Amherstburg, Terminus of the Underground Railroad</i>	1
LOUIS F. POST: <i>A Carpet-Bagger in South Carolina</i>	10
CARL LUDWIG LOKKE: <i>The Leclerc Instructions</i>	80
BOOK REVIEWS:	99
TANNENBAUM'S <i>Darker Phases of the South</i> ; MATTHEWS'S <i>Clash of Color</i> ; OLDHAM'S <i>Christianity and the Race Problem</i> ; and SPEER'S <i>Of One Blood</i> .	
NOTES:	104
PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE AND HISTORY	107

VOL. X., No. 2. APRIL, 1925

FREDERICK STARR: <i>Liberia after the World War</i>	113
L. P. JACKSON: <i>The Origin of Hampton Institute</i>	131
C. S. S. HIGHAM: <i>The Negro Policy of Christopher Codrington</i>	150
DOCUMENTS:	154
<i>Letters of Negroes addressed to the American Colonization Society.</i>	
BOOK REVIEWS:	312
CARROLL'S <i>Labor and Politics</i> ; HENSEY'S <i>My Children of the Forest</i> ; WILLOUGHBY'S <i>Race Problems in the New Africa</i> ; THE INQUIRY'S <i>And Who is My Neighbor?</i>	
NOTES:	318

VOL. X., No. 3. JULY, 1925

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL: <i>Le Code Noir</i>	321
FRED LANDON: <i>The Kidnapping of Dr. Rufus Bratton</i>	330
EDWIN D. JOHNSON: <i>Aphra Behn's "Oroonoko"</i>	334
DOCUMENTS:	345
<i>Letters to Antislavery Workers and Agencies.</i>	
BOOK REVIEWS:	568
<i>BRITTON'S Aftermath of the Civil War; REUTER'S Population Problems; WOOFER'S Basis of Racial Adjustment; SIMPSON'S Toussaint Louverture.</i>	
NOTES:	571
PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPRING CONFERENCE OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE AND HISTORY HELD AT DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA, APRIL 1 AND 2, 1925	576

VOL. X., No. 4. OCTOBER, 1925

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, THE CELEBRATION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ASSOCIATION, IN WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 9, 10, 1925	583
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR	590
C. G. WOODSON: <i>Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro</i>	598
JANE ELIZABETH ADAMS: <i>The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade</i>	607
ANNE BUSTILL SMITH: <i>The Bustill Family</i>	638
COMMUNICATIONS:	645
<i>A Letter concerning the Bustill Family.</i>	
DOCUMENTS:	648
<i>Letters to Antislavery Workers and Agencies (continued).</i>	
BOOK REVIEWS:	775
<i>ODUM AND JOHNSON'S The Negro and His Song; ODUM'S Southern Pioneers; BRAGG'S Men of Maryland; and WOODSON'S Negro Orators and Their Orations.</i>	
NOTES:	

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Having in some cases economic interests in common with the whites, the Negro heads of families when slaveholders often enjoyed the same social standing. It was not exceptional for them to attend the same church, to educate their children in the same private school, and to frequent the same places of amusement. Under such circumstances miscegenation easily followed.

By 1840 the trend toward degrading the free Negro to a lower status had become evident even in the apparently benevolent slaveholding states. Just before the outbreak of the Civil War the free Negro was receiving practically no consideration in the South and very little in the North. History here repeats itself, then, in showing the varying attitude of the whites toward the blacks in the cycles of national development.

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THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY

VOL. X—JANUARY, 1925—No. 1

AMHERSTBURG, TERMINUS OF THE UNDER- GROUND RAILROAD

The little Canadian town of Amherstburg is situated on the east bank of the Detroit River and not far from the mouth of that beautiful stream. From the later years of the eighteenth century it has figured in the history of Canada and today holds proud its place as one of the most historic spots in Ontario. Throughout the earlier period of the War of 1812 it was the headquarters of the British commander, Brock, and it was here that the first meeting took place between Brock and the great Indian chief, Tecumseh. Later, during the troubles of 1837 and 1838 there were important happenings at this point, particularly the capture of the schooner *Ann* in which Negro volunteers from the district had a hand. But apart entirely from its military importance, Amherstburg, or Fort Malden as it was called in earlier days, has special interest as being the chief place of entry for the large number of fugitives who made their way from the slave States of the South by way of the "underground railroad" to Canada and freedom. Even today there are many colored families resident in Amherstburg, descendants of those who came in the days before the Civil War and who did not leave their adopted home when the abolition of slavery and the downfall of the Confederacy made it possible for them to return in safety to the South. In other towns and cities of western Ontario there are similar groups of people whose color is a constant

reminder of the movement of the fugitives into Canada in the first half of the last century.

The Negro population of Amherstburg on the eve of the Civil War was placed by one observer ¹ at 800 out of a total population of 2000, a rather large percentage, it will be noted. In 1855 another visitor to the place ² had estimated the Negro population at between 400 and 500, which would indicate that the population had doubled in the late fifties. This might well be accounted for by the large number of Negroes who came into Canada between 1850 and 1860 consequent upon the operations of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. It does not necessarily follow that either of the figures given above represented the actual Negro population resident in Amherstburg since there must always, from its nature as a place of entry, have been many transients in the town. Probably most Negroes preferred a permanent location farther back from the international boundary where there was less risk of kidnapping and forcible return to American jurisdiction. This would account for the colonies in such towns as London, Ingersoll and Chatham, each of which even to this day has its Negro population.

The number of transients in Amherstburg must always have been somewhat of a problem for those engaged in any religious or philanthropic work at this place. The missionaries placed here by the American Missionary Society were driven to the greatest extremities at times when some unusually large incursion of fugitives made demands upon them for food, for shelter, for clothing and all other forms of assistance that could be rendered. In 1849 Isaac J. Rice, who had been located at Amherstburg since 1838, wrote to the *Liberator*:³

"Whole families reach us, needing clothing, provisions, a home for a few days, until arrangements can be made for life, and all this amid strangers, the prejudiced.

"They are driven from schools in the States, they are no better

¹ Mitchell, W. M., *Underground Railroad*, London, 1860, p. 149.

² Drew, Benj., *The Refugee; or the narratives of fugitive slaves in Canada related by themselves, with an account of the history and condition of the Colored population of Upper Canada*, Boston, 1856, p. 348.

³ *Liberator*, November 23, 1849.

here. If they go in schools by themselves, their portion of public money is allowed; but Canadians will not teach them, so that your teachers from the States must do it and aid them also about getting land and various other ways.

"Seven or eight missionaries are here, brought by my influence. . . . Last month three of us lay sick here and two were not expected for a time to live. . . . We have received at our house and clothed more than fifty from the south. . . . We need about \$400 this fall. We are \$100 in debt. We greatly need better accomodations, a house that will cost \$250 or \$300."

Less than a year later a letter signed by Milly Morse, of Foxboro, made an appeal through the *Liberator*⁴ on behalf of Isaac Rice and his missionary work. This letter speaks of his efforts as follows:

"He has suffered much in silence and given himself up for the good of the slave. . . . He has lived principally on bread and beans and without the means to purchase these."

The letter goes on to state that Rice had divided what he had with the fugitives until he was actually wanting for clothing. He had sold his watch and even his beds to buy food. He is quoted as placing the Negro population of Canada at about 20,000 with 3,000 of them located in the district around Amherstburg. He had clothed as many as 300 fugitives in one year and had 90 pupils in his school at that time. Siebert, in his study of the underground railroad,⁵ says that after 1850 as many as 30 fugitives would cross in one day at Amherstburg, so that the figures given by Rice as to the extent of his work are probably not exaggerated. William Wells Brown, himself a fugitive, says that from the first of May to the first of September of 1842 he conveyed no less than 69 fugitives across Lake Erie to Canada and that, subsequently, on a visit to Amherstburg, he met no less than 17 of these located there.⁶ The *Chicago Western Citizen* estimated in 1842 that there were \$400,000 worth of southern slaves in and around the town.⁷ The place was, as Prof. Siebert has

⁴ *Ibid.*, August 23, 1850.

⁵ Siebert, W. H., *Underground Railroad*, N. Y., 1899, p. 194.

⁶ Brown, Wm. Wells, *Narrative of William W. Brown, a fugitive slave*, Boston, 1847, pp. 109-110.

⁷ Issue of September 23, 1842.

pointed out, a terminus for several routes of the underground along which runaways travelled and which converged at Toledo, Sandusky and Cleveland. From the lake ports friendly captains of lake vessels brought the fugitives to the Detroit River, the last lap of a journey that had often been begun far in the South.

The arrivals, all too frequently, were in pitiable state. Usually they were without money, food or clothing suited to the rigors of a Canadian winter. Children arrived with scarcely enough to cover them and that of thin cotton. There was probably excuse for some of the appeals that were broadcasted in the United States for clothing, food and money, though some of the more ambitious Negroes strongly condemned this practice as leading to imposture and fraud. Doubtless there was fraud at times, money and supplies destined for needy fugitives getting into other hands, but such things have ever been where need exists and charity is more open-handed than sharp-eyed.

There are many romantic tales have come down of the reunion at Amherstburg of families separated in the South. Miss Martineau says she was told by a gentleman that the sublimest sight in America was not Niagara or Quebec or the Great Lakes but the leap of a slave from a boat to the freedom of the Canadian shore. Fort Malden must have seen many touching incidents of this character. Rev. William Mitchell, in his book on the underground railroad, tells of a Negro named Hedgman who had been sold south from Kentucky but escaped and made his way to Canada, locating at Amherstburg. His wife had been separated from him and of her and his family he had lost all trace. Twelve years after he had arrived in Canada the wife also escaped from her owner and eventually arrived at the very town where her husband was located. Friendless and alone she wandered about the streets seeking shelter and was attracted by the singing in a little chapel. Opening the door timidly the first person she saw was the husband from whom she had been so long separated and of whose whereabouts she had had no knowledge.⁸

⁸ Mitchell, *Underground Railroad*, pp. 55-60.

The church and the school occupied an important place in the life of a majority of the fugitives. Old and young seemed seized with the desire to go to school and the churches were the meeting place for all. There was a surprising keenness about the desire of many of these people to better themselves. Canadian law drew no distinction between black and white in matters of citizenship, of which education was one. In practice, however, there were not infrequently some distinctions likely to be drawn, the whites preferring that Negroes should have schools of their own.⁹ As might be expected under such circumstances, there were some Negroes ready occasionally to test the principle of their right to share the benefits of the public schools. When Benjamin Drew visited the place in 1854 he found the Negro separate school a small low building, having neither blackboard nor chairs. Long rough benches were placed against the walls with desks before them. The whole interior was comfortless and repulsive. The teacher was a colored woman, apparently doing the best she could under the discouragement of poor surroundings and frequent absences of her pupils.¹⁰ The situation was improved shortly after this, however, by the Colonial Church and School Society, of England, opening a school,¹¹ and when Dr. Samuel G. Howe visited Amherstburg in the summer of 1863 he found 90 colored children enrolled in the school with an average attendance of 60.¹² Levi Coffin, the abolitionist, visited the town in 1844 and stayed at the mission school. He was much impressed with the work that was being done then and in his reminiscences pays tribute to the self-sacrifice of Isaac Rice, who, he says, had given up fine prospects in Ohio to take up this work to which he felt himself called. Coffin describes Fort Malden as "the great landing place, the principal terminus of the underground railroad of the west."¹³

⁹ See Howe, S. G., *Refugees from slavery in Canada West, Report to the Freedmen's Inquiry Commission*, Boston, 1864, pp. 50 ff.

¹⁰ Drew, *Refugee*, p. 348.

¹¹ This organization had already opened a school for Negro children in London, the work being under the superintendence of Rev. Dr. Hellmuth, afterwards Bishop of the diocese of Huron.

¹² Howe, *Refugees from slavery*, p. 67.

¹³ Coffin, Levi, *Reminiscences*, Cincinnati, 1876, pp. 249-250.

An educational movement among the Negroes quite apart from the schools had its origin at Amherstburg in 1854 when the first True Band was formed, similar organizations springing up in other communities where Negroes were located. The True Bands were open to both sexes and a small monthly fee was charged. The aims of the Bands were to improve the schools, increase the attendance, abate race prejudice, arbitrate disputes between members of the Negro race, to assist the destitute, suppress begging, etc.

The coming of so many people of another race and color into southwestern Ontario was not pleasing to all the white inhabitants. Deep prejudice manifested itself at times and an occasional outburst in some newspaper reflected the feelings of an element of the population. The *Amherstburg Courier* of October 27, 1849, prints a resolution of the district council passed on October 8 of that year, protesting vigorously against the proposed Elgin settlement which was planned by Rev. William King as a home for fugitives from slavery. This resolution, which appears to have been instigated by a local politician, Larwill, resident in Chatham, declared that "there is but one feeling, and that is of disgust and hatred, that they (the Negroes) should be allowed to settle in any township where there is a white settlement." The resolution proceeded to ask for a disallowance of sale of lands to Negroes, suggested a poll tax on Negroes entering the country, asked for an enactment against amalgamation and a requirement that Negroes shall furnish good security that they will not become a burden. It was also suggested that it would be well to ascertain whether it would be politic to allow them the suffrage.¹⁴

¹⁴ The resolution goes on to say: "The increased immigration of foreign Negroes into this part of the province is truly alarming. We cannot omit mentioning some facts for the corroboration of what we have stated. The Negroes, who form at least one-third of the inhabitants of the township of Colchester, attended the township meeting for the election of parish and township officers, and insisted upon their right to vote, which was denied them by every individual white man at the meeting—the consequence of which was that the chairman of the meeting was prosecuted and thrown into heavy costs, which costs were paid by subscription from the white inhabitants, as well as many others. In the same township of Colchester the inhabitants have not been able to get schools in many school sections in consequence of the Negroes insisting on their right of sending

Amherstburg itself does not seem to have been the scene of any unusual manifestations of racial prejudice, despite the presence there of so many Negroes. Dr. Samuel G. Howe, who visited the place in 1863 to investigate conditions, has left us some interesting data. The town clerk said of the Negroes that "a portion of them are well behaved, and another portion not. . . . A great many of these colored people go and sail in the summer time and in the winter lie around and don't do much. We have to help a great many of them, more than any other class of people we have. . . . I think the Council have given more to the colored people than to others." But he added that they were no worse than the French.¹⁵

A Mr. Park, resident in Amherstburg, told Dr. Howe that the Negroes were part of them indolent and part industrious. They tended to neglect their own poor and begged more than the whites. A Captain Averill who was interviewed said that the Negroes were satisfactory as sailors, "the best men we have," but they were never made mates and none owned ships of their own.¹⁶

Benjamin Drew, when he visited the place, found Negro mechanics and shopkeepers, while one of the best hotels in the place was also kept by a man of color. Those whom he interviewed said that they were able to make a living. He their children to such schools. No white man will even act with them in any capacity; this fact is so glaring that no sheriff in this province would dare to summon colored men to do jury duty. That such things have been done in other parts of the British Dominions we are well aware of but we are convinced that the Canadians will never tolerate such conduct."

[The above extreme views fail to present the true situation. Negroes did occasionally do jury duty and held some minor offices. The justice of Canadian law is indicated by the punishment that fell upon the individual mentioned in the above resolution who discriminated against Negro voters.]

The *Amherstburg Courier* of January 12, 1850, says that "the white inhabitants are fast leaving the vicinity of the proposed colored settlement (the Elgin settlement) for the United States" and adds: "The colored company is about to be disbanded at Thorold. The western district will, no doubt, be their future place of abode should the Elgin Association carry out their designs. It appears from the advertisement that Raleigh is to be settled by darkies of good moral and religious character already actual settlers, thus leaving the runaway, worthless majority as well as all newcomers to prey upon the community at large."

¹⁵ Howe, *Refugees*, p. 58.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 58 and 75-77.

mentions one James Smith who had been driven into Canada by the operation of the Fugitive Slave Act. He was making a comfortable living from a small grocery business, owned a lot worth \$200 and had some other property.¹⁷

Howe gives some interesting figures of taxation that he obtained from the town authorities. At the time of his visit in 1863 one in three of the whites was a taxpayer and one in eleven of the Negroes. The average tax paid by a white was \$9.52 as compared with \$5.12 paid by a black. There is not as great difference here as might be expected. There were 550 taxpayers in all and 71 of these were colored.¹⁸ Howe found the home conditions superior to those of other foreigners and much superior to slave quarters in the South. The houses were tidy, in good repair and had gardens adjoining. He found carpets and curtains, pictures on the walls, tables decently spread and other indications of a proper family life. The exceptions were chiefly among newcomers who had not yet had opportunity to better themselves.¹⁹ Beyond the town limits there were Negroes located on the land, and Dr. Howe speaks of one Buckner, a colored man, who had his place in good cultivation with a number of fine cattle and

¹⁷ Drew, *Refugee*, p. 349.

¹⁸ Howe, *Refugees*, p. 61.

¹⁹ "The refugees for the most part live in small, tidy houses; not shanties, with old hats sticking out of broken windows. Their habitations are not filthy huts, in filthy grounds, but comfortable dwellings, in good repair. Many are owned by the occupants. They have little gardens, which seem well cared for. This is the case not only in the Colonies, as they are called, where the form and dimensions of the houses are prescribed by the Company, but in those places where the refugees are entirely free to live as they choose. In the outskirts of Chatham and other large places are scores of small two-story houses, with garden lots, owned and inhabited by refugees who came to the country penniless.

"We visited many of these houses, and found that the decencies of life are well observed, and that the comforts of life are not wanting. Cooking, eating and sleeping are not done in the same room, but in separate ones. They are tidily furnished; and some have carpets on the floors; and curtains at the windows. It is pleasant to see the feeble dawnings of taste in rude pictures, and simple attempts at ornament.

"The tables are decently spread, and plentifully supplied. It is evident that they spend more money upon their households than foreign emigrants do. They live better; and they clothe their children better. They say, indeed, that this is the reason they do not lay up so much money as many Irish and Germans do." Howe, *Refugees*, pp. 63-64.

signs of thrift and care about the place. The soil around Amherstburg was of good quality and rewarded any refugees who were resourceful and industrious enough to undertake farming.²⁰ One family group from Virginia, fine looking mulattoes of unusual intelligence, formed what was known as the McCurdy settlement in the township of Malden and had their own school and teacher.

How many fugitives passed through this "terminal station" of the underground railroad in the period before 1860 can never be computed. Immigration agents were not there in those days to register newcomers or determine their fitness for entry to the country. Had they been there they would probably have been evaded. Only by the casual references of travellers and others, or by the scanty records of missionary workers, may be obtained an idea of the steady stream of people fleeing from slavery who came in by this doorway. Amherstburg, living on today chiefly in the reflection of its historic past, may well attract the interest of a citizen of the United States, as it does that of a Canadian, for it played an international rôle in days gone by.

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²⁰ "The soil of Malden seems superior to that of Colchester and improves, on approaching Amherstburg, to the finest quality. In both townships there are a good many people of color who generally rent the farms on which they reside or obtain so many years' possession on condition of clearing a certain extent of wood. A considerable amount of tobacco is here grown, chiefly by the black population." Shirreff, *A tour through North America*, Edinburgh, 1835, p. 207.

A "CARPETBAGGER" IN SOUTH CAROLINA¹

I. PRELIMINARY EXPLANATIONS

Ten years after the secession of South Carolina and less than six after the close of the consequent Civil War between the States, I became a South Carolina "carpetbagger." That is, I migrated from our "Empire" to our "Palmetto" State. Five years before, I had migrated from New Jersey, my native State, to New York; twenty-five years after that from New York to Ohio, and two years later from Ohio to Illinois—all without being called a "carpetbagger." But I was called a "carpetbagger" in South Carolina when in 1870 I migrated to that State from New York.

The opprobrious term implied light luggage and the *animo revertendi*. In my case it was apt only as to luggage. I had really intended to become in good faith a citizen of South Carolina. There was no difference in intent or otherwise between my migration to South Carolina and my subsequent migration to other States of our common country.

All immigrants to South Carolina from our Northern States in the late 1860's and the early 1870's were called "carpetbaggers," if while there they got living—more or less of it, and whether by honest earnings or dishonest graft—in connection with the public service. Those also who got their living in private employment, but who associated with the office-holding class, were called "carpetbaggers"; and those who pursued unofficial callings and had few official associates or none became "carpetbaggers" upon going into politics. This if they were from any of our Northern States. If natives

¹ Mr. Louis F. Post, the author of this article, has rendered distinguished service since the days of reconstruction. He was Assistant United States Attorney in New York from 1874 to 1875, and an editorial writer on *New York Daily Truth* from 1879 to 1882. He then became interested in the reforms advocated by Henry George. Next he espoused the cause of labor. Since 1881 he has advocated single tax and allied economic reforms, and he has edited several publications in the furtherance of such a program. In 1913 Mr. Post became Assistant Secretary of Labor under Woodrow Wilson and thus served until 1921.

of South Carolina, they became "scallawags," regardless of any previous condition of honor or respectability.

What I say above is said in no cavilling temper. Whether to the debit or the credit side, it must go to the account not of South Carolina nature in particular but of human nature in general. No doubt the native inhabitants of every other community in the world would in similar circumstances have acted as the South Carolinians did. Take Massachusetts, for instance, the State which in those days and for two generations before was cross-matched with South Carolina in the harness of American politics. Suppose the Confederacy had triumphed in the Civil War. Suppose it had not been satisfied with establishing secession of the Southern States, but had forcibly annexed the other States to the Confederacy under provisional governments subordinate to the Confederate authorities at Richmond. Suppose that in pursuit of this policy the Confederacy had placed Southern troops in Massachusetts, established bureaus in aid of foreign-born factory hands, unseated Massachusetts officials, and disfranchised all voters of that aristocratic Commonwealth of New England who rejected an oath of allegiance they abhorred. Suppose that in consequence Southern "fire eaters" and Massachusetts factory hands had together got control of the State and local governments, had repealed laws for making foreign-born factory hands stay at home of nights and otherwise to "know their place," and were criminally looting the treasury and recklessly piling State and county debts mountain high. Suppose also that the same uncongenial folk were administering national functions under the patronage of a triumphant Confederate government at Richmond—the post offices, custom houses, internal revenue offices and all the rest. And suppose that this regime had been forcibly maintained by detachments of the victorious Confederate army, some of the garrisons being composed of troops recruited from alien-born factory hands. Suppose moreover that there had been sad memories in Boston, as there were in fact in Charleston, of a mournful occasion less than ten years before, when the dead bodies of native young men of brahmin breed to a number

equalling 1 in 100 of the entire population of the city had lain upon a Boston wharf, battlefield victims of that same Confederate army now proudly victorious. And suppose that weeds had but recently grown in Tremont Street as rank as in an unfarmed field, because it had been in range of Confederate shells under a daily bombardment for two years.

I am imagining those conditions in no criticism of Federal post-war policies with reference to the South nor as any slur upon the factory hands of New England, but for the purpose of creating a state of mind capable of understanding the South Carolina of 1871 by contrasting what in either place would at the time have been regarded as "upper" and "lowest" class. If my suppositions do not reach the imagination, try to picture a conquest of your own State by Canada, and fill in the picture with circumstances analogous to those in which South Carolina was plunged at the time of which I write. If, however, the Massachusetts simile is graphic enough, then let me ask if the aristocratic natives of the old Bay State and their sympathizers of all the upper social grades wouldn't have found epithets in plenty, without much regard for truth as to individuals perhaps, that might have done full duty for the "carpetbagger" and the "scallawag" of South Carolina slang at the time of my migration to that unhappy State?

I did not go to South Carolina as a "carpetbagger." I did not intend to be one. My expectations were to become a South Carolinian, precisely as I should have expected to become a Californian, an Oregonian, or an Ohioan had my migration been to any of those parts of our common country. But when I realized the circumstances, I meekly accepted the term of reproach and retraced my steps to New York, the State of my first adoption, where I could feel that I was one of the household even if I had not been born in the house.

II. A JOURNEY SOUTH IN 1870

My experience as a South Carolina "carpetbagger" lasted hardly more than a year, and the story of it may not be worth the telling. But here it is.

Incidental to law studies which culminated in my admis-

sion to the New York bar in November, 1870, I had acquired moderate proficiency in Munsonian shorthand and this acquirement brought me my call to South Carolina. For the United States Attorney for that State, David T. Corbin, who was also State Senator from Charleston and had extensive business interests and a considerable law practice, wanted a law clerk with fair qualifications as a stenographer. To my legal attainments the Supreme Court of New York had already certified, quite recklessly as I suspected at the time and am now convinced, and Edward F. Underhill, one of the most distinguished New York court stenographers of his period, vouched for the rest. On three days' notice, therefore, I tore myself from a law clerkship I had held in New York for four years, and set out for Columbia.

There was a romance of expectation to me in this journey through a country I had associated mentally with pictures of orange groves and palms. With especial interest did I look forward to an hour's well-earned rest in the shade of some "tall sycamore of the Southland." For in war time I had been a devoted though surreptitious reader of Beadle's "dime novels," wherein the sycamore was a famous tree. The thought of seeing those "sycamores" of Civil War romance had its fascination. I did not know that I had been born and cradled in the shade of one; for in northern New Jersey where they abound we called them "buttonballs." More to the boiling patriotism of youth, however, than to expectations of seeing poetic palms and romantic sycamores, did my Southward journey appeal in advance to my Northern imagination.

Was I not to pass over historic battlefields in a recent war to preserve the Union and free the slave? Had not thousands upon thousands of brave men fought to the death upon those fields only a little while before? Were not these some of the places whence had sprung heroic military reputations all a glamor, reputations which had fired my enthusiasm as I "soldiered" on the playground of a village school in New Jersey or "deviled" in the country printing office of a near-by New Jersey borough? Nor was I wholly disappointed. My route from Washington ran by way of Gordonsville through

Manassas Junction to Richmond, and thence through Wilmington, North Carolina, to Columbia, South Carolina. Ghosts of historic scenes stared at me whichever way I looked. Although most of the physical indications of marching and fighting armies had been obliterated, there were still signs enough to identify the region as the seat of a recent war. Grass-grown earthworks were frequent through Virginia. Richmond was a sorrowful-looking city, suggestive of chivalrous romance rudely shattered by a conquering foe. To my Northern mind that old capital of the fallen Confederacy was chiefly interesting for her Libby Prison, which then bore upon its entrance what half a dozen years before would have been the welcome notice of "No Admittance."

At Columbia, sadder signs of recent war were abundant. Sherman's march to the sea had left blackened ruins in its wake, and round about in the capital city of South Carolina they were still conspicuous. In the State House yard, delicately chiseled Italian marble for the unfinished capitol building lay scattered in weather-worn fragments. At the rear of the building a metallic palmetto tree with its record of South Carolina troops in the Mexican War was badly battered, and the capitol itself bore traces of military vandalism. Main street, a vista of ruins, had been but half rebuilt, mostly after the shack models of a frontier town. Of the old bridge over the Congaree only naked piers remained, and crossings effected on a flat boat propelled either way by the current through the shortening and lengthening of guy ropes attached to a trolley. Defensive earthworks, unmanned and grass-grown, still guarded the Lexington road over which Sherman's troops had approached Columbia; and four miles from the city stood six plaster columns, all that remained save broken and blackened bricks, of Wade Hampton's once hospitably spacious mansion. As the city and its environs then appeared, Columbia needed no voice to proclaim her a conquered place. The evidence was even more startling within the capitol building than without.

A large unfurnished, unfinished, untidy space in the center of this building on the second floor, resounding with echoes at

every footfall, separated one legislative chamber from the other, each handsomely furnished yet less handsomely than expensively. In the Senate Chamber sat Major Corbin, whom I had been called South to serve. A captain of Vermont troops, badly wounded in the war and for a time in Libby prison, he had remained in military service until the end and was then ordered to Charleston in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau. Here he resigned from the army in order to practice law, and upon the adoption of the reconstruction State constitution he was elected to the State Senate. At the time of my coming he held the chairmanship of two committees—judiciary and elections—and of one other as I indistinctly remember. By legislative appointment he also worked as chairman of a commission for codifying and modernizing the laws of the State. With all the rest, he was, as I have already stated, United States Attorney for the District of South Carolina.

III. A "CARPETBAG," "SCALLAWAG" AND NEGRO LEGISLATURE

In the same body with Major Corbin sat Robert Small, who while still a slave had won national fame as a pilot by running the *Planter* out of Charleston harbor to the Federal fleet. Some of the local black folk said that he did this in fear and trembling at the mouth of a loaded pistol leveled by a braver and more determined slave, one who never shared in the fame of the *Planter* exploit and was big enough not to care to. It was of Small that a story was told in those "carpetbag" days about an aged Negro admirer whose fulsome praises were rebuked by a young Negro doubter. "Small aint God!" objected the doubter, as the story ran. "That's true! that's true!" replied the dusky apologist for Small; "that's true; Small aint God, but Small's young yet." The story is probably centuries older than Senator Small could ever have hoped to be, but when I heard it first it was told of him.

Another of those South Carolina Senators was Beverly Nash. Black as charcoal, handsome of face and commanding of figure, well born, keen minded and well trained, he was a

perfect type of the antebellum ideal of a "white gentleman's colored gentleman." I recall his shrewd reply in a Senate debate upon an appeal of his in behalf of some poor man's claim for lost property. There was objection by Senator Small that a lawsuit should have been brought. "It is easy to make that objection," replied Senator Nash; "but the Senator should understand that a lawsuit is like a sawmill, no matter which way the saw goes, down must come the dust."

Besides those three more distinguished Senators, there was Leslie, once a member of the New York legislature, shrewd, crooked and cynical. And there was Whittemore, who had got national notoriety while in Congress by selling a West Point cadetship for money instead of the customary price which was influence. There was also a large bodied, even tempered, intelligent and honest white South Carolinian of the small farmer class, whose name I have forgotten, unless it was Joel Foster, but whose attractive presence and lovable personality I shall never forget. Nominally he was a Democrat, and although he probably had the traditional prejudices of his place and race, I like to make allowances for all that and remember him as the democratic Democrat he believed himself to be.

For the rest, the Senate floor was occupied by whites and blacks, more of the former than of the latter, some native South Carolinians of both races and some of both races from other States, South and North. But there was nobody of the old romantic type of South Carolina aristocrat. At the president's desk sat a Negro, Lieutenant-Governor A. J. Ransier, who presided with dignity, and of whom the last news I ever heard had a touch of pathos in it. A year or two before he died and while working as a street cleaner in Columbia, so this account of him came to me, he picked up from the gutter an old daily paper the first words in which that caught his eye were the opening sentence of a report of Senate proceedings in the heyday of his citizenship. They included his own name as "Lieutenant-Governor in the Chair." Hardly can it be supposed that he was without emotion as he crumpled that vagrant sheet and tossing it into the dust cart went on humbly with his street-cleaning task.

In the chamber at the other end of the capitol building across that great echoing cave of an unkempt lobby, Frank J. Moses, Jr. (of unsavory but pathetic memory), sat in the Speaker's chair when I first saw him. He had acquired notoriety as early as 1861 by raising the Confederate flag over Fort Sumter when Major Anderson capitulated, young Moses being at that time private secretary to Governor Pickens. Son of the Chief Justice, an old time Jewish aristocrat of the South Carolina species, Speaker Moses was the only relic of South Carolina romanticism in either house of the legislature. But he had joined the vandals by accepting office. And so of his father as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State. Since neither could be called a "carpetbagger," both were called "scallawags."

Before Speaker Moses, at desks that had cost their weight in almost any precious metal you please, were a great body of members—mostly Negroes. Some of those Negroes were self-sacrificingly honest, many were above the average level of legislative intelligence, some were men of education, not a few were deliberately and brazenly dishonest, and most of them bore testimony in their color to the natural possibility of miscegenation. The body as a whole was in a legislative atmosphere so saturated with corruption that the honest and honorable members of either race had no more influence in it than an orchid might have in a mustard patch. Years afterward I met a Negro steward of a Chicago club who had come from South Carolina. Although only a boy in my day there, he knew men I had known and we began to swap personal recollections. "Did you know So-and-so?" he would ask; and then, whether I knew the person or not, would tell me anecdotes about him. To my negative response to one of his questions as to whether I knew some "So-and-so" or other, my steward friend replied: "Well, he's dead; died rich." "Indeed," I remarked, "and how did he get rich?" Without hesitation and with great simplicity, nor with the slightest appearance of intending to reflect upon what Mark Twain would have called the "diseased," my dusky friend replied: "Oh, legislatin'." It was a snapshot at South Carolina politics as I had seen it in the early seventies.

Some notion of the educational as well as moral ideals of that remarkable lower House of the South Carolina legislature may be derived from an experience of my own. During the remainder of the session of 1870-71, I served as clerk for three Senate committees, getting a certificate at the rate of six dollars a day for one of the three. Who got certificates for the other two, if anybody did, I don't believe I ever knew, and if I knew I have forgotten—unless it may have been, as to one of them, and this impression comes to me indistinctly now, that it was a white governess of the Negro Lieutenant-Governor's children. All, however, that I positively know as to those committees is that I did the committee clerk's work for all three and got the pay for only one—the judiciary committee—and that most of this came to me reduced by a fat discount for cash. That discount is what gives illustrative value to the personal experience I am about to relate.

Going to the State Treasurer's office to cash my first pay certificate, I was informed that no funds were left in the appropriation against which that certificate was drawn. A Senator whom I then consulted told me that the Secretary of the Senate, Josephus Woodruff, was a good-natured fellow who might help me. I applied to Woodruff. He did help me. He was disinterested, too, for he got nothing from me. I thought him disinterested at any rate, but possibly I was mistaken. Yet it may have been that he really did serve me with no desire for reward, and that it was my unsophistication, in some way making it impossible for him to serve me similarly again, that compelled me to submit to a discount upon all my subsequent certificates. Mr. Woodruff tried to help me the second time, and with the same good humor as before; but this time he failed, although he looked when he handed the certificate back to me as if he had been working like a day laborer or a lawyer with a stubborn jury or judge. I was so young in politics, even though well past the voting age, that I never so much as wondered why he failed—not until years afterward. But as he did fail, I hunted up a broker.

Governor Scott's brother-in-law was suggested to me by Woodruff, but the Governor's brother-in-law offered only 80

per cent, and as I had honestly earned the certificate, I wanted nearer par than that. Finally I found a broker, a native South Carolinian, who offered me 90 per cent. I did not understand how he could afford to offer so much. He did not seem to have any connection with the looting crowd. Possibly he shrewdly "reckoned" that if Governor Scott's brother-in-law were paying 80 per cent there would be appropriations for par-payments not far in the future. But at the time I wasn't very curious. So long as he was willing to insure me against total loss for 10 per cent, I thought the bargain reasonable. Perhaps I wasn't very bright about it all, either; I know I wasn't bright in a good many ways. However this may be, I sold my certificate to that broker. Then we talked.

A native of South Carolina and white, finding in me a "carpetbagger" who had at least gone through the form of earning my plunder, he talked rather freely, as I thought, although he may have sensed my unsophistication and taken that way of going in quest of my confidence. It seems that he had been accustomed to cashing lower House pay certificates, both for members and for committee clerks; and in testimony of the recklessness of committee clerk appointments, he told me that there were at least 400 such clerks on the payroll of the House, many of whom were totally lacking in qualifications for their duties. To illustrate, he said that frequently those who sold their pay certificates to him were obliged from sheer illiteracy to endorse the certificates with a cross instead of a signature.

IV. PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S RECONSTRUCTION POLICY

For the larger facts of South Carolina history which came under my observation or are necessary to illumine this sketch of my pathway as a "carpetbagger," I am fortunate in being able to refer to native authority. John S. Reynolds, in his *Reconstruction in South Carolina*,² tells the history of that State during all the period of my "carpetbagging" and for the half dozen years before and the half dozen after. Though in middle class rather than aristocratic sympathy with what

² Printed in 1905 by the publishers of *The State* at Columbia.

South Carolina stood for prior to the Civil War, yet tolerant even if critical of the attitude of her aristocracy toward secession and toward freedmen, as well as outraged at the "carpetbag" and "scallawag" regime, Mr. Reynolds has written with good conscience as a fact-gatherer and with fine emotional restraint. His book appears to be complete and trustworthy, I have opened it frequently to refresh my memory and never without satisfaction; frequently also for the general history of South Carolina under reconstruction, and with like result. Coupling Mr. Reynolds's narrative with my own faded memoranda and fading memory, I shall try to picture conditions there as they seemed to me when I faced them and as they surrounded me until my departure.

At the time of my arrival in Columbia, full of patriotic and democratic enthusiasm, and with firm confidence in the Republican party as a sort of storage battery of patriotism and democracy, Robert K. Scott was at the beginning of his second term as Governor. His first had coincided with the advent of the "carpetbagger" and the discovery of the "scallawag," which followed close upon the overturning by Congress of President Johnson's reconstruction policy. For it must be remembered that upon Lincoln's assassination and the accession of Vice-President Johnson to Lincoln's high office, Johnson, as President, undertook the policy of conciliation toward the States of the defeated Confederacy which those States abused and which Congress thereupon overturned. The Johnson policy has been regarded as Lincoln's, and probably it was; but it depended too largely upon a responsive spirit on the part of the South to be successful. Though President Johnson did his part fairly, more fairly than he has had credit for, and I say this as one who at the time resented it fiercely—the virus of a pro-slavery civilization could not be so gently extracted.

The seceding States had found themselves at the close of the Civil War *in* the Union but not *of* the Union. Reorganization of domestic affairs and readjustment of Federal relations—"reconstruction," in the terms of the time—were therefore necessary. In South Carolina, the Governor being

a prisoner of war, there was in the spring and early summer of 1865 not even the appearance of any governmental authority save that of the army of the United States. And the army governed. Gen. Q. A. Gilmore issued a military order in May of that year declaring that the people of the black race were free citizens of the United States whose rights must be respected accordingly, and that all persons failing before a stated date to inform the Negroes on their lands of the fact that such Negroes were free would have their lands confiscated under the Freedmen's Bureau law; and by still another military order he directed that persons desiring to publish newspapers must first obtain the consent of the Major-General commanding. The function of promoting, formulating and supervising contracts between land owners and their former slaves was also exercised by the Federal military authorities.

Garrisons were at first composed of white troops, but Negro soldiers also soon came. The use of these is characterized by Mr. Reynolds as under the circumstances "essentially cruel" and "reckless in the extreme." I quote his reason for regarding the use of Negro troops as reckless. It is that "the presence of armed Negroes, wearing the uniform of the United States, representing the power of the conquering government, must have demoralized and even inflamed the blacks, just freed from slavery." The inflammation was in fact the other way, the use of Negro troops having inflamed the whites. But it was a South Carolina notion at that time (quite excusable under the circumstances, I suppose, for inflamed minds are seldom logical) that any treatment of the Negro which by recognizing his manhood caused his lynching by angered or fearful whites, was inflaming, not to the whites whom it angered but to the Negroes whom they lynched. This was the mental dynamic that brought about the Kuklux terror of which I know somewhat that I shall try to tell fairly farther on. I stop here merely to remark in behalf of Mr. Reynolds that the use of Negro troops may nevertheless have been reckless though it inflamed the whites and not the Negroes.

When I came upon the scene, President Johnson had some time before in pursuance of his conciliatory policy proclaimed restoration of the seceding States upon certain conditions; and under his proclamation several meetings were held in South Carolina which resulted in the organization of committees to petition him for "the appointment of a Provisional Governor." As this was in line with his policy, he granted the petitions and from a list submitted by the petitioners appointed Colonel Benjamin Franklin Perry of Greenville.

Governor Perry's was a long and distinguished record as an anti-secession statesman. He had helped to form the Union party in South Carolina in 1832 for the purpose of opposing Nullification; and in 1860, after Lincoln's first election, he declared openly and earnestly against secession. It was only when South Carolina actually seceded, and the strong Union sentiment of the Greenville region still made those mountaineers lukewarm to the Southern cause, and even disaffected, that he "went among those people" as Mr. Reynolds avers, and "urged them to follow his example—to go with their State."

In the proclamation appointing Col. Perry "Provisional Governor" of South Carolina, issued in the early summer of 1865, President Johnson prescribed the Provisional Governor's duty, and in accordance with those instructions Governor Perry called an election for September 4, 1865, to choose delegates to a convention at Columbia to carry out the purposes indicated in the President's proclamation. Meeting in a Baptist church at Columbia September 13, 1865, with David L. Wardlaw, an old time South Carolinian, as its president, this convention drafted and without reference to the people proclaimed a Constitution. Slavery was prohibited by that first post-war Constitution, and in other respects the State was adjusted to the new order of Federal relations. But some of its provisions were reactionary. They required voters and officials to be white men and directed the legislature to establish a special court for the trial of all cases civil and criminal wherein Negroes were parties. At one sweep, therefore, both the political and the civil rights of freedmen were nullified.

Under that foolishly undemocratic provision for a special court for Negroes, a "black code" which reestablished slavery came as naturally as fever from infection. To these "black codes," for the same fatuous legislation was enacted by other Southern States under President Johnson's amicable policy of reconstruction—more to those codes than to any other single cause is the failure of that policy attributable; and out of those codes rather than any other source sprang the Kuklux episode which, so far as the experience of South Carolina is concerned, is to be part of my "carpetbagger" story.

Having adjourned September 27, 1865, the Constitutional convention of South Carolina held upon the call of President Johnson's Provisional Governor was followed, October 18, 1865, by the first election under it. James L. Orr was elected Governor over Wade Hampton. Hampton, an aristocrat who had been a general officer of distinction in the Confederate army, had urged his compatriots not to vote for him; but those of them who voted at all appear to have disregarded his request, for he received 9,185 votes to 9,928 for Orr, coming within only 743 votes of election. William D. Porter, an old time aristocrat and an eminent Charleston lawyer of whom I saw much in the courts in my "carpetbag" days, was elected Lieutenant-Governor by 15,072; for he had no opposition. The men chosen for the legislature, like those who sat in the Constitutional convention, were South Carolinians of the ante-bellum type, though mostly of the middle class.

This State government having been duly organized at Columbia pursuant to President Johnson's reconstruction policy and Governor Perry's proclamation, its legislature met in special session October 25, 1865, and ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. Thereupon, December 18, 1865—only two days less than five years after her secession—South Carolina was officially recognized by President Johnson as once more a State of the Union as well as *in* it.

Like the Provisional Governor, Governor Orr had a notable record as a Union man who reluctantly became a secessionist when his State seceded. He had been a Congressman from South Carolina from 1849 to 1859 and was

Speaker of the lower House of Congress in 1857. He served as a Confederate colonel early in the Civil War and thereafter in the Congress of the Confederacy at Richmond. Under the "carpetbag" regime following his brief service as Governor, he was one of the district judges of South Carolina, a judicial place like that of circuit judge in many States. This was still his function, I think, when I met him in the capitol at Columbia and felt a boyish thrill from the novelty of personal contact with a "reconstructed rebel" of national renown. Governor Orr went to Russia in 1872 as American Minister and died there in May, 1873. It was under his administration as Governor that the legislature of South Carolina committed that "black code" folly which contributed to the collapse of Johnson's policy.

V. THE "BLACK CODE"

The "black code" of South Carolina is minutely described by Mr. Reynolds, and fairly I think. I do not sympathize with his undertone of approval, but I appreciate his note of excuse. He seems to me to be as judicial as possible for a man of his nativity, traditions, period and environment when considering the status of Negroes. According to his account of the "black code" of his own State, it was from first to last a "master" and "servant" regulation of Negro relationships, borrowed wholly in spirit and not a little in detail from the slavery laws that had lost their force at Appomattox.

In any racial dispute, the Negro was relegated to a Negro court instituted by "masters" and presided over by judges of the "master" class, wherein the "master" class also furnished the jurors. Verbally, the Negro had contractual and property rights; verbally he was guaranteed personal protection; verbally there was an air of fairness about it all—the fairness which a self-conscious master class may have for a servant class. But in fact the contractual rights thus secured the Negro led his race into abject servitude; and all their rights—contractual, property, and personal—were subjected to a special jurisdiction controlled exclusively and absolutely by white men. Adjudication was relegated to courts created in distinct recognition of an impassable line

between the personal rights and the property interests as well as the civic concerns of the Negro and the white, the latter a class that had always despised and luxuriously lived upon the Negro and now despised and feared him. Saxon ceorls under the heel of Norman conquerors were mediaeval prototypes of the Negro race under this white man's "black code."

Making all reasonable allowance for the fears, whether well-founded or ill-founded, of a master class of one race in the midst of an enormously larger servile class of another, each accustomed from infancy to the former's rule of might, the fact is still evident that the "black code" of South Carolina was essentially a slave code, and that it was intended so to be. Its adaptation of the old terms, "master" and "servant," to white employer and Negro freedman under contract, terms having only slavery connotations in the thought of both races, would alone go far to stamp it as reactionary. But when its minute provisions for maintaining the power of the "master" class are considered, along with its equally minute provisions for holding the "servant" class and their descendants with less than seven drops in eight of Caucasian blood perpetually down to the levels of serfdom, its proslavery character in spirit and letter is unmistakable. Add the fact that it was made by masters for freedmen; add the further fact that in all their mutual relations it was to be interpreted and enforced by masters for freedmen; add again that in all controversies, civil and criminal, between freedmen and freedmen or between freedmen and masters, a little group of the local master class was to decide—put those circumstances together, and what reasonable person uninfluenced by prejudice or tradition can deny that the South Carolina "black code" was an attempt to reestablish, under slightly new forms but in all essentials, the very institution which had caused the Civil War and which the Civil War had abolished? Such an attempt it surely was; and a wretched one it turned out to be.

That the South Carolina "black code" was repealed before it got fully under way was due to no good will nor yet to any prudence of the class that framed it. Having tried to

secede and been conquered, the "Palmetto" State had not yet been securely restored to Federal relations when that code was sanctioned by her law-makers whom President Johnson had trusted to be sensible even if he feared they could not be democratic. By putting it into the statutes they gave Johnson's political enemies an argument wherewith to demolish his pacific policy, and that argument was quickly used. Instantly upon the adoption of the South Carolina "black code," the Federal military intervened and by military order the courts were forbidden to exercise jurisdiction under it. Governor Orr was constrained, therefore, to call a special session of the legislature at which, and at the following regular session, the "black code" was so amended as to abolish the "black code" courts and to establish tribunals for the trial of civil and criminal causes without reference to race or color. Those amendatory acts satisfied the Federal military authorities, and the State was thereupon remitted to the control of its civil officials pending final action by Congress.

But the damage had been done. Though Mr. Reynolds contends that the relations of master and servant prescribed by the "black code" may be said not to have been established in any instance, what of it? The "black code" itself revealed in its terms the pro-slavery spirit and purpose of the master class of his stricken State. Granted that many factors entered into the smashing by Congress of President Johnson's friendly policy of Statehood restoration, yet it may be fairly questioned whether any other was as effectual as the "black codes" in crystallizing Northern sentiment in favor of substituting for Johnson's pacific policy the drastic reconstruction measures of Congress.

VI. RECONSTRUCTION UNDER THE CIVIL RIGHTS AMENDMENTS

Those codes reasonably proved that the ex-slavemasters of the seceding States could not be trusted with the civil rights of the ex-slaves and their descendants unenfranchised. So the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments found acceptance both in Congress and in the necessary number of States. Meanwhile public sentiment in the North was as over-

whelming in cheering on Congress with its anti-Johnson reconstruction policy as it had been in cheering on Lincoln in his prosecution of the war against secession. And for like reasons. Congress was therefore able to adopt its own reconstruction policy over President Johnson's veto, and in 1867 it did so. Though the Civil Rights Amendments were not yet part of the law of the land, they vitalized the Civil Rights sentiment of the nation.

The Congressional policy relegated the conquered States of the Confederacy to full military control and fixed a new basis for restoration to Statehood. To secure State autonomy and representation, the people of those States were required to disregard distinctions of race, color and previous condition, to submit their proposed Constitution to Congress for examination and approval, to adopt the Fourteenth Amendment, and then to await the actual embodiment in the Constitution of that Amendment. The mechanism provided by Congress for action by those States was undeniably democratic. It required registration of all qualified voters, a majority election of delegates to a Constitutional convention to be convened by the District Commander of the United States Army, and a Constitution framed by that convention according to the reconstruction acts of Congress and ratified by a majority of the registered voters by whom delegates to the convention had been elected.

In South Carolina the Republican party was immediately organized as the Union Republican party of that State. Meeting in convention at Charleston in May, 1867, it adjourned without other than formal action to meet at Columbia in July. A large proportion of the delegates—45 in a total of 69—were Southern Negroes. Yet the platform might well have been taken as a lesson in democracy by the white aristocrats of South Carolina who so absurdly boasted of being democrats. It declared for universal suffrage and for elections by the people. It proposed liberal provision by the State for the poor, whom it described as "those aged and infirm people, houseless and homeless and past labor, who have none to care for them." It declared also for *advalorem*

taxes. An early note for the exemption of labor products from taxation was its demand for repeal of the cotton tax; and in harmony with this sound fiscal principle there was a plank on the land question so radical as to provoke the withdrawal from the convention of at least one native white man. That particular plank of this truly democratic platform, this platform of the Union Republican party of South Carolina, composed mostly of Negroes and held away back in 1867, declared that "large land monopolies tend only to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, and are ruinous to the agricultural, commercial and social interests of the State." Because of that tendency, the platform demanded that "the legislature offer every practicable inducement for the division and sale of unoccupied lands among the poorer classes, and as an encouragement for immigrants to settle." An echo there, I take it, from the grave of Gerritt Smith. While this declaration was crude in the method it proposed, its essential truth has since become the vision of great masses of white men. The whole world is coming to see what those despised South Carolina Negroes saw so long ago. Will not that political platform, put forth by a convention composed for the most part of black freedmen but recently released from generations of servile bondage, that platform of the first convention dominated by Negroes ever held in South Carolina—will it not compare favorably, as civilization advances, with the "black code" which the superior race of the same State had tried twelve months before to impose upon those very Negroes? By forty odd years those Negroes forestalled Lloyd George with his proposal for old age pensions; by nearly four they preceded Henry George in apprehending the deadly import of land monopoly.

Nor did these newly enfranchised South Carolina Negroes try to protect themselves with anything like the severity toward the whites that the whites had so recently adopted with reference to Negroes. All they asked in the way of burdens upon the whites was that "rights to traitors" be restored cautiously and that the reconstruction acts of Congress be enforced. The expenses of their convention, it is

interesting to know, were only \$36.25. The collections were \$46.

Such a convention must have had good material in it. Its influential delegates must have had wholesome training in democracy. Yet so well disposed and usually considerate a South Carolina writer as Mr. Reynolds points to this very fact as in a manner excusing the Kuklux Klan. It seems from his history that Negroes had been organized in "Union Leagues" where they were pledged "to defend and perpetuate freedom and the Union"; and that those leagues adjured them to vote with the Union Republican party for certain specified reasons. This party had made them free and given them the right to vote; the friends of the Negro in Congress were of this party; Democrats were of the party which before the Civil War stood for the fugitive slave law and attempts to force slavery upon the western Territories; the Democratic party had resisted every measure in Congress looking to emancipation and had denounced the Federal Government for arming colored men as soldiers; the Democratic party was still the same enemy of freedom and the rights of man, and would disfranchise the Negro and if possible return him to slavery. Those were the reasons given South Carolina Negroes for voting the Union Republican ticket, to which objection was raised. But the adjuration seems to have been fair enough. Were not most of those reasons proved by the record of the Democratic party before and during the Civil War and in reconstruction times? and did not the "black code" of South Carolina prove the rest? The Democratic party certainly had in those old days a monopoly of despotic principles and policies with reference to the rights of man, though the Republican party afterwards took more comprehensive possession of the same field.

Our South Carolina historian intimates, however, that the whites of his State were put at a disadvantage by the Union Leagues in dealing with the Negro as a voter, because Negroes, having already become members of these Leagues, secret organizations sworn to vote the Republican ticket, were not amenable to reason. But though the South Carolina Negro

had not been thus oathbound, it is doubtful if South Carolina white men could have reasoned him into voting the Democratic ticket. They had made their hostile intentions toward the Negro as a citizen too evident; and although Negro freedmen were servile in behavior, they were never the fools it pleased the master class to think them.

That those intentions of the South Carolina whites had undergone no essential change since slavery times was pretty well shown by the official address of a white convention in South Carolina which followed by some months the Negro convention already mentioned and was presided over by James Chesnut, one of the distinguished South Carolinians of the Civil War period. This address protested not only against the *disfranchisement* of whites, but also against the *enfranchisement* of Negroes. It did indeed claim for the whites of South Carolina that they were the best friends of the Negro, and that as to property, life and person they were willing that black and white should stand together upon the same platform and be shielded by the same equal laws; but it is difficult to see why those whites should have expected Negroes to believe this profession, or how they could very profoundly have believed it themselves. That very address is a fine example of the kind of appeal to upper class groups that upper class leaders always make in derogation of political rights for what they are usually pleased to call lower class mobs.

When in October, 1867, the registration of voters under the Congressional reconstruction acts had been completed, there was a voting roll of 46,346 whites and 78,982 Negroes; and at the election in November the Constitutional convention was ordered by 69,000 to 2800. As aristocratic reactionaries like Wade Hampton had urged the whites to vote against the convention, so as to show acceptance by a separate act of the Negro population, the votes reported for the convention as cast by white voters were only 130 all told.

Under the call of Gen. Canby of the United States army, the delegates assembled at Charleston in January, 1868. Of the 124 elected, 48 were whites and 76 Negroes. Of the whites, 23 were native South Carolinians, 4 were from other

Southern States, 15 were from Northern States, 5 were from foreign countries, and the nativity of 1 was unknown; while the Negroes numbered 59 as natives of South Carolina, 4 from other Southern States, 6 from Northern States and 1 from a foreign country, the nativity of 6 being unknown. Among the more distinguished of both races that I afterwards knew were Daniel H. Chamberlain, Timothy Hurley, W. J. Whipper, Robert Smalls, J. J. Wright, C. P. Leslie, A. C. Mackey, E. W. M. Mackey, C. C. Bowen, F. L. Cardozo, R. H. Cain, A. J. Ransier, B. F. Whittemore, W. Beverly Nash, Robert B. Elliott, Joseph H. Rainey, and Franklin J. Moses, Jr. Much has been made of the fact that many of those delegates were either not taxpayers or only small taxpayers. But this distinction ought not to count for much—certainly not in disparagement of the so-called "non-taxpayer." Indirect taxation imposes upon so-called "non-taxpayers" heavy taxes with secrecy and subtlety. Some of those Negro delegates who were classed as non-taxpayers steadily paid heavier taxes, without knowing it, than many a critic of theirs who called himself a taxpayer but, also without knowing it, was not so very much of one.

In further proof of the genuine civic intelligence of the public-spirited Negroes of South Carolina in the late '60's let me cite Mr. Reynolds's history. Mr. Reynolds did not intend to be complimentary, but he was. The citation relates to Beverly Nash, that Negro Senator as black as the blackest velvet, of whom I have already told, and who was a delegate to that Constitutional convention. Mr. Nash proposed a Constitutional section that would have "taxed uncultivated lands one per cent higher than those under cultivation." This excellent provision was not adopted by the convention, but the episode goes to show that Beverly Nash saw clearer than his colleagues. The convention did, however, request Congress "to lend the State \$1,000,000 for the purchase of land to be resold on long time to persons in South Carolina." This clause antedated by more than 30 years the action of the British Parliament, which, to the plaudits of the world, voted to lend Irish tenants the money

wherewith to buy their farms on long time; and Nash's defeated provision, like the demand of his party platform already quoted, was 40 years before Lloyd George got the greatest of parliaments to put an extra tax upon unused land to force it into use.

This second Constitutional convention of South Carolina following the Civil War adjourned March 18, 1868. It had framed a Constitution providing for permanent allegiance of the State to the United States, making truth a defense in libel (the jury being judge of the law and the facts), abolishing imprisonment for debt, creating homestead exemptions of \$1000 in lands and \$500 in personalty, basing representation upon population, conferring voting rights upon every male citizen 21 years of age without distinction of race, color or former condition, abolishing property qualifications for office, requiring Presidential Electors to be chosen by popular vote instead of the legislature, establishing common schools to be free and open to all the children of the State without regard to race or color, and endowing women with separate rights to their own property.

VII. SOUTH CAROLINA'S NEGRO-MADE CONSTITUTION

By every truly democratic test, that Negro-made Constitution of South Carolina stands shoulder high above the white man's Constitution which it superseded. It was submitted to the people in April, 1868, at which time also officers were elected in accordance with its provisions. In preparation for this election, the Republicans nominated Robert K. Scott for Governor, Lemuel Boozer for Lieutenant-Governor, D. H. Chamberlain for Attorney General, and Francis L. Cardoza for Secretary of State, and Niles G. Parker for Treasurer. Cardoza was the only Negro on the ticket. He was a handsome man, almost white of color, and was reputed to have been the born slave of his own father who had educated him abroad—at Glasgow, I think. Scott was from Ohio, having come to South Carolina as assistant commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, and Boozer was a prominent native lawyer. Chamberlain, a graduate of Yale College and

at the outbreak of the Civil War a student in the Harvard law school, had been a lieutenant in a Negro regiment of cavalry. He was elected Attorney General after two years' residence in South Carolina as a cotton planter on Wadamalaw Island near Charleston.

The only approach to organized opposition at the election came out of a delegate convention of Democratic clubs which met at Columbia April 2, 1868, two weeks before the election. This convention adopted a platform which declared affiliation with the national Democratic party and urged defeat of the proposed Constitution. It went so far, however, as to recognize the Negro as an integral element of the body politic, entitled as such to full and equal protection in person and property. Another declaration went further and read as well. It might have averted the tragedies of reconstruction in South Carolina had it not come too late. This declaration professed the willingness of the Democratic party of South Carolina, upon coming to power, to grant to Negroes, "under proper qualifications as to property and intelligence, the right of suffrage." But the class that made that belated declaration had been trusted with this very power by President Johnson, and how had they used it? To discriminate against the Negro not only by denying him the suffrage without regard to property or intelligence but also as to his person and his property by a series of pro-slavery regulations. Was it remarkable that neither Negroes, who had the best of reasons for fearing the South Carolina white man in power, nor whites whose democracy rejected race lines in political affairs, distrusted those professions and refused that power? This platform must indeed have looked to them less like one to stand on than one to get in on. It is worthy of note also in that connection that one of the specific objections which this white convention made to the new Constitution and in the face of its own professions of good will for the Negro was directed at the free public school and compulsory education system for which the Constitution provided. William D. Porter was nominated for Governor by that Democratic convention, but he declined, being opposed to any nominations

at all. Like the rest of his aristocratic group he favored voting against the Constitution and then going into a political trance. The vote stood 70,758 for ratification and 27,288 against it. Of the registered voters, 133,598 in all, 35,551 went into the aristocratic trance and the Republican ticket was elected. Efforts were then made by leaders of the old regime to prevent approval of the Constitution by Congress, on the ground that it was "the work of Northern adventurers, Southern renegades and ignorant Negroes," and that it established "Negro supremacy."

Read the history of the time without prejudice and you will realize that Congress had but one alternative. It must either permit restoration of Negro slavery in its essentials, or else enfranchise the freedmen for their own protection against the efforts of the master class to reenslave them. Congress did the latter, rightly as I viewed it then and view it yet—rightly upon democratic principle, and rightly also out of the national and local necessities of the case. It was done by receiving South Carolina back into the Union under her "black-and-tan" Constitution of 1868, as that truly democratic document was derisively called.

This having been accomplished by Act of Congress of June 25, 1868, the first legislature of South Carolina under the new Constitution assembled at Columbia in July of that year. On the 24th of July, Gen. Canby, the military commander, remitted all authority to the State government, and the first legislature of South Carolina under the new regime assembled and organized. The Senate consisted of 21 white men of whom 6 were Democrats, and of 10 Negroes; the House of 46 white men of whom 14 were Democrats, and of 78 Negroes. Among the Senators was my subsequent employer, David T. Corbin, who was chosen president pro tem; among the Representatives was Franklin J. Moses, Jr., already described, who was chosen Speaker, his defeated adversary being W. J. Whipper, a Northern-born Negro. As soon as the legislature had organized, it ratified the Fourteenth Amendment, the Democratic members voting in the negative; and before it adjourned it had with like opposition ratified the Fifteenth

Amendment. Thomas J. Robertson was elected to the United States Senate by 130 to 21, and Frederick A. Sawyer as his colleague by 76 to 73. Both were white men. The former was a native of South Carolina, the latter a native of Massachusetts who had settled in Charleston before the Civil War as an educator and won pre-war distinction there in his profession.

I may quote Senator Sawyer in illustration of what I believe the fact to be, that the Negroes in office in South Carolina were honest men until white men seduced them. He repeated in my hearing a remark of Senator Robertson's that whereas the latter's first election to the United States Senate cost him only \$500, his second cost him \$30,000. The Negro legislators had learned in the interval what white legislators seem also to have learned, that United States Senatorships are valuable enough to buy. It may also be noted by way of tribute to that first legislature that its expenses at the 1869-1870 session, covering a period of 83 working days, were \$125,000—an average of only about \$10 per member per day. Later legislatures were not famous for any such economy.

Yet the fact must not be blinked that even in the first legislature "graft" measures were pushed through, pulled through and bribed through. Corruption set in even at that early day, and as time went on it thickened. When I got there you could almost cut it with a knife. The capitol atmosphere seemed to produce a peculiar intoxicating effect. Just to breathe it made one feel like going out and picking a pocket. Nor was this effect confined to the Negroes and the "carpetbaggers," nor even within the outlying region of "scallawagism." There were also South Carolina aristocrats who, though frightfully shocked at "nigger equality," were not immune to the furacious infections and contagions. The fact remains, however, that the experiment with Negro enfranchisement in South Carolina was pretty much all to the good until white man's corruption began to get in its destructive work.

As to democracy, nearly all was to the good at first, at any rate by comparison with what had gone before. Favorably

indeed does the civil rights bill adopted at the first session of that first legislature compare with the legislation of the aristocratic elements under the regime immediately preceding. Mr. Reynolds characterizes this measure as indicative of a purpose "to enforce social equality between the races"; but there is really no evidence, on the face of it at any rate, of any other purpose than to prevent unfair discriminations. It was a genuinely democratic measure. Declaring that the government is a republican democracy, that no person is entitled to special privileges nor to be preferred before any other person in public matters, all persons being "equal before the law," this measure of that first "black-and-tan" legislature of South Carolina simply and sensibly made it unlawful for any person doing business under a public license or charter to discriminate in its licensed public service on account of race, color or previous condition, the compensation or reward being equal. Licensed or chartered theaters, vessels and vehicles were specifically included; but no social obligations of any kind were imposed in any other sense than that licensed public services should be on equal terms. If that is social equality, pray what are common rights? In contrast with the "black code" of the South Carolina aristocracy in power in 1867, this bill of rights of the South Carolina Negro in power in 1868 is as modern as an automobile in contrast with a "one-hoss-shay." It was foresighted, too. The evils of special privilege which white men are only now beginning to appreciate were anticipated in principle by the civil rights bill of that Negro legislature of more than half a century ago.

Hardly had the first legislature come to an end when the campaign of 1870 began. The earliest concerted move in it was by white editors of the State. At a meeting in March 1870 they formally recognized the legal right to suffrage of all citizens of the State, irrespective of color, and "their legal right, irrespective of color or former condition, to office, subject alone to personal qualifications and fitness." This movement, which seems to have been started in good faith with a view to uniting all the honest elements against corruption, brought about a State convention composed of both

whites and Negroes. Gen. M. C. Butler (a Democrat) was nominated for Lieutenant-Governor by that convention, two Negro candidates withdrawing in order to make unanimous the nomination of this native white man as the running mate of R. B. Carpenter (Republican), a Northern white man who had won general confidence as a judge and whom the convention nominated for Governor. Once more, however, repentance had come too late. The Negro voters of South Carolina having by that time learned to distrust all white men of the old regime and all their political associates, Carpenter and Butler were defeated by over 30,000 majority. They got only 51,537 votes, while Governor Scott for Governor and A. J. Ransier, the Negro, for Lieutenant-Governor, got 85,071.

VIII. IN THE RÔLE OF A "CARPETBAGGER"

The election of 1870 was but just over and the second legislature had only fairly organized when my journey from New York across Virginia camping grounds and battlefields, and through the turpentine forests of North Carolina, ended at Columbia. It was in January, 1871. My experience during that winter was of a routine character until the close of the legislative session. Work as a State Senator's stenographer and as clerk of three Senate committees, with little or nothing of special interest about it all after the novelty wore off, made up the routine.

At the close of the session Major Corbin took me down to Charleston, where at his home and in his office the work was also routine. It consisted for the most part of the ordinary duties of a law office, with such variations as came from assisting Senator Corbin in his work on the codification of the statutes. The atmosphere of corruption was as thick in spots at Charleston as it had been in layers at Columbia; but if Senator Corbin or William Stone, his partner, were in any way participants at either place, I did not know it and I do not believe they were. In all their relations, both of them appeared to me to be honest men of the stern New England type. They were *personæ non gratae* to the corrupt elements of their own party, which was a significant circumstance in favor

of their honesty; and to natives of the opposition they were taboo as "carpetbaggers," a circumstance of no value whatever in estimating personal character.

An experience with that "taboo" which concerned me closely may be worth the telling for its illustrative value. In my summer vacation I had married in the North and after the honeymoon had brought my bride to Charleston. Hardly were we settled when an epidemic of yellow fever set in and we hurried to the higher land of Columbia, where we remained through the remainder of the summer of 1871 and until March, 1872. We lived at the Nickerson House, once a seminary for young ladies but then turned into a hotel. In early autumn, while we were still the only Northern guests at this hotel, South Carolinians from low-lying plantations about Columbia, who were there in considerable numbers as summer boarders, made us realize that we were undesirables. In the dining room we were demonstrably shunned, without any advances on our own part to provoke it; and on one occasion, as my wife went up a stairway she met two South Carolina ladies coming down. They drew close to the wall lest gown touch gown across the wide space from wall to bannister. At another time a Baltimore lady who came from far enough North to be friendly with us and from far enough South to escape the "taboo" fell in an upper hallway in a faint. One of the South Carolina ladies went to her assistance, but abandoned her instantly when my wife joined her with like intent. I criticize none of the contemptuous conduct of which these are but instances; for we of the North would probably have acted in the same way had all conditions been reversed. I merely mention the fact for the picture it helps to give of the place and the time. One must consider, too, that this local feeling was really not against Northerners as Northerners; tourists from the North were uniformly treated with courtesy. The contemptuous treatment was for "carpetbaggers"—for Northerners who stopped awhile and got into politics or public station.

As vigorous, also, were such manifestations toward "scallawags," those natives who affiliated politically or otherwise

with "carpetbaggers" and "niggers." Mr. Reynolds gives an instance in his history. The incident occurred in April, 1868. A society of the South Carolina University, the "Ephraim Society," expelled Thomas J. Robertson, afterwards United States Senator, and Franklin J. Moses, Jr., afterwards Speaker of the House in the South Carolina legislature. They were formally denounced by the "Ephraim Society" as—I am quoting literally—"no longer an ornament to or a jewel in the honorary roll" of that society, "but, as it were, two black stains upon that otherwise unblemished roll as yet of brothers true and faithful to their vows." Either Senator Robertson or Speaker Moses might have deserved such excoriations a few years later. Moses especially came to look very much less like jewelry for an honorable society of "brothers true and faithful" than "a black stain" upon an "otherwise unblemished roll." But at the time of that sophomoric indictment there were only political reasons for so assailing either man. Robertson, a native South Carolinian and a University graduate of the class of 1843, had for a quarter of a century thereafter lived the respectable life of a Southern slave owner. Moses, also a native, had indeed been dismissed from the freshman class of 1855, but honorably enough to remain for thirteen years a jewel of the "Ephraim Society." "The single ground upon which the young gentlemen of the Ephraim Society thus proceeded," says Mr. Reynolds frankly, "consisted in the active and uncompromising adherence of the obnoxious individuals to the Radical party of South Carolina." By Radical party Mr. Reynolds meant of course—the date being early in 1868—the party in South Carolina which supported equal political and civil rights instead of pro-slavery codes. He adds that "no charge was suggested against the personal character" of either Moses or Robertson; and so that there might be no mistake as to the great public significance of this personal episode, he explains that the feeling of the Ephraim Society was heartily shared by quite 99 per cent of the white people of South Carolina.

With reference to this general bitterness toward Robertson and Moses as "scallawags" for their affiliation with the

Union Republican party of South Carolina, and to the like bitterness toward all other "scallawags" and all "carpet-baggers," let me for emphasis repeat that I have not it in my heart to imply resentment or even so much as criticism, so sure am I that any other people or class, unless it be the affectionately patient and forgiving Negro, would act similarly under similar circumstances. The circumstances have a different significance, and for their bearing in that respect alone I tell them now. Though such conduct would not in my opinion reflect upon the normal good will of any people under like provocation, it would reflect on their competency to pass fair judgments upon the probity of individuals in the classes they held thus in contempt. For that reason South Carolina judgments upon "carpetbaggers" like Chamberlain, Corbin, Tomlinson and Stone, upon "scallawags" of whatever name, and upon "niggers" like Nash, must be taken with much allowance for patriotic prejudice and class hate or contempt. A community where such bitter feeling prevails, however excusably, cannot weigh evidence with good judgment nor wisely testify to the validity of their suspicions or their fears.

IX. THE OLD KUKLUX KLAN OF SOUTH CAROLINA

It was out of this widespread hate and contempt in South Carolina that the Kuklux terror burst forth. Before going there I had questioned the truth of newspaper reports about the Kuklux Klan. Indeed most of those reports were so fashioned as to inspire doubts of their seriousness. Their flavor was of *mardi gras* comedy rather than racial tragedy. I think that the general disposition at that time in the North was to assign the K. K. K. to the category of horse play. Certainly caricature K. K. K.'s appeared in Fourth of July parades at the North as late as 1871, and with no purpose whatever of making sport of murder. But after I had been in South Carolina a few weeks, Kuklux terrorism seemed real enough. While Negroes were as safe as anybody in the region of Columbia and Charleston, blood-curdling news from districts at a distance thrilled us now and again like tales of nearby Indian massacres.

The first of these stories to reach me, vital with detail, was of a piece with all that followed. At the previous holiday time five Negro militiamen, one of them a captain, who were in jail charged with murdering a white man, had been lynched by 500 armed and masked horsemen. As this story came to us these prisoners were seized, placed in line abreast, and while they stood there with their backs to the masked men, one of the latter called out: "Captain Smith, twelve paces to the front." The Negro militia captain obeyed, and was instantly riddled with bullets. Similar orders were given to the other prisoners; but they, warned by the fate of their captain, did not stop at twelve paces but ran for their lives. Two were killed and the other two badly wounded. A month later eight more of the same militia company were reported as having been arrested and soon afterward lynched. The bodies of five, with bullet holes in the head, were found on a morning lying under a tree near the jail in which they had been confined, and two were hanging from the tree by the neck. The eighth was missing. Although reports of this character, official and unofficial, all attributing the murders to the Kuklux Klan, trickled into Charleston from time to time, it was not until late in the fall of 1871 that I found myself face to face with the terrible reality.

Major Lewis Merrill of the Seventh United States Cavalry came to Columbia about that time, and Senator Corbin asked me to fetch him to the capitol where we were at work upon the codification of the laws. I hunted up the bluff Major and brought him in. Pretty soon I knew that "something was doing." President Grant had suspended the writ of habeas corpus in those counties of South Carolina where the Kuklux terrorism was at its height, and one of these was York County, at the seat of which, Yorkville, Major Merrill had his headquarters as commandant of a detachment of his regiment. Here he had turned an old sugar house into a temporary jail and filled it with prisoners, arrested without warrant or specific accusation and held without habeas corpus rights, presumably as members of the murderous Klan. To my surprise and great gratification I was soon afterwards directed

by Senator Corbin to go to Yorkville and put myself at the service of Major Merrill.

It was a beautiful South Carolina day in October, that on which I left Columbia for the heart of the Kuklux region. My route lay through Chester, where I had to change from the comfortable cars of the through road North to a twenty mile side-line, woefully old-fashioned, which connected Chester with Yorkville. To learn when the Yorkville train would start I had no little difficulty. At military headquarters they couldn't tell me, nor at the hotel where I was to have dinner, nor in the stores, and time tables there were none. But on the street I found a man who pointed out the conductor at a distance, saying that possibly he might tell me. Approaching the person indicated, I inquired of him if he truly were the conductor, and got his own assurance; whereupon I asked when his train would leave for Yorkville. "About two o'clock," he replied. Fearing I might have misinterpreted his qualifying word, having never known of dilatory trains being quite so candidly scheduled, I asked if it would be exactly at two, and he replied: "Aboot; a little befo', o' a little aftuh. You goin' to Yo'kville?" I told him I was, and asked if I would surely have time for dinner. "Take yo' time," he assured me; "th' train'll wait fo' you." Although he was serious in manner and charmingly friendly, I feared he might be jibing me. It would have been jibing at the North. But I didn't know my South Carolina yet. They do not jibe there—or did not in those days. Interrupted by the dinner bell, I went into the dining room where I laid my troubles before a Negro waiter, along with a quarter. He tried to convince me that I really could take my time, that the train would truly wait; but as I was still nervous, he told me he would go out and arrange the matter. Upon his return he assured me, with a good helping from the kitchen, that he would be responsible for getting me aboard in time; so I took it easy until he advised me to go, which was at nearly half past two.

Walking leisurely down the street, I saw at a little distance a railway car, and on the rear platform was my friendly con-

ductor beckoning to me. As he helped me up to the platform, he welcomed me cordially. "We waitin' fo' yo'," he said. And sure enough, as I settled into a seat the train began to move. It consisted of a locomotive, a freight car and a passenger car. There was a partition across the middle of the latter primarily to divide white smokers from other whites and incidentally to prevent racial promiscuity. Its wheels rolled on strap rails, but not very fast, for they were more than two hours in rolling us over the twenty miles from Chester to Yorkville.

I spent several weeks at Yorkville, my wife coming a little later than I. We lived at the village hotel, where our companions were young army officers most of whom afterwards won memorial honors with Custer in his last battle with Indians. The taxidermied battle-horse of one of these ill-fated friends of ours was at Kansas University as late as 1895.

I did most of my work at Yorkville in Major Merrill's headquarters. It consisted of making and transcribing stenographic notes of Kuklux confessions from early afternoon till midnight every day. My wife frequently transcribed my notes at the hotel while I was at headquarters taking more. For all this I got no pay other than my regular salary, and she got nothing. Somehow I did not know we were entitled to pay: it seemed like a patriotic service, or work for work's sake, or something of the sort. I even hesitated, lest I might be profiting inordinately at government expense, when toward the last Major Merrill gave me \$50 out of the United States secret service fund by way of an honorarium that "no one was better entitled to," as he kindly phrased it.

X. KUKLUX CONFESSIONS

Those Kuklux confessions, "pukes" as they were called by the sturdier voyagers upon that stormy sea of Yankee conquest with which the chivalry of South Carolina were battling in those "carpetbag" times, were produced by President Grant's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. Major Merrill had spent the summer collecting evidence against members of the Kuklux Klan, and as soon as the writ of

habeas corpus was suspended by the President he made cavalry raids in all directions, arresting suspects by the score. For a time the prisoners were silent. But as hope of release died out and fears of hanging grew stronger, the weaker ones sought permission to tell Major Merrill what they knew. This developed evidence on which to make further arrests, and confessions became quite the fashion as arrests multiplied. The prisoners "bagged" of a night were thrust into the sugar house jail with the "catch" of previous nights and left there to think. Their plight was hopeless. Although held by no grand-jury indictment nor even a magistrate's warrant, they were beyond the reach of any court or judge; for under the President's proclamation Major Merrill would have been bound, if he needed coercion, which he did not, to ignore the courts had they intervened. Often there were confessions enough to keep us busy through the livelong day, and every day had its grist of one or more. On the occasion of those penitential visits, Major Merrill and I together would be closeted with a solitary prisoner, he examining and I recording. By this means he gathered an accumulating mass of testimony, each day bringing forth further clues for further arrests.

But it was by no means all easy sailing, and the military authorities were victimized by more tricks than they suspected, as I imagine now. The victim of one of them was Captain Hale, as fine a fellow as ever straddled a cavalry horse and one of the officers who fell by the side of Custer. I recall Captain Hale's early-morning indignation at that trick. On a rounding-up expedition with a squad of cavalry the night before, the objects of which were ten or fifteen miles away, he had impressed a native to guide him and his squad, and the native did it, "to the Queen's taste" as Captain Hale reported him. All night long he guided them through many a path and byway, but without once guiding them more than a mile or two from headquarters. Of course there was not a single catch that night. Captain Hale was furious, but as it was not war time the guide could not be shot offhand and I suppose he was "sugar-housed" in lieu of the Kukluxer Major Merrill had sent for.

Major Merrill himself suffered keener disappointment in another case, and not from any trick. There was pathos in the incident. There was a lesson in it too, a lesson in that peculiar chivalry of the Southerner of which I had heard much but believed little.

One raw November or December night already more than half gone, Major Merrill and I were alone in the business office at military headquarters when a slip of paper was handed in by the orderly at the door. The major read the message it bore, thought a moment with an expression of triumph he tried hard to conceal but could not, and then gave the command: "Bring him here at once!" Alone with me again, he explained the message. It was from the sugar-house jail of course, but from one of the "higher ups," as we should say now. Major Merrill used the slang of the time and place. "At last," he said, "one of the big ones wants to puke." The message was a request for an interview from one of the principal prisoners. I have forgotten his name, but he had worn shoulder straps in the Confederate service and was accounted a leading citizen in that part of the State. Through the high office the confessions of others indicated that he held in the county Klan, we supposed him able to incriminate officers of the State Klan, if not men who were still higher up in the murderous order. Thus far every similar request had been the forerunner of a confession, and neither Major Merrill nor I doubted that exciting work was before us which might continue till daylight. At the big table I sharpened my pencils, while the Major walked up and down the room sharpening his wits.

In fifteen or twenty minutes or half an hour there was a knock at the office door. Major Merrill opened it himself, admitting the prisoner and excluding the orderly. The prisoner saluted with dignity and grace considering the awkwardness of the situation; for it is not easy, I take it, to give a military salute to an officer who has opened a door for you while he is closing it behind you, especially if he happens to be your jailor. Major Merrill was too much excited to acknowledge the salute even awkwardly. He returned to the

table, looked his prisoner sternly in the eye, and waited for the expected offer of a confession. His mute inquiry got a quick response. "Major," said the prisoner, without a quiver in his voice, yet with unmistakable feeling in his curt phrases, "my little boy is sick; he is dying; my wife sends me word; I want to see him; may I go home on parole? I give you my honor to come back."

Major Merrill was speechless. His expected confession from "higher up" had gone a-glimmering. Not only that, but he faced a dilemma. The inhumanity of denying this helpless prisoner's pathetic request, with all the power to do so in his own hands, made battle in his mind. Fear of losing the prisoner and being court-martialed struggled for mastery over more brotherly instincts. The battle within him must have raged fiercely. But the man beneath the officer conquered. In nicely modulated tones, angelic it seemed to me from one so rough in manner as I had sometimes seen him, Major Merrill asked: "How old is your boy?" "Fo'teen," was the reply, with that soft Southern enunciation which cannot be reproduced in print but is indescribably charming to the ear. "How ill is he?" "My wife don't think he'll live till mo'n'n." "Are you sure he is dying?" "That is the word my wife sends me; I am sure; he may not live till I get there." "How far is it?" "Fo'teen miles." "How will you get there?" "Afoot." "When will you return?" "Day after tomorrow sundown." There was another pause. The Major continued looking his prisoner steadily in the eye, then dropped his own eyes to the floor, raised them again with another glance at the prisoner, and the battle between the military officer and the human man within him was over. The human man had won. Without changing expression of face, but gently of voice, Major Merrill said: "You may go."

The prisoner was off in an instant. With a swing of the arm intended for a parting salute, and a turn upon his heel, swiftly yet with military erectness and precision he passed out of our room, through the large hall, by the orderly whom Major Merrill had barely time to instruct, across the porch and down the steps into the thick darkness and the chill November rain.

Now that the Kuklux excitement is long past and we know that the worst punishment any of the prisoners got was a short period of confinement—the worst they could have got indeed from the Federal courts—that midnight incident at Major Merrill's headquarters seems to belong rather to the bouffe order of theatricals than to the truly dramatic. But it was dramatic enough at the time to both actors in it. The prisoner stood charged with several brutal murders. That these murders had been committed there was no room for question; and their commission had been traced to the secret organization of which he was a member. Major Merrill must have had no doubt of his prisoner's guilt. The prisoner himself, when he considered his plight—held by what was to him a foreign soldiery, threatened with indictment and prosecution for a capital offense by what he regarded as a star chamber grand jury and a packed panel of petit jurors acting under the orders of a bitterly partisan judge—must have felt, no matter how conscious of innocence he may have been, nor how well advised of the limitations of the law, that his imprisonment at that time was the prelude to certain death on the gallows. For similar reasons Major Merrill had cause enough for a troubled mind as his paroled prisoner's footsteps echoed down the walk; and troubled he evidently was. He tried to reassure himself that there would be no escape and therefore no courtmartial, by repeatedly assuring me before I went to the hotel that night that the prisoner would certainly return. "The word of honor of these men," he said, "is better than a bail bond."

Major Merrill didn't forget the incident over night, however, as I did. The possibility of his having made a mistake must have worried him all the next day, which was a Thursday, and all the next. Late in the afternoon of the Friday he invited me to a stroll with him about the camp. Supposing it for exercise, I accepted the invitation, but absorbed in other things, I paid no heed to the significance of his restless fussing with odds and ends in the tents we entered, nor to his frequent glances toward the west. But just as the sun's lower edge touched the western horizon, the waning

warmth of its rays piercing the cool air over an exposed hillock on which we stood, Major Merrill startled my memory into activity by exclaiming: "There he comes! I knew he would!" The exclamation was expressive rather of happy disappointment than of that consciousness of rewarded confidence which the words implied. And sure enough, off in the distance down the main street of Yorkville, headed directly for that hillock where Major Merrill's figure was conspicuous, the paroled prisoner strode, prompt to the minute.

As he neared us he halted and saluted, stiff as a private on parade. "Major," he said, "my little boy is still living, but the doctor says he will die before morning. I want to go back." There was no hesitation this time. All the Major's suppressed fears of an escape were gone. "When will you return?" he asked. "Tomorrow sundown." "You may go." The prisoner wheeled and was off; and when Major Merrill casually inquired of his orderly late the next night, it was to be informed that his prisoner had returned directly to the old sugar-house about four o'clock in the afternoon. The little boy had died meanwhile, and the father had helped to bury him before walking back to jail.

To appreciate the profound impression which this incident made upon me, one must believe that both those men supposed, as I did, that the prisoner had come back to be hanged. Major Merrill might have augmented his courageous generosity, I have often thought, with the loan of a horse for that sad double journey of his chivalrous prisoner. It would have made the story better. But maybe it wouldn't have been in good military form; or, possibly the Major did not wish to provide a comedy element at his own expense in case his confidence were abused. Nevertheless over all these years I have thought as warmly of the courageous generosity Major Merrill disclosed in that incident as I have of the fidelity of the bereaved prisoner whom he so rashly trusted.

Apart from Major Merrill's shattered expectation that the prisoner of that story would make a Kuklux confession, there were no "higher up" incidents, except arrests on suspicion and an empty confession by the scribe of a county Klan. But

there were scores of confessions of minor Klansmen, and many a Negro found his way into Major Merrill's office with a gruesome story. No one who heard all this testimony as I did could doubt the existence of the Kuklux Klan in South Carolina, nor that it had been organized to intimidate Negro citizens. That it contemplated murder by way of horrifying example is not so certain, although within the probabilities; but if not a murderous conspiracy in its inception, the Kuklux Klan became an engine of murder before it collapsed. Some of its murders within Major Merrill's military territory were hideous and cruel. Yet it must be admitted that with only a few notable exceptions, they were all open to the inference of having been "whitecap" murders in contradistinction to race murders. Much of the appearance of an anti-Negro motive may be plausibly explained by the theory that inasmuch as the population was largely of the Negro race the crimes that usually in those days provoked "whitecap" lynchings of white persons in States like Indiana provoked similar lynchings of Negroes in South Carolina. But after making full allowance for that explanation, the fact remains that the Kuklux Klan in South Carolina was distinctly designed and indisputably used for the suppression of Negro citizenship. Based upon the confessions and other evidence I recorded at Yorkville, and later at the Kuklux trials in Columbia, together with the general circumstances, my best guess is that in its inception the Kuklux Klan was political but not murderous; that local klans got to wreaking private vengeance without orders from above, to redressing local grievances and to enforcing local regulations—all in the name of the Kuklux Klan—and that in this way a non-murderous organization got involved in grossly murderous activities. I am not unmindful, in that guess, of the fact that capital crimes were responsibly committed, and for the very purposes for which this terrorizing order was organized—intimidation of Negro voters. But I incline to the belief that these were logical results of a grotesque form of organization which, though well adapted to furthering secret murders of public-spirited Negroes, was originally intended only to

frighten them and their followers. A conspiracy intended to intimidate might very easily in those times and places have got beyond control and into homicidal practices.

XI. ORIGIN AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA K. K. K.

The old Kuklux Klan of the South was organized at about the time of the reconstruction acts of Congress. Those laws, which abrogated the "black codes" and enfranchised the Negro, also guaranteed him the American citizen's right to bear arms. Both his right to bear arms and his ballot right were regarded by the white people of South Carolina as a menace. But emphasizing the arms-bearing right they expressed and doubtless felt serious concern for the safety of their families upon the organization of Negro militia regiments; and it is undeniable that they then determined, in good faith from fear as I have no doubt, but without reason as I believe, to terrorize Negro militiamen. It is quite clear, moreover, that by intimidating Negro voters they intended to suppress all Negro office-holding—from race motives and from race motives alone. That they were determined, too, to reduce the Negro to a servitude hardly distinguishable from slavery, as the Negro in good faith feared, may by possibility not be true; but the "black code" episode had given such strong color of truth to it as to make the Kuklux Klan seem very like a conspiracy to accomplish by terrorism and actual murder the reenslavement which had been attempted without success by legislative methods.

Gen. Forrest was reputed to be the "Great Grand Cyclops" or national head of the Kuklux Klan, and under its plan of organization was supposed to know no member as such except the aids of State "chiefs," nor to be known by others than them. It was through these channels that he was understood to communicate with subordinates. As this method of creating arbitrary power and securing secrecy extended, in plan at least, all the way from top to bottom, the danger of confession was well guarded against. No member of a township klan could expose any but his fellow members; the

chief of a township klan could expose no one but his township associates and his own aid, unknown as such to anybody but himself and to the county chief; township aids could expose no one but members of their respective township klans and their respective county chiefs; a county chief could expose no one but township aids and his own State aid; State aids could expose no one but their respective county chiefs and the State chief; State chiefs could expose no one but county aids and their respective national aids; and a national aid could expose only his own State chief and the national chief. This ingenious adjustment seems to have been only loosely observed. It did not need, however, to be observed very strictly in order to make detection of "higher ups" almost impossible. There could be little danger of exposure in a country where nearly all the white inhabitants sympathized with the Kuklux³ Klan, and the other inhabitants were a

³ Perhaps the Constitution of the Klan may be of interest in this connection and I incorporate here a copy, the authenticity of which there is no reason to doubt. It was verified again and again in confessions by township Klansmen: and afterwards proved in open court:

THE OBLIGATION

"I, [name] before the immaculate Judge of Heaven and Earth, and upon the holy evangelists of Almighty God, do of my own free will and accord subscribe to the following sacredly binding obligation:

"1. We are on the side of justice, humanity and constitutional liberty, as bequeathed to us in its purity by our forefathers.

"2. We oppose and reject the principles of the Radical party.

"3. We pledge mutual aid to each other in sickness, distress and especially pecuniary embarrassment.

"4. Female friends, widows and their households shall ever be special objects of our regard and protection.

"Any member divulging or causing to be divulged any of the foregoing obligations shall meet the fearful penalty and traitor's doom, which is death! death! death!

Constitution

"*Article 1.* This organization shall be known as the Order, No. of the Kuklux Klan of the State of South Carolina.

"*Art. 2.* The officers shall consist of a Cyclops and Scribe, both of whom shall be elected by a majority vote of the Order and hold their office during good behavior.

"*Art. 3.* It shall be the duty of the C. to preside in the order, enforce a due observance of the constitution and bylaws and exact compliance with the rules and usages of the Order—to see that all the members perform their respective

despised and self-distrusting race less than ten years out of chattel bondage.

According to Mr. Reynolds's history of reconstruction in South Carolina the Kuklux were quiet until the latter part of

duties, appoint all committees before the Order, inspect the arms and dress of each member on special occasions, to call meetings when necessary, draw upon members for all sums needed to carry on the Order.

"*Sec. 2.* The S. shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Order, write communications, notify other klans when their assistance is needed, give notice when any member has to suffer the penalty for violating his oath, see that all books, papers or other property belonging to his office are placed beyond the reach of anyone but members of the Order. He shall perform such other duties as may be required of him by the C.

"*Art. 4. Section 1.* No person shall be initiated into this Order under eighteen years of age.

"*Sec. 2.* No person of color shall be admitted into this Order.

"*Sec. 3.* No person shall be admitted into the Order who does not sustain a good moral character, or who is in any way incapacitated to discharge the duties of a Kuklux.

"*Sec. 4.* The name of a person offered for membership must be proposed by the committee appointed by the chief verbally, stating age, residence and occupation; state if he was a soldier in the late war; his rank; whether he was in the Federal or Confederate service, and his command.

"*Article 5. Section 1.* Any member who shall offend against these articles or the bylaws shall be subject to be fined and reprimanded by the C. as two-thirds of the members present at any regular meeting may determine.

"*Sec. 2.* Every member shall be entitled to a fair trial for any offense involving reprimand or criminal punishment.

"*Article 6. Section 1.* Any member who shall betray or divulge any of the matters of the Order shall suffer death.

"*Article 7. Section 1.* The following shall be the rules of order, and any matters herein not provided for shall be managed in strict accordance with the Kuklux rules.

"*Sec. 2.* When the Chief takes his position on the right, the Scribe with the members shall form a half circle around them, and at the sound of the signal instrument, there shall be profound silence.

"*Sec. 3.* Before proceeding to business the S. shall call the roll and note the absentees.

"*Sec. 4.* Business shall be taken up in the following order: 1, Reading minutes; 2, excuses of members at preceding meetings; 3, report of committee of candidates for membership; 4, collection of dues; 5, are any of the Order sick or suffering; 6, report of committees; 7, new business.

By-laws

"*Article 1. Section 1.* The order shall meet at

"*Sec. 2.* Five (5) members shall constitute a quorum, provided the C. or S. be present.

"*Sec. 3.* The C. shall have power to appoint such members of the Order

1870, a few weeks before I arrived in Columbia. As to that State I think this is true. Their operations probably began in the political campaign of 1870, when, as Mr. Reynolds to attend the sick, the needy, and those distressed, and those suffering from Radical misrule, as the case may require.

"*Sec. 4.* No person shall be appointed on a committee unless the person is present at the time of appointment. Members of committees neglecting to report shall be fined thirty cents.

"*Article 2. Section 1.* Every member on being admitted shall sign the constitution and bylaws and pay the initiation fee.

"*Sec. 2.* A brother of the Klan wishing to become a member of this Order shall present his application with the proper papers of transfer from the Order of which he was a member formerly; shall be admitted to the Order by a unanimous vote of the members present.

"*Article 3. Section 1.* The initiation fee shall be

"*Article 4. Section 1.* Every member who shall refuse or neglect to pay his fines or dues shall be dealt with as the Chief thinks proper.

"*Sec. 3.* Sickness or absence from the country, or being engaged in any important business, shall be valid excuse for any neglect of duty.

"*Article 5. Section 1.* Each member must provide himself with a pistol, Kuklux gown and signal instrument.

"*Sec. 3.* When charges have been preferred against a member in a proper manner, or any matters of grievance between brother Kuklux are brought before the order, they shall be referred to a special committee of three or more members, who shall examine the parties and determine the matter in question, reporting their decision to the Order. If the parties interested desire, two-thirds of the members present voting in favor of the report, it shall be carried.

"*Article 6. Section 1.* It is the duty of every member who has evidence that another has violated Article 2 to prefer the charge and specify the offense to the Order.

"*Sec. 2.* The charge for violating Article 2 shall be referred to a committee of five or more members, who shall, as soon as practicable, summon the parties and investigate the matter.

"*Sec. 3.* If the committee agree that the charges are sustained, that the member on trial has intentionally violated his oath or Article 2, they shall report the facts to the Order.

"*Sec. 4.* If the committee agree that the charges are not sustained, that the member is not guilty of violating his oath or Article 2, they shall report to that effect to the Order and charges shall be dismissed.

"*Sec. 5.* When the committee report that the charges are sustained and the unanimous vote is given in favor thereof, the offending person shall be sentenced to death by the Chief.

"*Sec. 6.* The prisoner, through the Cyclops of the order of which he is a member, can make application for pardon to the Great Grand Cyclops of Nashville, Tenn., in which case the execution of the sentence can be stayed until the pardoning power is heard from."

[There is an error in Sec. 2. Whether it was an error in the original transcribing, or in Mr. Reynolds's copy (for I quote the document from his book), or in the original document, I do not know. "Article 2" probably means Article 6 of the Constitution.]

explains, the Klan "was provoked to violence" by the Negro militia. He says that this offensive militia "constantly drilled and frequently moved about the country districts, to the disgust of the white citizens and the terror of their wives and children"; but he frankly concedes that "there were as yet not many acts of actual violence by the Negro militia," although he urges that their "insolence was naturally a source of much irritation." Particularly offensive appears to have been "one favorite practice" of theirs. This was their custom of marching "company front" so as to occupy an entire street, a practice of which Mr. Reynolds notes an instance. "The captain of a Negro company so marching sent a sergeant forward to order the driver of a carriage waiting at a store for its lady occupants to make way for the soldiers." Of course such instances are cited only to show a disposition by the militia to annoy. But Mr. Reynolds points also to reasons for fearing the militia.

There "were various acts of lawlessness" in Union County, he states, "accompanied with threats of violence against the whites"; and he tells of an influential member of the legislature for that county, a Negro "wielding great influence among the Negroes," who "declared that for every Republican killed at the polls ten white men should die." Such threats might have passed as highly honorable, I surmise, had they been made by white men with reference to Negroes. Mr. Reynolds implies, however, that Republican voters were in no danger of being killed at the polls, from which it could be inferred that this Negro legislator's threat was wanton. But Mr. Reynolds was doubtless mistaken as to the danger Negro Republicans were in, for the circumstances indicate that in fact they were in grave danger. At any rate the threat to "kill ten white men for every Republican" had an important condition precedent in the body of it. The threat was to have no vitality until a Republican had been killed.

For further evidence of danger from the Negro militia, Mr. Reynolds turns from Union County to Laurens for a story of five or six Negro militia companies whose "conduct caused general concern," as he says, "for the safety of the white

women and children in the section where the Negro population predominated." Somewhat of that concern might be accounted for by George W. Cable's observation in one of his novels that any race or class conscious of wronging another is always in fear of the other. But Mr. Reynolds asserts specifically that "in the town of Laurens the companies concentrated, and, joined by other Negroes, armed with pistols and shot guns, riotously paraded the streets"; that "in Camden, on the occasion of a parade, several of the Negroes got drunk, and one of them for some misconduct was arrested by the town marshal, whereupon the Negro militia became violent and threatened to 'kill the damned white men'"; and that "the Marshal having gone into a house for safety, they assaulted the house, to the terror of the lady occupants." Continuing in this strain our South Carolina historian writes that after the October elections of 1870 the conduct of the Negro militia became everywhere worse. "Armed and equipped," so his narrative runs, "they went about in groups or in regular formation, as if seeking a conflict"; they "incited their fellows to violence and incendi- arism," they "insulted ladies on the public highways," they "moved about in the night time, firing their guns and in some instances shooting at dwelling houses"; and "behind these lawbreakers," he adds, "was the hostile local government sustained by the Federal authority." Consequently—and this conclusion is his, not mine, although I think it a correct conclusion—consequently, says Mr. Reynolds, "the Kuklux made their 'raids.'"

At first those raids were in Mr. Reynolds's opinion, which I also believe to be correct, "chiefly to quiet the Negroes by letting them know that the whites had some sort of organization and were otherwise ready to defend their persons and their homes." But "matters went from bad to worse," Mr. Reynolds proceeds, "until a trouble occurred which led to a raid" which in his opinion "must be considered the climax of Kukluxism in South Carolina." It related to the killing of an ex-Confederate soldier, a wagoner of the name of Stevens.

A company of Negro militia had killed Stevens, according

to the Reynolds history, which here gives a version of the Kuklux story of which we in Charleston had heard only the lynching climax—the story I have already told of a captain of militia and some of his men being taken from jail and shot, and later of their comrades having been lawlessly hanged. The killing of Stevens, says Mr. Reynolds, “was assassination pure and simple—assassination by soldiers organized under the law and bearing arms supplied by the State government,” and the “demeanor of the Negroes of Union County showed that as a body they were in sympathy with the slayers of Stevens and would do all in their power to shield them from arrest and punishment.” He adds that it was “natural that the whites should take some means to prevent a repetition of such a brutal murder—such an outrage against the whole white race”; that “a ‘committee of safety’ was formed”; that after consultation it was “determined to disarm the Negro company at once”; that this was “accomplished without disturbance,” that “the next step was to apprehend the murderers”; that thereupon “Negro militiamen to the number of thirteen were arrested, though not without a conflict by them with the sheriff’s posse in which two or more of the latter were badly wounded,” and that “the prisoners were lodged in the county jail at Union.” So much for what preceded the Kuklux raid. No doubt Mr. Reynolds believed just what he has told, but his sources of information were not altogether unbiased. However, I have no contrary testimony.

Now comes Mr. Reynolds’s version of the consequent Kuklux raid, of which I have told the Charleston version as it came to my ears at the time. “On January 4, 1871,” he proceeds with reference to the sequel to that alleged assassination of Stevens by Negro militiamen, “a party of Kuklux, all mounted and each disguised by means of a cap and mask that concealed the head and face, with some sort of gown or wrapper that enveloped the whole body, went to Union jail and seized five of the Negro militiamen charged with participation in the murder of Stevens,” of whom thereupon “two were shot to death and three escaped—the impression prevailing that the Kuklux allowed them to get away because

they were thought not to have been actual participants in the crime."

This coldblooded assassination of five helpless, unconvicted and untried prisoners was only the first of the two Kuklux raids of which we had heard in Charleston. Eight of those militiamen were still in jail when, eight days later—again I tell the story according to Mr. Reynolds, not to question him but for the benefit of his authority—eight days later, "January 12, 1871," he writes, "the Kuklux visited Union again—this time in a body, all mounted and disguised, numbering, according to different estimates, from 1000 to 1500," and going "to the jail, took out the eight militiamen above mentioned and shot them to death." Mr. Reynolds assures his readers that "this bloody work," as he justly calls it, was "done quietly," that there was "no uproar," and that "sentinels detailed from the ranks of the Kuklux body were posted, and these ordered back any of the town people who came out of their houses." Let it be noted also, quoting further from Mr. Reynolds, that "the men retired as quietly as they had come, their ranks well kept and their movements marked by a precision which was well nigh military." Such orderliness in cowardly crime had its merits, no doubt, whether the crime were Southern "kukluxing" or Northern "whitecapping."

Upon thus melting away into the dark and the silence, those orderly men left a paper behind them. I quote it from Mr. Reynolds's book:

To The Public

K.K.K.

Taken by Habeas Corpus.

In silence and secrecy thought has been working, and the benignant efficacies of concealment speak for themselves. Once again we have been forced by force to use Force. Justice was lame and she had to lean upon us. Information being obtained that a "doubting Thomas,"⁴ the inferior of nothing, the superior of nothing, and of consequence the equal of nothing, who has neither eyes to see the scars of oppression, nor ears to hear the

⁴ An allusion to Judge William M. Thomas of the Circuit Court, who had ordered the removal of the prisoners to Columbia for their safety.

cause of humanity, even though he wears the judicial silk, had ordered some guilty prisoners from Union to the city of Columbia, and of Injustice and Prejudice, for an unfair trial of life; thus clutching at the wheel spokes of Destiny—then this thing was created and projected; otherwise it would never have been. We yield to the inevitable and inexorable, and account this the best. "Let not the right hand know what thy left hand doeth," is our motto. We want peace, but this cannot be till Justice returns. We want and will have Justice, but this cannot be till a bleeding fight for freedom is fought. Until then the Moloch of Iniquity will have his victims, even if the Michael of Justice must have his martyrs.

Further accounts of Kuklux operations in Union County, where they appear to have begun in South Carolina, are given by Mr. Reynolds in his history; but as my knowledge of the subject is largely confined to York County, I quote from him hereafter more exclusively with reference to the latter region.

"In York County," says Mr. Reynolds in general terms, "the Negro militia were especially aggressive and offensive." Entering then into particulars, he asserts that "in Yorkville the local company had a fashion of parading the main street 'company front,' so that they actually took possession of the roadway between the sidewalks"; that "they went about at night in squads of five and ten, frequently carrying their guns and always wearing their bayonets and cartridge boxes"; that "they would walk abreast so as to occupy the entire sidewalk, and more than once a lady and her escort had to take the 'big road' rather than have a collision"; that "one Sunday night late in January, 1871, a gentleman was rudely jostled off the pavement by a squad of Negro militiamen fully armed"; that "a riot was narrowly averted, and there were fears of bloodshed"; that "the white men of the town, reinforced by many from the country, prepared for what seemed an unavoidable collision"; that "for a whole day and the following night there was constant danger of a conflict," and that Major General Anderson of the State militia, a white man, came to Yorkville and disarmed the company. Circumstances of that kind, even if Mr. Reynolds were not misinformed nor over-informed, would seem to be, disorderly as

they were, quite inadequate nevertheless as provocations for the Kuklux outrages they are cited to excuse, some of which, if the confessions I recorded were true, were extremely savage.

A few weeks before those Negro militia orgies to which Mr. Reynolds refers, a Negro known as Tom Roundtree was shot by members of a local klan, and as the shot was not fatal they dashed out his brains with the butt of a gun. The murderers then ripped open his dead body, and after thrusting into it ploughshares for sinkers threw it into a stream. His disappearance was a mystery until some of those Yorkville confessions unraveled it. Other Kuklux murders occurred in York, both after and before the disorderly conduct of Negro militiamen of which Mr. Reynolds tells as I quote him above; and less criminal though more revolting outrages even than murder were proved by Negro testimony and corroborated by Kuklux confessions. Brutal whippings were numerous.

One murder besides Roundtree's, which I recall as having been clearly proved, was that of "Jim" Williams, the Negro captain of a Negro militia company.

Captain Williams is described by Mr. Reynolds as "a bold and aggressive fellow," as "unquestionably a hater of the white race," and as "evidently bent on mischief." Yet I cannot throw off a suspicion, one by no means intended though to reflect upon the good faith of Mr. Reynolds, that he himself was just human enough to have made some verbal substitutions. If Williams had been the white captain of a white man's rifle club, I think it very likely, had the circumstances been precisely the same except for mere reversal of race—Captain Williams a South Carolina aristocrat instead of a South Carolina Negro—I think it quite likely that in those altered circumstances Mr. Reynolds's comments would have been to the effect that Captain Williams was a brave and determined Southern gentleman, instead of "a bold and aggressive fellow," a lover of the white race consecrated to maintaining its superiority, instead of "a hater of the white race and evidently bent on mischief." That Captain Williams was in any wicked sense "a bold and aggressive fellow," "a hater of the white race," or "bent on mischief," I do not

believe. The confessions I recorded, the other testimony, all the circumstances, indicated that he was the kind of man whose memory South Carolina white men would honor had he been white and had his boldness, his aggressiveness, his hate and his mischievous purpose been directed at "freedmen," who were despised and ought to have been willing to be, but who instead were "insolent." Doubtless Captain Williams enjoyed parading his company, just as white men do; doubtless he felt the pride of authority, just as white men do; doubtless his spirit rose erect with a sense of official responsibility, military at that, just as the spirits of white men do. It is not improbable, either, that he did declare, when incendiary fires were attributed by whites to blacks, and whites threatened indiscriminate and bloody vengeance upon blacks, that in the event of this threatened slaughter of Negroes he would retaliate by killing whites "from the cradle to the grave." This is what red-blooded white men often say and do under less provocation. Have we never heard white men assert that "the only good Indian is a dead one," or defend their slaughter of Indian babes with the brutal epigram that "nits make lice." And who among white men have rebuked these sentiments? But there was no proof that Captain Williams ever did threaten "to kill from the cradle to the grave." If he did, why was that threat worse than the actual crimes of the Kuklux, which some Southerners have had the hardihood to commend even at the cost of thereby accusing the white South of a barbarity which from my own acquaintance with it I regard as libelous. Whether Captain Williams made that threat or not, he certainly did refuse, as Mr. Reynolds states, and steadily refuse, "to disband his company or give up their guns." Well? Is not that a tribute to his personal courage and official competency? Surely it may be better taken as evidence of his sense of responsibility and the courage of it than of a wantonly evil purpose. All the testimony indicated that Captain Williams, this martyred Negro militiaman of South Carolina, was a self-respecting, brave, and law-abiding man, of whom his white neighbors might well have been proud as a citizen of their own rearing risen from slavery to leadership.

Yet a cavalcade of sixty cowardly white men, completely disguised with face masks and body gowns, rode up one night in March, 1871, to the house of Captain Williams, roughly and coarsely awoke him and his wife from their sleep, marched him to a little wood near by, forced his wife to remain behind when she had piteously but vainly pleaded for her husband's life and then begged to go with him, and in the wood hanged him to the limb of a tree and poured bullets from their rifles into his dying body. On the dangling corpse those despicable savages then pinned a slip of paper inscribed, as I remember it, with these grim words: "Jim Williams gone to his last muster."

The person toward whom the confessions at Major Merrill's headquarters pointed as the Kuklux chief in that murderous raid was Dr. J. Rufus Bratton, a leading physician of York. When the day of retribution seemed at hand Dr. Bratton escaped to Canada. After fruitless efforts by the United States to secure his extradition, he was kidnapped by United States secret service officers with the aid of Canadian confederates and brought to Columbia where he was bailed for trial. But the Canadian government promptly sent the local kidnappers to a Canadian penitentiary, and peremptorily demanded of the United States Government the return of Dr. Bratton and the cancellation of his bail bond. This was not from Canadian sympathy with Kuklux crime; it was from Canadian fidelity to law and order. No matter what Dr. Bratton had done in South Carolina, he had been kidnapped from Canada. That was the Canadian attitude. It is the British attitude, too; and it is our own tradition albeit we have drifted away from it under plutocratic rule. But in Dr. Bratton's case our government acceded to the Canadian demand; and this accused murderer of Captain Williams, meekly returned to Canada by our government and his bail bond cancelled, stayed in Canada until all danger was over. He then returned to South Carolina to live out a locally honored old age in perfect safety. The Negroes had lost all power to molest him by due process of law, even if they had wished to; and by his white neighbors he was regarded not as

a cowardly murderer but as a race patriot. Believe me, I am not blaming them. Patriotic fervor of a certain type knows no law but that of the savage, wherever you find it; and it must be remembered that the white people of South Carolina were as genuinely, though in my opinion as groundlessly, in fear of the Negro race about them as are children of ghosts.

Nor would I be understood as implying that Mr. Reynolds has misrepresented conditions in his spirit of palliation of these murders. Quite the contrary. His history is not far wrong, I think, nor unduly lacking in candor, when in conceding that the Kuklux of York County, to quote his own language, "committed numerous acts against law and order," he proceeds to set up provocations, explaining that "irresponsible men, goaded by the infamies of the State government, incensed and alarmed by the conduct of the Negro militia, went far beyond the scope of the organization, considered as a means of self-protection or as a counterpoise to the Union League." I do not admit the validity of that excuse; but as a South Carolinian I was a "carpetbagger," whereas Mr. Reynolds was a native and not a "scallawag," and no doubt that makes a difference of viewpoint. He certainly goes far to be fair. His book freely admits that these raids were made "to punish the immediate victims for previous threats, sometimes for previous impertinence only," and that "in many cases, according to the testimony of the victims, the raiders exacted the promise that these should never again vote the Republican ticket." In like spirit of fairness it must be said, as I have said already and as his book contends, that "in some instances the conduct of raiders had no relation either to politics, to race troubles, or to the misconduct of the Negro militia." By way of example he tells of a white man "visited and whipped because, against repeated insistence, he continued in the illicit sale of whiskey near a church"; and of a white lad who "was visited and whipped because of continued disobedience to his widowed mother." Mr. Reynolds might have added, in further confirmation, the case of a raid in York County upon a disreputable house maintained by white women whose naked bodies were daubed with tar by the

raiders and the women driven from the neighborhood. His book is right also, I think, in its statements that Kuklux operations ceased upon the disbandment of the Negro militia in the Kuklux counties. Whether there was any relation here of cause and effect, as he implies, I am not absolutely sure; but I grant there may very well have been, for I lean strongly to the opinion that the South Carolina Kuklux outrages were of the nature of mob-panics. They seem to me to have been excited by ungrounded fears, inherited from the traditions of slavery, that armed freedmen are dangerous to a master class. Not murder but terrorism through a show of power and through exciting superstitious awe among the Negroes was the probable purpose of the Kuklux Klan before it drifted into actual lynchings. It is probably true that it was swept into this savagely criminal crusade by fears of a militia made up almost exclusively of Negroes. That few but Negroes were in the militia is chargeable, however, to the whites. They refused to join the militia, but organized among themselves irresponsible and unlawful rifle clubs instead.

An example of attempted terrorism by appeal to superstitions was told by an old "uncle" with beautiful contrasts of white hair and black features who found his way to Major Merrill's headquarters one day while I was there. He said he had gone out early in the morning following the assassination of Capt. Williams, and seeing dimly in the dawn a masked cavalcade up the road had prudently hidden himself in a hedge. Some of the masked and gowned horsemen probably detected him, for as they came opposite his hiding place one asked another the time, loud enough for the old Negro to hear. The other replied, "About five o'clock." Then the first one said "Is it as late as that? Well, we must hurry on, for we've got to be back in hell for breakfast."

The old man was frightened badly enough; but not superstitiously. It is a mistake, I believe, to suppose that the South Carolina freedman was as simple as he often let on to be. The notion of the white South Carolinian that the white man of the South "knows the nigger" seems to me to have

less foundation in fact than in the Southern white man's imagination. As an enslaved race the Negroes had learned the "might of make believe," that defense of the defenseless always and everywhere, and this fact the Southerner is prone to ignore. Whenever I am assured that only the Southerner "knows the nigger," which may be recognized both in substance and form as a familiar remark in connection with discussions of the Negro "problem," my own experience with Negroes in South Carolina comes back to me and I say, or if I do not say it I think it: "My dear good friend of the Southland, the Southerner may know the Negro *as a slave*, but he does not know him *as a man*." Superstitious, for instance, the Southern Negro may be. So is the Southern white man. For the matter of that, so are most white men. But the Southern Negro is not superstitious in the precise way, nor to the extent, nor in the connections in which he prudently permits the master class to think him so. Whoever would understand the Negro must learn about him as we learn about other men—by neighborly association. It cannot be done otherwise. No master class has ever yet understood a slave, except as a slave.

But those observations are away from the story of the South Carolina Kuklux as I knew that story and as it now approaches the end.

XII. THE KUKLUX TRIALS AT COLUMBIA

In the winter of 1871-72 the trials of some of Major Merrill's prisoners came off at Columbia. Judge Bond of the Federal Circuit Court and Judge Bryan of the Federal District Court occupied the bench together. David T. Corbin as United States Attorney, and Daniel H. Chamberlain (the State Attorney General) as special counsel, were the lawyers for the prosecution. Reverdy Johnson of Baltimore and Henry Stansbery of Cincinnati, with local associates, were the lawyers for the defense. Benn Pitman and I shorthanded the trials.

The first case came to hearing on a motion to quash the indictment, which had been drawn under the Enforcement

Act of Congress. It charged one Allen Crosby with conspiracy to deprive a Negro citizen of his right to vote for a candidate for Congress. The questions raised were principally on points of Constitutionality, and the motion to quash was denied. This set the legal precedent, whereupon, under a similar indictment of another prisoner with reference to another Negro citizen, the first actual trial began.

The prisoner in this trial was Robert Hayes Mitchell. The crime, conspiracy to deprive a citizen of his vote on account of race and color. The overt act, participation in the murder of Captain "Jim" Williams. Mitchell was convicted. Had the case been in a court of common law jurisdiction, his conviction would have been for premeditated murder; but in the Federal courts, as lawyers will understand, it could only be for conspiracy to prevent the operation of an Act of Congress, no matter how heinous the means agreed upon nor how murderous the method adopted. So Mitchell's conviction was only for conspiracy to injure Williams because he had voted for Congressman at the election of 1870.

It was in Mitchell's trial that the Kuklux Constitution was proved as I quote it above. The authenticity of this document has never been denied, so far as I know, and Mr. Reynolds appears to accept it as genuine. It was found in the possession of Samuel G. Brown, whom Mr. Reynolds describes as "a highly respected citizen of Yorkville, well advanced in years, and who upon appearing at the Federal court at Columbia under indictment for Kukluxing, stated his purpose to plead guilty." Quoting still from Mr. Reynolds what my own memory confirms, Mr. Brown then submitted "affidavits to explain his possession of the Kuklux constitution and to show what little actual connection he had had with the Klan." But he refused, as Mr. Reynolds states, to give "testimony against the good people of York." Thereupon Judge Bond said: "We want to know not only your connection with the Klan, but that of every other person in your position in life in York County who belonged"; and as "you evidently don't propose to tell all you know," I don't "propose to hear you. The judgment of the Court in your case is that you be fined \$1000 and be imprisoned for five years."

I have no recollection of what afterwards became of Mr. Brown. His case was driven out of my memory by a more exciting one, one which turned attention at the time from the trial of a prisoner to contempt proceedings against one of his lawyers. This episode occurred in the case of Edward T. Avery. He was the hero, I think (though I am not sure), of Major Merrill's generous parole of which I have told above. As Avery's local lawyer was about to make the closing argument for the defense, the evidence being all in, District Attorney Corbin interrupted. I quote now from Mr. Reynolds the colloquy that was taken by me in shorthand at the trial and transcribed the same day from my dictation. Addressing the court, Mr. Corbin said:

"If your Honors please, I don't notice the defendant in court. I have just asked the counsel where the defendant was, and the reply I received was—that was for me to find out."

Colonel McMaster—"I repeat it now."

Judge Bond then inquired: "Where is your client?"

Colonel Wilson—"I understood, may it please the Court, when we adjourned on Saturday night [this being Monday] that Dr. Avery had gone to see his family and that he would return today."

Judge Bond—"Do you expect him back?"

Colonel Wilson—"I had no interview with him. I expected him to return by the next train. I know nothing save from the information I have received from Mr. McMaster."

Judge Bond—"Do you know where your client is, Mr. McMaster?"

Colonel McMaster—"I beg the Court will excuse me from answering that question."

Judge Bond—"Had you any knowledge from your client that he was going away?"

Colonel McMaster—"I hope the Court will excuse me from answering."

Judge Bond—"The clerk will lay a rule upon Mr. McMaster to answer the question or show cause why he should not be thrown over the bar."

The bail bond was thereupon forfeited, the trial proceeded, and the absent defendant was convicted. He was never sentenced, but came out of his hiding place to his home upon

receiving a pardon from President Grant. In the proceedings against his lawyer for contempt, the lawyer claimed an attorney's right to refuse to divulge professional communications, and the case against him was never decided, probably because Judges Bond and Bryan could not agree.

Several trials followed, all very much alike. The number of klansmen sentenced was 55, only 5 of whom had been tried. The rest were sentenced upon their pleas of guilty. Many who pleaded guilty were really about such persons as Mr. Reynolds describes them, "young men of little or no education" who "had joined the Klan just to be joining it and had done some raiding." That this raiding by them was, as Mr. Reynolds further says, "a result of their indignation at the insolence of some of the Negro politicians, the incendiary talk of others, and the misconduct of the Negro militia," may be conceded in fairness to the South Carolinian point of view regarding Negro insolence, incendiarism and misconduct; but Mr. Reynolds's further statement that the young men who confessed to Kuklux raiding gave "no sign of any animosity to the Negro on account of his race or color," and "had no consciousness of any purpose to conspire against the Negro's rights as secured by the Fourteenth or Fifteenth amendment," is reasonably questionable. Indeed any palliation of those Kuklux murders is explicable to me only by the antique ethics of a conquered people whose conquerors had given local political rights and powers to a class whom the conquered were accustomed to regard as natural born slaves. You may find parallels wherever and whenever there have been freedmen in large numbers of any color or race. Independent spirit on the part of the natural born slave class of South Carolina was regarded as "insolence," suggestive of an incendiary purpose and significant of such danger to the master class as to necessitate extreme measures in defense of "self and fireside."

The fact that juries in the Kuklux trials were composed largely of Negroes is dwelt upon by Mr. Reynolds; and it is a fact. That race-feeling among Negro jurors assured convictions regardless of guilt may also be true, as Mr. Reynolds

implies. Yet the rights of white men charged with Kukluxing were certainly as secure with Negro jurors as were the rights of Negroes at any time with white jurors. I do not mean by this to condemn the whites for their race bias any more than I mean to condemn the Negroes for theirs, although the Negro's bias against white men was a bagatelle in comparison with the white man's bias against Negroes. I acknowledge the provocation to the whites, from their own point of view, and am only stating a manifest fact when I say that white men were safer with Negro juries than Negroes with white juries; and in this connection let me state the further fact that if race bias did dictate those verdicts by Negro jurors against whites on trial for Kukluxing, the verdicts were nevertheless justified. While I dare not say that the results would have been different with Negro juries if the convicted defendants had been innocent, I do say that upon the evidence verdicts of guilty would have been found by unbiased juries of white men. Native white juries might have acquitted; but this would have been not because the crimes charged were unproven, but because under the political and social circumstances native white jurors, like the defendants themselves, would have looked upon those crimes as justifiable or excusable *for race reasons*.

What competent outsiders who heard the proof actually did think of it may be inferred from part of Reverdy Johnson's summing up speech at the first trial; Mr. Reynolds quotes it from my own shorthand report. Of course allowance must be made, as Mr. Reynolds cautions his readers, "for the somewhat rhetorical character of Mr. Johnson's protestations, and for the zeal of the lawyer in trying to disconnect his client from acts which necessarily inflamed the jury against the accused"; but, as Mr. Reynolds at the same time admits, "it must nevertheless be said that many acts were ascribed to the Kuklux which no good citizen could palliate or excuse." I may perhaps be permitted to add, what Mr. Reynolds could not find it in his loyal South Carolina heart to say, that no one who heard the testimony could have charged Mr. Johnson with much exaggeration.

"I have listened," said Mr. Johnson, "with unmixed horror to some of the testimony which has been brought before you. The outrages proved are shocking to humanity. They admit of neither excuse nor justification. They violate every obligation which law and nature impose upon men. They show that the parties engaged were brutes, insensible to the obligations of humanity and religion. The day will come, however, if it has not already arrived, when they will deeply lament it. Even if justice shall not overtake them, there is one tribunal from which there is no escape. It is their own judgment—that tribunal which sits in the breast of every living man—that still small voice that thrills through the heart, the soul, the mind, and as it speaks gives happiness or torture—the voice of conscience, the voice of God. If it has not already spoken to them in tones which have startled them to the enormity of their conduct, I trust, in the mercy of Heaven, that that voice will speak before they shall be called above to account for the transactions of this world; that it will so speak as to make them penitent, and that trusting in the dispensations of Heaven, whose justice is dispensed with mercy, when they shall be brought before that great tribunal so to speak, that incomprehensible tribunal, there will be found in the fact of their penitence or in their previous lives some grounds upon which God may say—'Pardon.'"

Of the testimony to which Reverdy Johnson's words alluded, Mr. Reynolds makes the candid admission that "there was truth enough in these stories to justify the strongest condemnation of the Kuklux doings described." But he protests that "it should also be stated that none of the parties indicted was shown to have had any part in such outrages." In regarding him as mistaken in that protest I may be biased, but it is possible that he himself did not write without bias. His protest depends for its value upon whether confessions, and circumstantial evidence, and in some cases direct personal identification, were to be believed. His criticism that no effort was made "in the State courts or in the Federal to bring to justice any of the men who committed those outrages" loses point in view of legal limitations. On

one hand the United States court had no jurisdiction over those outrages except as evidence of a conspiracy to defeat the purpose of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments; on the other, common law prosecutions in the State courts of Kuklux counties would have been under the secret censorship of the Kuklux Klan. An attempt to get indictments in York County failed; possibly for lack of evidence, but more likely because six members of the grand jury were also members of the Kuklux Klan. In counties where Negro militiamen could with the approval if not the applause of the white community be taken out of jail and ruthlessly killed by large bodies of "orderly" Kuklux Klansmen, prosecutions for Kukluxing could not but be farcical. No local white jury would have convicted those white murderers, even if indictments could have been got, and no local Negro jury would have dared to.

But to go on with my story. When the Kuklux cases were on trial at Columbia, the Republican daily paper, *The Union* I think its name was, printed daily stenographic reports of the trials. Describing this as an undertaking too expensive for any other newspapers in South Carolina, Mr. Reynolds significantly adds that the cost was paid out of the public funds. As I got some of the cost, perhaps I had better state my part in the matter. Upon leaving Yorkville, I returned to Columbia in expectation of taking notes of the trials in my capacity as stenographic and law clerk for the United States District Attorney, Senator Corbin, but with no expectation of extra pay. The fact, however, that I was to take the notes, led to my employment by *The Union*, though at a very moderate price, \$10 a day, to furnish verbatim transcripts of my notes daily for publication, the paper to provide me as many amanuenses as I could efficiently dictate to. At about the time of this arrangement, Benn Pitman of Cincinnati, brother of Sir Isaac Pitman, came to Columbia to report the trials for Attorney General Akerman of President Grant's cabinet, and he and I went into partnership. He was to take notes at the morning sessions, I at the afternoon sessions. At the close of his task in the court room, he was to

dictate to *The Union's* amanuenses the testimony of the morning, whereupon I was to dictate that of the afternoon. In this way *The Union* got from us for publication every morning a verbatim report of the court proceedings of the day before. As to compensation, in addition to my regular salary of \$1500 a year from Major Corbin and the \$10 a day from *The Union*, I received 25 per cent of Mr. Pitman's government pay, he turning over to the Attorney General his reports and mine together as his own, which he had a perfect legal and moral right to do. I got no more money from any source whatever, except for a few newspaper letters I wrote at irregular intervals to the *New York Tribune*, as a silent partner of the *Tribune's* Columbia correspondent. The work I did was hard, exacting and intense, the hours were long and the pay was by no means excessive. I may say the same for Mr. Pitman, who can no longer speak in his own behalf. But Mr. Reynolds says that 5000 copies of our report were afterwards published in book form at a cost to the State of \$45,788, the real value being about \$10,000. All I know of that book is that I wrote the preface for it without pay, and that I got one copy which long ago went the way of books you lend. Copies may possibly be found in the Congressional Library at Washington, or the State Library in Columbia, and as every member of Congress in 1872-73 got a copy, there may be several fugitive copies still in existence.

With the close of the Kuklux trials at Columbia I turned away from South Carolina as gladly as I had gone there fifteen months before. I have never been there since, though the desire has often been strong within me. Returning to New York I began practicing law on my own account in the spring of 1872, or tried to begin it—which may some day make a story by itself—and my "carpetbag" career was over. All my migrations since have been from one part to another of my country, as a citizen who has left old friends only to be welcomed by new ones. Not long after my return to the North, the South Carolina Kuklux cases petered out. There were trials in Charleston at the spring term of 1872, as I learned by newspapers and through private correspondence,

but the Enforcement Act became obsolete—by its own terms, I believe—and President Grant perfunctorily pardoned the convicted Kukluxers.

XIII. SUPPLEMENTARY FACTS AND REFLECTIONS

South Carolina politics also underwent transformations. Passing at the election of 1872 from the depths of the corruption of which I had caught the sulphurous effluvia into the deeper depths of the administration of Governor Moses, and then upward under the administration of Governor Chamberlain which followed the election of 1874, the State came once more for a time under the dominion of the ante-bellum aristocracy. Wade Hampton defeated Chamberlain for Governor at the election of 1876. Quite curiously this defeat of a Republican by a Democratic candidate for Governor occurred at the same Presidential election at which the Democratic Electors were defeated by the Republican Electors. A mere statement of that incongruous fact might warrant suspicions of an understanding between President Hayes and Governor Hampton; but William Stone (Mr. Corbin's brother-in-law and law partner), who was Attorney General of South Carolina in 1876 and ex-officio one of the State canvassing board, assured me after he came to New York that at this election Wade Hampton honestly carried the State for Governor while Rutherford B. Hayes as honestly carried it for President. It required Stone's assurance to make me believe this, but upon his assurance I do believe it.

And now in closing this lengthy and woefully ragged but incomplete record of memories half a century old, I hope I shall not be thought guilty of over-repetition if I recur to Mr. Reynolds's book on "Reconstruction in South Carolina." It has been my companion and adviser since I began writing my rambling story, somewhat such a friend as a living South Carolinian might have been whose point of view differed from my own but whose essential kindness made me trust him. At the beginning I mentioned the book as on the whole fair, and in passing on I have frequently tried to emphasize my confidence in its good faith. Having now scrutinized it

paragraph by paragraph and from beginning to end, both for information and to refresh my memory, I would not withdraw a single approving word. It is the work of a well-informed and conscientious man. In saying this, however, I wish still to be understood as taking human nature fully into account. If the book, while fair in intent, is not altogether fair in substance, then in so far as it falls short of fairness human frailty is my explanation. I do not believe that any class situated as the aristocratic whites of South Carolina were in the '70's, nor the most considerate and conscientious spokesman of such a class wherever in the world you find him, can be quite fair to individuals of other classes. The individual is merged in the mass. All "niggers," all "scallawags" and all "carpetbaggers" looked alike to the aristocratic South Carolinian and his henchmen in those early post-bellum days when I was a South Carolina "carpetbagger." And very gracefully as well as frankly does Mr. Reynolds plead guilty for them in a plea of the kind that lawyers call "non-vult," which being interpreted is "I did it but didn't mean to." It is true, he says, that in their violent opposition to the State government the white people of South Carolina were influenced chiefly by the fact that "the Negro had been clothed with all the rights of citizenship," and "even had the Negro government been administered honestly, effectively and economically, the white people would not have acquiesced." Is not it easy to see that a people and their historian so minded cannot pass fair judgment, be they never so conscientious, upon the personal or official honesty of individuals, whether natives or not, who attach themselves to a democracy that ignores all privileges of race and class? The practical adherents of that kind of democracy in the '70's in South Carolina were branded as "scallawags" if white and native, "carpetbaggers" if white but not native, "niggers" wherever they came from if not white; and *ipso facto* all "scallawags," "carpetbaggers" and "niggers" were thieves at the slightest breath of suspicion. So would it be, let me repeat, anywhere else under the canopy of heaven and with any people whatever in similar circumstances.

It is this characteristic of class exclusiveness and patriotic antipathies that in my judgment explains the defects of Mr. Reynolds's history of reconstruction in South Carolina in so far as it falls short of what profoundly impresses me as the fairness of his intent. I think it explains his unfair reflections upon Daniel H. Chamberlain, Reuben Tomlinson and David T. Corbin. The evidence he adduces in support of suspicions against them is much less convincing—indeed, “convincing” is altogether too strong a word—than that upon which he as readily acquits Kuklux convicts of murderous conspiracies; and whoever knew Chamberlain, Tomlinson, or Corbin as well as I knew them all, will not lightly believe imputations of corruption against any of them. Although no animadversions upon William Stone's personal character are made by Mr. Reynolds, I wish none the less to say the same of him. All are dead now. Stone was the first to go, in the midst of a successful practice at the New York bar. Chamberlain also died while in practice at the New York bar, Corbin while in practice at the bar of Chicago. Tomlinson died at Minneapolis, where he had long been secretary of the principal Club. With the exception of Tomlinson, a Hicksite Quaker, each had served in the Union army, and with honor as men and officers, and Corbin and Stone had been badly wounded in battle. Their settlement in South Carolina was in no spirit of conquest or spoliation. As a major in the volunteer service, Corbin had been sent to Charleston to manage the affairs of the Freedmen's Bureau, and upon leaving the army he began the practice of his original profession of the law at Charleston. Chamberlain went to South Carolina to become a planter, and was legitimately pursuing this vocation when circumstances outside of his personal interests drew him honorably into politics. Stone, who had enlisted in the volunteer army early in the war as a private soldier and received his wound while a private, left the volunteer service with a major's brevet to take a commission as lieutenant in the regular army. In this capacity he was ordered to South Carolina after the war. While stationed there he studied law and was admitted to the bar, whereupon he formed a partner-

ship with Major Corbin. Stone took no part in politics until after my return from South Carolina; but Corbin and Chamberlain were early in the political field.

If there is discredit for that, for any of it, the discredit rests upon the aristocratic natives of South Carolina. When President Johnson undertook the restoration of the Southern States to the Union by conciliatory methods, following what he doubtless regarded as Lincoln's own plans, those aristocratic elements of South Carolina, playing upon the race passions and narrow patriotism of the poorer and despised whites, the same aristocratic elements that had plunged South Carolina into secession and by similar methods had drawn other Southern States with them into the vortex of the Civil War—those elements took advantage of President Johnson's friendly statesmanship to impress the North with their disposition to achieve in politics what they had lost in war.

The "black codes" did it. One of the first enactments of the aristocratic elements of South Carolina upon her restoration to civil authority, this set of race regulations helped make the North believe that slavery problems, which they supposed the Civil War had settled on the side of liberty, would be as baffling and dangerous in national politics as ever, if President Johnson's reconstruction policy were pursued. "Unrepentant rebels" was the phrase which, ringing through the North, sounded the doom of the Lincoln-Johnson policy. Everywhere it carried conviction that the South could not be trusted with its old political power unchecked by Constitutional amendments. The Lincoln-Johnson policy of reconstruction was sent to the scrap heap, and the drastic policy of Congress took its place. For the aristocratic whites of South Carolina (as of the other seceding States) there had been a *locus penitentiae* between President Johnson's proclamation and Congressional action, and they had ignored the opportunity.

There was a second *locus penitentiae* for those aristocratic whites when Congress enfranchised the Negro with a self-protecting ballot. Fearing and despising the poor-white class, South Carolina Negroes nevertheless loved the aristo-

crats and were disposed to trust them. The reason is plain to any student of Southern slavery. Indeed it is only a phase of a natural tendency of any depressed class—the tendency to look up to the highest. Was it ever Englishmen alone, for instance, who “dearly loved a lord”? Easy, then, would it have been for the aristocratic elements of South Carolina—even with the “black code” to their discredit, for the Negro had hardly felt its severity before Congressional reconstruction knocked it out—easy enough, one might suppose, for the old aristocrats to take possession of South Carolina politically under the reconstruction plans of Congress. Nothing was necessary but to foster in the Negro the tendency of the Negro to trust them; and this could have been done by graciously complying with the conditions imposed by Congress—impossible conditions before Appomattox, doubtless, but not after. This second opportunity, also, the whites of South Carolina rejected, still under the leadership of their aristocratic parasites. By the advice of such men as Wade Hampton, they stood out against the Congressional plans of reconstruction when these were no longer avoidable. Nor only that. They also encouraged contempt for every one of their class who, disagreeing with them, did participate. Meanwhile, they left nothing undone to convince the Negroes that their old masters held in store for them nothing but servitude. The result was natural and inevitable. Negroes dazed with a new sense of freedom, and whites despised by their neighbors, were left to reconstruct the State together as best they might. It may have been magnificent as tomfoolery; as patriotism and statesmanship it was contemptible.

Those were the circumstances that drew such “carpet-baggers” as Corbin and Chamberlain and Stone and Tomlinson into politics, along with a bare sprinkling of honest and able “scallawags” and many honest Negroes with here and there a capable one. And here was a third *locus penitentie* for the aristocratic whites. In spite of the bloody folly of their secession in 1860, in spite of the race folly of their “black code” in 1867, in spite of their childish sulks in 1868, the way was now open for them to help the people of their

State of all races, nativities and classes, to distinguish individuals in politics, the capable from the incapable, the honest from the dishonest. But the same aristocratic leadership ignored this third opportunity for a genuinely patriotic policy, as fatuously as it had ignored the other two. Had an archangel come to South Carolina and gone into politics at that time, he would have been classed as "nigger," "carpetbagger" or "scallawag," and therefore as an instinctive thief. The capable and honest and self-respecting were under those circumstances soon outinfluenced at the polls and outnumbered in public office by the incapable, the dishonest and the cynical. Aristocratic parasitism had deliberately cast aside another opportunity to save South Carolina from the parasitism of ignorance steeped in poverty.

With the human material at their command almost for the asking, those aristocratic leaders might have erected upon the ruins of this old slave State a splendid democratic commonwealth. There were the three distinct opportunities noted above. But they could not tolerate the Jeffersonian principle of equal rights which they professed. To them South Carolina would not have been South Carolina with a Negro citizenship. As Mr. Reynolds frankly says, "even had the Negro government been administered honestly, effectively and economically, the white people would not have acquiesced."

An amazing epitaph, truly! And epitaph indeed it has become. For the great slaveholding aristocrats of South Carolina who led the South into the Civil War when defeated at the national polls, and away from the generous Lincoln-Johnson plan of reconstruction when defeated at arms, are at the present day displaced in political power in South Carolina by a regime which, though nominally of their own race and party, would have been as intolerable to the Hamptons and their class as the blackest of Negro governments.

Stone, Corbin, Chamberlain, Tomlinson, Nash and others like them were men with whom the best blood of South Carolina could have fraternized with as much honor to either side as to the other, and with great civic usefulness. They did not thrust themselves as conquerors or as political

adventurers into the local affairs of the conquered. They were drawn into those affairs as citizens who had made South Carolina their home and workshop, and whose abilities were needed in public affairs at a crisis in which the abilities of leading white South Carolinians of native birth were either rejected by Federal military authority or withdrawn by the leaders themselves. Corbin had married a cousin of Bayard Taylor; Stone had married her younger sister. Those girls came from Chester, Pa., to South Carolina as teachers—as “nigger teachers,” for I now recall that South Carolina epithets in those days were not limited to “nigger,” “scallawag” and “carpetbagger.” The Northern white woman, however respectable her antecedents and reputable her character, however generous and able her devotion to education, was despised as a “nigger teacher” if she came into South Carolina to educate Negro children. In this category there were of my acquaintance as a “carpetbagger” several besides Mrs. Corbin and Mrs. Stone. Alice E. Johnson, originally of Boston or thereabouts, who died at Portchester, N. Y., taught in the Shaw Memorial School for Negro children at Charleston. Martha Scofield of Pennsylvania had until recently a school in South Carolina for Negro children at which she taught when I was a South Carolina “carpetbagger.” There were others of the same group whose names I do not remember. All together, these were in every way as fine a group of women as ever trained a human mind. When pious persons who saved their own souls habitually by contributing to missionary work in heathen lands called such women “nigger teachers” in derision, their epithet had some of the richer qualities of unconscious self-satire.

Yet I must renew my expressions of confidence that all this contempt for “carpetbaggers,” “niggers,” “scallawags” and “nigger teachers” was not South Carolina nature but human nature. Put yourself into the South Carolinian’s place and think it over. Certain determining facts must never be let go in considering South Carolina in those times. Her white natives felt themselves a conquered people under the military heel of the conqueror. They beheld a servile

race arbitrarily lifted out of slavery and into political power by a triumphant and blindly ungenerous foe. They saw in immigrants from the conquerors' distant seat of power only a camp-follower class of low lineage and sordid ambitions. Whether this feeling was just or not makes no difference. To some extent it *was* just, though not wholly so. But it was excusable. A sense of outraged loyalty to country or class cares little for such "abstractions" as simple justice. Even the lofty well springs of generosity dry up when race lines and class lines are drawn.

So I tell of those conditions in South Carolina only as facts; and in the cooler season of half a century afterward, I try to comment upon them calmly even if frankly. I know now that if conditions had been reversed, with my own native New Jersey playing in the unhappy rôle of South Carolina, New Jersey would probably have done as South Carolina did. Although I myself might in those circumstances have been just and generous to immigrants from the Southland, and have democratically offered a welcome into citizenship to our uplifted "lower classes"—which is by no means certain, let me make haste to confess—yet if I had really risen to those democratic heights as I trust I might, I am sure that my neighbors of the humiliated "better classes" would have been less likely to send me to the legislature than to ride me on a rail.

LOUIS F. POST

THE LECLERC INSTRUCTIONS

INTRODUCTION

From the time that Napoleon Bonaparte seized control of Continental France in the fall of 1799, he made repeated attempts to regain the French colonial possessions, lost in the course of the Revolution. On surveying the situation with respect to the colonies, the First Consul discovered that his full authority extended to but one—Guiana, on the mainland of South America. Of the others, Réunion and the Isle de France were in open rebellion against the mother country; Guadeloupe in the West Indies still maintained relations with the central government, while restricting its influence; Santo Domingo was virtually independent under the rule of the Negro leader, Toussaint Louverture; the rest of the French Antilles, together with Senegal in Africa and the five French posts in India, were in the hands of the English. Such was the state of affairs, inauspicious enough to have dampened the colonial ardor of a far more adventurous spirit than Bonaparte.

At the very outset of his turbulent career as ruler of France, the Corsican adventurer was faced with a menacing coalition of powers, composed of England, Austria, and Russia. Even the United States had become involved in a quasi-war with France. Despite these difficulties, however, Bonaparte immediately made plans to reestablish French authority in Santo Domingo, the richest of the French colonies. As early as January, 1800, a delegation of three members received instructions to proceed to the "Pearl of the Antilles" where they were to confirm Toussaint as head of the army and to assure the inhabitants of the island concerning the benevolent intentions of the new government.¹

At the same time preparations were made to send an armed expedition to the island, as the First Consul was

¹ Roloff, Gustav, *Die Kolonialpolitik Napoleons I* (Munich and Leipsic, 1899), 31.

convinced that a display of force would materially assist the commissioners in bringing the Negroes to terms. On April 22, 1800, he gave orders for the sending of a fleet of seven ships of the line and five frigates carrying 4,600 men; Admiral Lacrosse was to command the naval forces and a general of division the army of the expedition.² Several days later (May 6), Bonaparte set out on his second Italian campaign, leaving further arrangements for the enterprise in the hands of the Minister of Marine and the other Consuls.

The lack of materials and the scarcity of man power delayed the departure of the fleet for several weeks, but it finally ventured forth from Brest after a storm had dispersed the blockading squadron of the English. Unfortunately, however, several of the French vessels proved unseaworthy; the soldiers became dissatisfied because they were inadequately supplied with food and clothing, and, worst of all, a contagious disease broke out among them, threatening dire consequences in the torrid zone;—all these circumstances caused Lacrosse to turn back to Brest on June 2. With the return of the squadron, it was decided to postpone the sending of an expedition until fall, when the storms prevalent at that time of year were expected to make possible the breaking of the blockade; in the meantime, efforts were to be made to equip the expedition properly. Thus ended Bonaparte's first attempt to gain control of Santo Domingo.

There were two chief obstacles standing in the way of all French transmarine activities at this period, namely, the war with England and the weakness of the French navy, which had been demoralized during the Revolution. In December, 1799, Bonaparte made peace overtures to Great Britain, but that power rejected them in the belief that the Republic would soon fall as a result of the recent disasters in the Rhine region, in Italy, and in Egypt. Consequently, the First Consul was obliged in 1800 to continue the struggle against the island power at the same time he was prosecuting his campaign against Austria. After defeating the Hapsburg army at Marengo in June, the victor returned to Paris. In

² *Correspondance de Napoleon Ier* (Paris, 1858-1870), VI, 4726.

August he again negotiated with Great Britain in the hope of saving his garrison at Malta, which was being closely besieged by the English. It was too late, however, for on September 5 the French troops were obliged to capitulate.

According to one English writer, Bonaparte's interest in a naval truce with Great Britain ceased with the fall of Malta.³ Such a view is untenable if one considers Bonaparte's colonial policy as a whole. We have just seen how the English blockade of the French coasts affected the departure of the first expedition to Santo Domingo. It is true that peace negotiations ceased for the moment, when the news of the French disaster reached Paris and London, but the decision of the First Consul, that "nothing or almost nothing" could be done to restore French authority in the colonies until after peace on the seas was attained,⁴ would seem to indicate that he looked upon the rupture of the discussions merely as a temporary hindrance to a peace so necessary for his plans.

Nearly three months after the fall of Malta Bonaparte broke the Austrian resistance at Hohenlinden, and on February 9, 1801, he signed the Treaty of Lunéville with the Hapsburgs which relieved him of his most dangerous land enemy. Some time before, his conciliatory attitude towards the Tsar Paul and the latter's dissatisfaction with England and Austria had converted the Russian ruler into an enthusiastic ally of France. In the month of February, Fortune again smiled upon the First Consul when in England the bellicose ministry of Pitt and Grenville was replaced by the pacific government of Addington and Hawkesbury. Under such favorable circumstances, it looked as though Bonaparte would be in a position to carry out his transmarine projects free from the menace of the English navy.

Unfortunately for the duration of this auspicious state of affairs, the conduct of the tsar had aroused considerable hostility at the Russian Court, and on the night of March 23 he was murdered. With him disappeared the naval league of the North, which he had formed against Great Britain and

³ Bowman, Hervey M., *Preliminary Stages of the Peace of Amiens* (Toronto, 1899), 60.

⁴ Roloff, *Die Kolonialpolitik Napoleons I*, 52.

from which the First Consul had expected such great results.⁵ The French ruler was once more reduced to a position which made acceptable a naval peace with England.

In April negotiations were opened with the Addington ministry, as the new government was not disposed to take advantage of the change of affairs on the continent. Furthermore, the English were burdened with a huge national debt resulting from the long struggle with France; peace promised to be more profitable than war.⁶ Under the circumstances, it is no wonder that the English ministers yielded point after point to Otto, the French plenipotentiary. It is quite possible that they might have made even greater concessions to France had not Pitt finally interfered with the purpose of checking further demands on the part of the French, so that Otto considered it wise to bring the discussions to a close.⁷

The terms of the Preliminaries of London, as signed on October 1, 1801, were distinctly favorable to France. Save for the two islands of Ceylon and Trinidad, England gave up all her conquests made during the war. The Cape of Good Hope was restored to the Dutch, who were to make it a free port. In the Mediterranean, both powers surrendered the positions they had occupied in the course of the conflict; Egypt was restored to Turkey, the Ionian Islands became an independent republic, the Knights of the Order of St. John regained Malta under the guaranty of a third power, and the Neapolitan ports held by the French since the beginning of the year were evacuated.⁸ Of course neither party to the treaty gained by the arrangements with respect to the Mediterranean, but the First Consul had reason to congratulate himself that England had consented to release her grip on two

⁵ According to Lucchesini, the Prussian minister at Paris, he uttered a cry of despair when he heard the news of Paul's death. Bailleu, Paul, *Preussen und Frankreich von 1795 bis 1807* (Leipsic, 1881-1887), II, 38.

⁶ Driault, Edouard, *La politique exterieure du Premier Consul* (Paris, 1910), 189.

⁷ Bowman, *Preliminary Stages of the Peace of Amiens*, 72. According to Brandt, Bonaparte's ultimatum of September 17 forced England to conclude the preliminaries, owing to the position of that power in general. Brandt, Otto, *England und die Napoleonische Weltpolitik* (Heidelberg, 1916), 42.

⁸ Driault, *op. cit.*, 196.

positions recently taken by force of arms. It now remained to be seen what he would do with the restored French possessions in America.

While the discussions were proceeding in London, Bonaparte had not forgotten Santo Domingo, for he was planning to send several French officials to that island to take charge of the administration there. In March, 1801, Toussaint Louverture was named captain-general, as the central government could not have upheld the authority of a white officer in that position. The departure of the mission was postponed from time to time throughout the summer, as Bonaparte was hoping for a naval truce which would make possible the dispatch of an armed force strong enough to bring the rebellious Negroes to subjection without further words. In the event that no agreement was reached with England by October 2, the date fixed for the termination of negotiations, the First Consul was determined to send the mission at once;⁹ there was no other way of keeping up the connection with the colony.⁹ As soon, however, as the news reached Paris of the signing of the preliminaries, his plans were entirely altered. At last General Bonaparte saw his way clear to follow his natural bent in dealing with opposition of any kind; he would send an army to Santo Domingo and teach the blacks what it meant to defy his will. On October 7 the expedition was decided upon;¹⁰ Leclerc's instructions are dated the 31st. Action was taken as quickly as the resources of the state permitted.

It must not be assumed, however, that the Leclerc expedition to San Domingo was the result of a momentary impulse on the part of the First Consul. On the contrary, it was an outcome of extended deliberations which Bonaparte had carried on for two years with the Minister of Marine and others familiar with colonial affairs.¹¹ There is also reason to believe that the French ruler was influenced by the numerous memorials sent to him confidentially or otherwise by officials and former colonists, urging the use of military force as the only means of restoring French authority in the island. In

⁹ Roloff, *op. cit.*, 56.

¹⁰ *Corres. de Nap.*, VII, 5786.

¹¹ Roloff, *op. cit.*, 66.

fact, Bonaparte's colonial schemes as a whole fitted in so well with the policy of the old régime towards transmarine possessions that one may well wonder if his attempts to restore and increase the French colonial empire were not the result of pressure on the part of powerful elements in France, interested in upholding the traditions of the monarchy. The new ruler no doubt had colossal ambitions of his own to extend his control far beyond the confines of Europe, but at the same time he was trying to satisfy all parties in France, for the ultimate success of his great aspirations depended on the wholehearted support of every group.

There is no need of going into the details of the Santo Domingo expedition here.¹² General Leclerc, the husband of Bonaparte's beautiful sister Pauline, was chosen to head as captain-general the combined land and sea forces, composing about twenty thousand veteran troops. The reason for the choice of Leclerc is not known; it is generally assumed that the general's connection with the Bonaparte family brought about his appointment even though he had never before seen service in the islands.

The preparations for the enterprise were vigorously pushed, but it was not until December 14, 1801, that the main squadron sailed from Brest. Upon arriving in Santo Domingo several weeks later, Leclerc was immediately met with resistance from the Negroes. He waged a ruthless war against them in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties. In June, 1802, Toussaint Louverture was lured into the French lines by a clever trick and forthwith shipped off to France, where he was to die in prison the following April. Relieved of the presence of the dangerous Negro, Leclerc had reason to hope for a speedy pacification of the island. In mid-July the captain-general received orders from France to restore slavery whenever he saw fit, but in view of his precarious position Leclerc decided to postpone action. Suddenly word reached Santo Domingo a few days later that General Richepanse had restored slavery in Guadeloupe, and

¹² Full accounts may be found in Adams, Henry, *History of the United States*, 2d ed., New York, 1909-1911, vols. 1 and 2, and in Stoddard, Theodore Lothrop, *The French Revolution in San Domingo*, Boston and New York, 1914.

the news set the island in an uproar.¹³ The renewed violence of the resistance, together with the continued ravages of the yellow fever, which had been decimating the ranks of the French forces since the middle of May, all but reduced Leclerc to despair. On August 6, he protested to his brother-in-law in these words: ". . . I begged you, Citizen Consul, to do nothing to make these people fear for their liberty till the moment when I should be prepared. Suddenly there came the law authorizing the Trade, and on top of that General Richepanse has just decreed the restoration of slavery in Guadeloupe. With this state of things, Citizen Consul, the moral force I had here acquired is destroyed. I can do nothing by persuasion; I can only use force,—and force I have none."¹⁴

The situation did not improve in the next few weeks. The yellow fever raged on after the 1st Vendémiaire (September 23) despite the prediction of the colonists that the epidemic would abate at that time. As Leclerc himself wrote on September 27, ". . . I thought that the ravages of the disease would slacken with Vendémiaire. I was mistaken; it has taken on new violence. . . ."¹⁵ Finally, the French leader was seized by the deadly plague in the latter part of October, and on the night of November 1 he succumbed. A week later, the widowed Pauline sailed for France on the *Swiftsure* with the remains of the unfortunate general. In the meantime a swift sailing brig had departed direct for Brest—the *Swiftsure* went to Toulon—to carry the sad news to the First Consul, who cried out when he heard it, "I have lost my right arm."¹⁶

The death of Leclerc did not, however, halt Bonaparte's plans to reduce Santo Domingo to subjection. As stipulated in the instructions, General Rochambeau succeeded to the chief command. This officer took charge of affairs in a

¹³ Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo*, 334.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 335-6.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 341.

¹⁶ Masson, Frédéric, *Napoleon et sa famille* (Paris, 1902-1919), II, 231. The news was kept secret until after the arrival of the *Swiftsure*. On January 7, 1803, the *Moniteur* published the despatches concerning the sad event. That same day, the Marquis de Gallo, Neapolitan ambassador at Paris, wrote home that "the First Consul feels this misfortune very keenly."

vigorous, if somewhat ruthless, fashion. He drove the rebels back to the mountains, even employing man-hunting dogs from Cuba to run them down.¹⁷ In fact, the new captain-general had every reason to be certain of ultimate success in putting down the rebellion, when his activities were interrupted by the outbreak in May, 1803 of another war between France and England. The war found Bonaparte quite unprepared so far as his navy was concerned, and the colonies soon suffered accordingly. With the English fleet blocking the way, the First Consul was unable to send Rochambeau the fifteen thousand troops he was equipping for island service. Without reinforcements or supplies the French general was doomed. Aided by the English the Negroes forced Rochambeau to surrender to them one position after the other until they had taken all but Le Cap, where the French made their last stand. Finally, on November 10, 1803, Rochambeau surrendered to an English blockading squadron in order to avoid falling into the hands of the blacks. French rule in San Domingo had ended.

Leclerc's instructions form an important bit of source material for the study of Bonaparte's colonial policy; incidentally, they throw an excellent side-light on the character of the great Corsican. The instructions were first published *in extenso* by Roloff in 1899,¹⁸ though the nature of their contents had been generally known from other sources. According to the German authority, the document as here presented in English translation was intended originally to serve only as a pattern for the instructions the Minister of Marine was to give Leclerc. This fact may explain its careless paragraph structure, which would likely have been remedied had the document been rewritten. Decrès, however, turned over the instructions as they were to the captain-general. On November 10, he wrote to Leclerc that the First Consul had permitted a modification of the fourth paragraph of the sixth chapter, which forbids all public instruction in San Domingo, and would allow the establishment of elementary schools as before the Revolution. At the same time

¹⁷ Stoddard, *op. cit.*, 347.

¹⁸ *Die Kolonialpolitik Napoleons I*, 244-254.

Decrès instructed the captain-general to pay for American provisions with colonial goods in order to become independent of money shipments from the mother country. As Roloff tells us further, the original manuscript in the Paris archives (*Arch. Nat. A. F.*, IV, 863) bears many corrections in Bonaparte's own handwriting,¹⁹ showing the careful attention the First Consul paid to the undertaking.

MEMORANDA TO SERVE AS INSTRUCTIONS FOR CAPTAIN-GENERAL
LECLERC

9 Brumaire an 10 (October 31, 1801).

The instructions to be given to the general-in-chief Captain-General Leclerc are concerned with

1. Military affairs, and the policies to be adopted towards
2. The Americans and neighboring powers.
3. The blacks and their chief.
4. The former Spanish part of San Domingo.²⁰
5. The former land owners.
6. The civil and military officials, public instruction, clergy and trade.

Chapter 2

The general-in-chief of San Domingo is *ex officio* captain-general. If General Leclerc dies, General Rochambeau shall succeed him as general-in-chief and captain-general. The latter dying, he shall be succeeded by General Dugua. Finally, General Boudet comes in order of succession after General Dugua.

The Fleet

Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse is named commander-in-chief of all the naval forces of the Republic in America, and charged with all the arrangements relative to the disembarkment.

He shall not carry out his mission in America with a part of his squadron until the captain-general has so established himself that he no longer needs the aid of the crews to maintain his position; therefore, not until we are masters of Le Cap, Port-au-Prince, Port de Paix, Puerto-Plata, Le Mole, Fort Dauphin of Aux Cayes, Santo

¹⁹ *Die Kolonialpolitik*, 254, note 1.

²⁰ Spain had held the eastern two thirds of Haiti until 1795, when, by the Treaty of Basle, she ceded the colony to France. Owing to the confusion during the Revolution, the latter power had delayed taking possession. It now proposed to do so in formal fashion, considering illegal Toussaint's seizure of the Spanish region in January, 1801.

Domingo,²¹ Gonaives, St. Marc, and Jeremie, nor before the arrival of the five divisions which form the backbone of the army.

Then Rear-admiral Latouche shall be named commander of the cruising squadrons of San Domingo, and Admiral Villaret shall proceed with five or six of the best vessels to the waters of the United States in order to get supplies and to show his flag in the principal ports. After doing so he shall return to San Domingo, where he shall receive orders either to sail for France or to go and take possession of Martinique, in accordance with the progress of negotiations in Europe.²²

The captain-general and the admiral are to act in unison in their operations. The rear-admiral in command of the cruising squadrons of San Domingo shall be under the orders of the captain-general.

The Land Forces

The army, composed of seven thousand men, shall take on about 7,000 troops from Brest, 3,000 from Rochefort, 1,200 from Nantes and Lorient, 1,000 from Havre, 1,500 from Cadiz,²³ 3,000 from Toulon, 1,500 from Flushing,²³ and 800 from Guadeloupe,—a total reinforcement of 19,000 men.

The three divisions from Brest, Lorient, Nantes, and Rochefort, shall unite and depart together. If those from Havre and Flushing are not yet ready to leave with these three divisions, they shall get under way within ten days.

Before coming in sight of Santo Domingo they shall send ahead two frigates with four hundred men under the orders of General Kerversau, accompanied by the commissioner of the government in the Spanish part.

These two frigates shall proceed to Santo Domingo, take possession of the city, arouse the inhabitants of the country against the Negroes in the French part, and make public the printed proclamations joined to these instructions.

If, in view of the [presence of a] large number of Toussaint's troops, and not finding themselves strong enough to aid the inhabitants, the frigates should deem it inadvisable to land their forces, they shall [at any rate] intercept all communication, allowing

²¹ The name of both the Spanish part of the island and its capital; evidently the city is meant here. The French called their colony and the island as a whole *St. Domingue*, which I have converted into the form *Santo Domingo*.

²² The peace settlement with England in October was only a preliminary one; the discussions continued until the definitive Treaty of Amiens was signed in March, 1802.

²³ At this time, Bonaparte controlled the ports of both Spain and Holland.

no ship to enter or leave the harbor, and they shall establish relations with the country, while awaiting the effect of the news of the fall of Le Cap on Toussaint's garrison in Santo Domingo.²⁴

At the same point of departure, a third frigate shall be sent to Le Mole with a superior officer [in command] having an understanding with the Negroes of that place who are enemies of Toussaint. He shall take possession of Le Mole.

The squadron of Rear-admiral Latouche, with the forces embarked, together with all those troops joined to the army, over eight thousand men, considered necessary for the division stationed at Le Cap, shall proceed directly to Port-au-Prince.

[Immediately upon the arrival of the fleet] at Le Cap, the island of Tortuga shall be occupied by sending a ship there to establish a military hospital (*ambulance*).

The squadron shall put into Le Cap by a fair wind so that the troops may be discharged on the same day they are first seen by the people. Two frigates shall present themselves before Le Cap, and the admiral and the captain-general shall inform the commanding general of the city of their arrival in the colony. One frigate shall appear right afterward before Fort Piccolet, in order to find out the disposition of the garrison at this fort, and if, as everything would lead one to presume, it is received in friendly fashion, or if in this unexpected moment the rebels, if it is true that the Republic should so find them in San Domingo, have not had time to prepare for defense, the squadron shall enter the port and disembark some troops for the purpose of taking possession of the town. The art shall consist in arriving three leagues from Le Cap before sunrise and having six thousand men on land before sunset.

If it happens by some chance that Toussaint is informed beforehand about the arrival of the fleet and is prepared to receive the army at Le Cap, and that after that time the admiral should judge it dangerous for the squadron to face the fire of the batteries and the forts, the army should disembark on the beach in front of Fort Piccolet or in Acul Bay, in case resistance should be suspected.

[When the French are] masters of Le Cap, the printed proclamations shall be posted.

The preceptor of Toussaint's sons shall set out to find Toussaint with the two boys and the letter joined to the present instructions.²⁵

²⁴ An interesting illustration of Bonaparte's perfect confidence in the success of the expedition.

²⁵ In accordance with a request from the Directory, Toussaint had sent his sons, Placide and Isaac, to France to be educated. Bonaparte was now sending

Some vessels of the fleet shall present themselves before Port de Paix, Fort Dauphin, and all the other strongholds on the island in order to capture or blockade them, and to impart and spread proclamations everywhere.

All the whites, the mulattoes, and the loyal blacks at Le Cap shall be armed and organized.

All the coast batteries shall be dismantled in such a manner, however, that they can be promptly rearmed, if unforeseen circumstances cause us to lose our superiority on the sea.

The army shall occupy positions in order to protect the entire plain before Le Cap, and if advisable that of Plaisance.

Not until then will it be possible for the captain-general to decide if he should send by sea the twelve hundred men to occupy the post of Gonaives in order to establish communications through that position with the division at Port-au-Prince, or whether, contenting himself with blockading Gonaives with some frigates, he had better keep his forces united and occupy Gonaives by a detachment supported by his advance guard.

Rear-admiral Latouche shall take possession of the island of La Gonave before he reaches Port-au-Prince, in order to establish there a military hospital. The disembarkment at Port-au-Prince shall be carried out in the same spirit as at Le Cap. Once masters of the town and the fort, the French shall secure Leogane and Gonaives. Cruisers shall be placed before Le Marc; and if there are enough troops this port shall be captured at the same time as Port-au-Prince. In all places, the proclamations shall be circulated, the National Guard organized, the whites and mulattoes armed, and the dependable blacks made use of.

When the general commanding the expedition to Port-au-Prince has once disembarked, he shall write to General Toussaint in order to inform him that the captain-general, landed at Le Cap, has instructions to invite him to come to that city.

The divisions arriving at Aux Cayes shall occupy the island of Les Vaches, the town of Aux Cayes, and Fort St. Louis. There it shall arm the whites, the mulattoes, and the loyal Negroes, and place itself in a position to be able to communicate by land with Port-au-Prince. If the inhabitants conduct themselves well, a part of the ship crews can take up garrison duty at the post of Aux the boys back to their father, after having given them a fine reception at the Tuilleries and presenting them with fine uniforms and side arms. A translation of the letter referred to may be found in Steward, T. G., *The Haitian Revolution*, 1791 to 1804 (New York, 1914), 129-131.

Cayes, [the remaining] five hundred troops going by land to join the general who [meanwhile] shall have occupied Port-au-Prince.

Care shall be taken to seize Jeremie, and to maintain the brigs and small armed vessels in the cruising squadron before the posts held by the rebels.

With the arrival of the various reenforcements, it would appear that the army ought to be organized into five divisions of 3,000 men each, two to be placed in the North Province, one at St. Marc, one at Port-au-Prince, and the fifth in the Spanish part.

The fleet shall furnish a detachment of 6,000 men from its vessels to be taken from the crews if necessary. These 6,000 men shall take up garrison duty at Le Cap, Fort Dauphin, Port de Paix, Le Mole, Gonaives, St. Marc, Port-au-Prince, Jeremie, Aux Cayes, Santo Domingo, Puerto Plata, and other places. The depots of the divisions shall likewise be placed in the different ports.

The division in the Spanish part of Santo Domingo shall assemble at Santiago, part disembarking at Santo Domingo, part at Puerto-Plata.

In order better to understand the instructions, the time of the expedition should be divided into three periods.

The first period shall comprise the first fifteen or twenty days necessary for occupying the strongholds, organizing the National Guard, quieting the well-intentioned, assembling the convoys, arranging for the carting of the artillery, familiarizing the mass of the army with the customs and the topography of the country, and taking possession of the plains.

The second period shall be when the two armies being prepared, the rebels are pursued to the death; they shall be hunted out first in the French and then in the Spanish part.

If the French part were an island [by itself], the rebels would be soon overcome; but it is conjectured that they will hold out longest in the Spanish part ²⁶ where the French army will be at a distance from the ports. Our main resource in the Spanish part should be the mulattoes. It seems that war can be made on the blacks nearly as it is in the Alps, eight or ten columns uniting their attacks on a single position. The strength of these columns should not exceed 300 to 400 men.

The posts of Santiago, Plaisance, La Croix, and Les Bouquets are indicated as important places, where it would be well to have

²⁶ Here Bonaparte made a mistake, as the opposite proved to be the case. A French garrison continued to hold the city of Santo Domingo until July, 1809, and therefore long after Rochambeau capitulated at Le Cap.

intrenched stations sheltered from the incursions of the blacks. Not knowing the art of attack and the fortifications, it will be necessary in fighting the blacks to make use of the old fortifications and of the towers and walls, which may be quickly reconstructed and which awe them more than razed fortifications.

The third period shall be that when Toussaint, Moyse, and Dessalines no longer exist, and when 3,000 to 4,000 blacks, retired to the hills of the Spanish part, shall form what are called *marrons* in the islands, and who can be destroyed with time, perseverance, and a well contrived system of attack.

Chapter 2

The Spanish, the English, and the Americans, view with equal anxiety the black republic.²⁷ The admiral and the captain-general shall write circulars to the neighboring colonies for the purpose of acquainting them with the object of the government, [explaining] the common advantage to the Europeans in destroying this rebellion of the blacks, and [expressing] the hope of being assisted [in crushing it].

If necessary, provisions should be sought in America, in the Spanish islands, and even in Jamaica. If needed, Havana must be requested to furnish a thousand men to assist in the occupation of the Spanish part of San Domingo.

All the merchandise found in the ports belonging to the blacks should be sequestered to the profit of the army so far as one may know what the conduct of the rebels is going to be.

Declare in a state of blockade all the ports containing rebels, and confiscate every vessel leaving or entering.

Jefferson has promised that from the moment that the French army arrives, every measure shall be taken to starve Toussaint and to aid the army.²⁸

²⁷ Whether this was true or not, the First Consul hoped so. A year later he was still convinced that the English could not think of war so long as the fate of Santo Domingo was still undecided, and Jamaica was exposed to the attacks of the rebels. Ebbinghaus, *Therese, Napoleon, England und die Presse* (Munich and Leipsic, 1914), 179.

²⁸ There seems to be no evidence in support of this statement either in the American State Papers or in Jefferson's correspondence. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that Jefferson was favorably disposed towards Toussaint if one may judge from a letter written to Monroe on November 24, 1801, and therefore less than a month after Bonaparte prepared these instructions, in which he speaks of deporting some negroes to Santo Domingo, "where the blacks are established into a sovereignty *de facto*, and have organized themselves under regular laws and government." *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington, 1903), X, 297.

Chapter 3

Never will the French nation give chains to men whom it has once recognized as free. Therefore, all the blacks shall live at Santo Domingo as those in Guadeloupe to-day.

The conduct of the captain-general will vary with the three periods above mentioned.

In the first period, only the blacks who are rebels will be disarmed. In the third, all will be so treated.

In the first period, the policy should not be exigent. Toussaint should be treated with; he should be provided with everything he may ask for;—in order to make possible the occupation of the principal points and to establish French control in the country.

This done, the policy will become more exacting. He will be ordered to reply categorically to the proclamation and to my letter. He will be charged to come to Le Cap.

In interviews which may take place with Moyse, Dessalines, and Toussaint's other generals, they shall be treated well.

Gain over Christophe, Clervaux, Maurepas, Felix, Romain, Jasmain, and all the other black leaders favorable to the whites. In the first period, confirm them in their rank and office. In the third period, send them all to France, with their rank if they have behaved well in the second.

All Toussaint's principal agents, white or colored, should, in the first period, be indiscriminately loaded with attentions and confirmed in their rank; in the last period, all sent to France;—with their rank if they have behaved well during the second, as prisoners if they have acted ill during the same period.

All blacks in office should, during the first period, be flattered and well treated, but in general attempts should be made to deprive them of popularity and power. Toussaint, Moyse, and Dessalines should be well treated during the first period; sent to France at the last, in arrest or with their rank according to their conduct during the second.

Raymond ²⁹ has lost the confidence of the government; at the beginning of the second period, he shall be seized and sent to France as a criminal.

If the first period last fifteen days, no harm is done; if longer, deception will have been practiced.

Toussaint shall not be held to have submitted until he shall have

²⁹ A mulatto who had died in the beginning of October, the same month these instructions were drawn up; he had been a member of Bonaparte's first mission to Santo Domingo. See *Corres. de Nap.* VI, 4455.

come to Le Cap or Port-au-Prince in the midst of the French army, to swear loyalty to the Republic. On that very day, without scandal or injury but with honor and consideration, he must be put on board a frigate and sent to France. At the same time if possible, arrest Moyse and Dessalines; if this be impossible, hunt them down and then send to France all the white partisans of Toussaint, all the blacks in office suspected of disaffection. Declare Moyse and Dessalines traitors and enemies of the French people. Set the troops in motion and give the rebels no rest till they are captured, and their partisans scattered and disarmed.

If, after the first fifteen or twenty days, it has been impossible to get Toussaint, proclaim that if within a specified time he does not come to take the oath to the Republic he shall be declared a traitor, after which period a war to the death will begin.

A few thousand Negroes, wandering in the mountains seeking refuge in this wild country, should not prevent the captain-general from regarding the second period as ended and from promptly beginning the third. Then has come the moment to assure the colony to France forever. And, on that same day, at every point in the colony, all suspects in office should be arrested whatever their rank, and at the same moment all the black generals, no matter what their conduct, patriotism, or past services, should be embarked, being allowed, however, to retain their rank with the assurance of good treatment in France.

All the whites who have served under Toussaint, and covered themselves with crimes in the tragic scenes of San Domingo, shall be sent directly to Guiana.³⁰

All the blacks who have behaved well, but whose rank forbids them to remain longer in the island, shall be sent to Brest.

All the blacks or mulattoes who have acted badly, whatever their rank, shall be sent to the Mediterranean and landed at a port in Corsica.

If Toussaint, Dessalines, and Moyse are taken in arms, they shall be passed before a court-martial within twenty-four hours and shot as rebels.

No matter what happens, during the third period all the Negroes, whatever their party, should be disarmed and set to work.

All those who have signed the Constitution³¹ should in the third period be sent to France; some as prisoners, others at liberty as having been constrained.

³⁰ This was the French penal colony in South America.

³¹ The instrument by which Toussaint had made San Domingo virtually independent of France.

White women who have prostituted themselves to negroes, whatever their rank, shall be sent to Europe.

The regimental flags shall be taken from the National Guard, which shall receive new ones and a new organization. The gendarmerie shall be reorganized. Suffer no black above the rank of captain to remain in the island.

The island of Tortuga shall serve as a depository for the black prisoners. Some war vessels or frigates can likewise serve the same purpose.

Chapter 4

There shall be in the Spanish part a commissioner-general who shall be entirely independent of the colonial prefect.

The general-in-chief shall be the captain-general of the two parts of Santo Domingo. He shall have authority to delegate his powers in the Spanish part to a flag officer who shall be captain-general of the Spanish part and under his orders.

There shall be in this part a commissioner of justice who shall not be dependent in any way on the one in the French part. If the political aim of the French part of Santo Domingo should be to disarm the blacks and to make them cultivators, but free, they should likewise be disarmed in the Spanish part, but replaced in slavery. This part should be retaken, Toussaint's occupancy being null and void.³²

The French part is divided into departments and municipalities. The Spanish should continue to be divided into dioceses and jurisdictions.

Administration, trade, justice,—all must be conducted in the Spanish part differently from the way they are in the French. Too much importance cannot be attached to the principle of establishing a difference of customs and even a local antipathy; this is to conserve the influence of the mother country in this colony.

Chapter 5

The policy with respect to the former land owners must have reference to the periods, depending on the events taking place in the first, second, and third. The colony is not accounted to be French. Therefore, no proprietor is supposed to have possession of his property, and everything remains as under the administration of Toussaint. The produce of the plantations is used to pay, feed, and equip the army.

³² See page 12, note 1.

After the third period when the proclamation finally declares the island of San Domingo restored to the Republic, the proprietors who are in France and who have not emigrated shall regain their estates.

Any proprietor who, during the war, remained neither in San Domingo nor in France, and who shall have resided in America, England, or in some other foreign country, can reenter upon his estates only after obtaining a decree from the government. No former owner in San Domingo shall enter the colony if he comes directly from England, Spain, or from any other country without having first passed through Paris and obtained permission not only to reenter upon his possessions but even to reenter the colony.

All donations granted by Toussaint are null and void, but this declaration must not be made until the course of the third period.

All private property in Santo Domingo must be subjected to a tax. The sum of these taxes must be large enough to care for the needs of the colony, the maintenance of troops, etc.

Chapter 6

The military and civil personnel of the army shall be divided into the two following classes:

Those men who, having already made war in San Domingo, know the country. After the third period they shall receive orders on duty to return to France with rewards and marks of satisfaction proportionate to the services which they may have rendered.

The captain-general shall suffer no wavering in the principles of these instructions, and any individual who should undertake to argue about the rights of the blacks who have caused so much white blood to flow, shall under some pretext be sent to France, whatever his rank and services.

No public instruction whatever shall be instituted in Santo Domingo,³³ and all the Creoles shall be obliged to send their children to France to be educated.

It shall be announced that three French bishops will be established in the French part of Santo Domingo. They shall receive the canonical institution from the pope, and shall set out for the colony in a few days. The curacies shall be restored, and there shall be sent from France a certain number of priests who will accompany the bishops for the purpose of reorganizing the clergy.

In general, all priests who served under Toussaint shall be sent to France after others have arrived to replace them.

³³ This ruling was later modified. See page 11.

During the first, second, and third periods, trade must necessarily be carried on with the Americans, but after the third period only French ships shall be admitted, and the old pre-Revolutionary regulations put into force.

Even during the first, second, and third periods, every ship from Bordeaux or any other French port, bringing to the colony flour, wine, and other necessary articles whose purchase shall be made in the name of the Republic with colonial money, shall be given the preference over those of the Americans.

The captain-general and the colonial prefect should also take measures to see to it that even though the purchase of goods from France shall cause the colony a loss of fifteen per cent on wares bought from the Americans, French supplies should, nevertheless, be given the preference, the fifteen per cent being considered a premium necessary for the encouragement of our growing trade.

Paris, the 9th Brumaire Year X. (October 31, 1801.)

THE FIRST CONSUL BUONAPARTE.

CARL LUDWIG LOKKE

BOOK REVIEWS

Darker Phases of the South. By FRANK TANNENBAUM, author of the *Labor Movement, Wall Shadows, Etc.* (G. P. Putnam Sons, New York and London, 1924. Pp. 203. Price \$2.00.)

The author of this work is already known by a similar contribution, the value of which is attested by the opinions of the leading men expressed through the various organs of thought. His main interest seems to be the social problems, but in his treatment one finds so many facts and opinions as to the life of the South that the historian must give some consideration to this production.

The book, however, does not show the thoroughness which should be indicated by such a pretentious title. The author made use of most of the material easily accessible, but did not make an extensive research so as to write with authority. He drew upon the ideas expressed by various men in the country, some of whom have not yet established themselves as writers free from bias. The authorities consulted, moreover, were not extended so as to give consideration to many important facts from the life of the Negroes who constitute a substantial portion of the population of the South. Various books written to develop these different aspects of the Negro history, moreover, were not used in writing this volume.

There is some effort to account for the information given in the book. The bibliography in the appendix, however, does not give evidence of thorough research. Judged from this point of view, then, this book may be estimated as a step in the right direction, but cannot be accepted as the best guide for the study of the darker phases of the life of the South. While it may supply stimulating reading it should not be taken too seriously.

The work deals briefly with the recrudescence of the Ku Klux Klan, the social conditions of the cotton mill settlements, southern prisons, the consequence of the single crops in the South, and efforts for social amelioration. With respect to the race problem of the South much has been said, especially in the last chapter entitled "The Southern Solutions." The author sees that the Negro problem is a most difficult one. Among the suggestions noted he does not find many of them commendable. His attitude is set forth in the statement: "When one reflects upon the literature

of the race problem in the United States, one is astounded at the amount of writing, talking, agitating, and dreaming which have been centered about these impossible suggestions. There are good-natured, naive, and simple-minded people who keep on saying to the South that what is needed—and of course is possible—is that the South should forget its memories.”

The idea of colonizing the Negro in Africa and elsewhere is reviewed in the light of history as an impossibility. He regards migration as a desirable thing in that it will lead the way for the immigration of foreigners. The infusion of these people of which the South is in need will be a tonic to its spirit and social well-being.

The Clash of Color, a Study in the Problem of Race. By BASIL MATTHEWS, author of *Livingston the Pathfinder*, *The Riddle of Nearer Asia*, *Argonauts of Faith*, etc. (Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada and New York. Pp. 181. Price \$1.25.)

The author intends this volume to act as a porch through which the reader will enter upon a wider and deeper study of the race problem. This book indicates a point of view decidedly different from that set forth in Tannenbaum's *Darker Phases of the South*. Whereas the latter regards the race problem as one which cannot be solved, except by certain readjustments such as are working out through migration and the infiltration of foreigners, this author is rather of the opinion that the forces long since at work can do much to improve the present state of things if their efforts are extended and intensified. While Mr. Matthews mentions new ideas and a new movements and calls for a new preparation and new leadership, his treatment runs very much in the same direction as that of the writers on social problems before the World War.

Speaking more in detail as to the contents and the purpose of the book, one should mention the informing chapters entitled “The White Man in the World” and “The Dilemma of the Pacific.” These are accompanied by world maps showing how the European and American nations of power have by colonial expansion and commercial enterprises brought under their sway the lands formerly possessed by the so-called darker races. In the chapters “Something New out of Africa” and “The Expansion of India,” the same thought is continued.

The author does not consider this empire-building exactly an act of plunder, exploitation, slavery, or annihilation; but he feels

that the nations and races should work together as a world team for the good of the whole universe.

The whole problem as he states it is that while each nation and while each race has and ought to have its own life and personality, and while each one has its own genius and art and literature and music, all should join together in the great team work to improve the universe for the good of all. "In a word," says he, "the idea of a world team is the emancipation and the advance of the nations of men in the future. That team would be impossible, for race hate is in the very nature of man." He believes that race hate arises from such facts as differences of standards of living, wage rivalry, and the desire for political freedom. The economic and political fight rages round color because the white man is on the one side—that of the higher economic standard and stronger, longer government experience—and the colored races on the other.

Christianity and the Race Problem. By J. H. OLDHAM, M.A., Secretary of the International Missionary Council; Editor of The International Review of Missions. (New York, George H. Doran Co. Pp. 280. Price \$2.25 net.)

In this work the author deals with the same subject as that treated in Matthew's *Clash of Color*. The treatment, however, is more in detail and is a much larger volume. The author disclaims the purpose of making an independent contribution to the biological and anthropological aspects of the race, although he takes into account the conclusions of modern scientists with respect to these matters. His sphere is rather that of the ethical problem of the race from the contacts of races, which constitute the grave menace to the peace of the world and of the cooperation and progress of its people. The book is written on the presumption that only in wrestling with the actual conditions of man can the meaning and depth and power of the Christian view of the world be disclosed.

The author does not feel that any of his predecessors in this field have actually made such an attempt. On the other hand, however, the author does not claim that he has presented anything new. He has rather endeavored to show how the experience of men has contributed to the readjustment of the social situation. In so doing he thinks that the practical problems of the country may receive some illumination by being placed in a wider setting. He brings out, moreover, the thought that the problem in one country is the problem in other parts of the world and in other times. What progress has been made in the advancement in any

one sphere, then, can be of some benefit when reviewed by others thus concerned elsewhere.

From the point of view of the historian the most significant chapters are "The Legacy of the Past" and "The Task of the Present." Here the author reviews the expansion of Europe, the reaction against white domination, the physical unification of the world, the moral unity, the prevailing anarchy in western political and philosophical thought, and the necessity for seeking a better way. The remaining portion of the book deals largely with the question of religion and that concerning racial antagonism. He then gives us views on the ethics of empire, political and social equality, migration and intermarriage.

Some of his ideas are interesting. He joins with most scientists in the assertion that in the sense of pure breed there is no such thing as race. Differences of race are all differences within a fundamental unity. He does not believe, therefore, that the tests set forth in the fragmentary studies of school children showing that those of the Negro race are inferior are reliable. He recognizes the importance of heredity as a factor in racial development, but does not find any reason for the theory that the Negro is mentally inferior to the white man. He questions the ethics of the powers exploiting the weaker races to establish empires for selfishness. He believes that the problems involved in race relations are neither ethnological nor biological, but ethical.

Of One Blood. By ROBERT H. SPEER. (New York, Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, 1924. Paper 50 cents, cloth 75 cents.)

This work like that of the two others just mentioned above gives a point of view different from that of the radical advocates of racial exploitations and destruction because of so-called superiority. The author's views are just the opposite of those of Lothrop Stoddard, Madison Grant, and Professor Josey. Many of these views of Mr. Speer, however, while not new are presented here forcefully for the first time in many years.

Dismissing as unsound the theories of race and of racial superiority, the author maintains that the human family is a unity and what men sometimes call race superiority is mere race distinction. As racial differences lead to various contributions civilization thereby gains. If each race would see the good in the other and would profit by the lessons which each in its own way can best teach, there would be no reasons for friction, and all groups could be organized for efficient cooperation in things social, economic and political.

As to the methods to be used in reaching this end the author finds little comfort in such plans as segregation, subjection, eugenics, and amalgamation. His proposal is that Christianity should be tried,—not the nominal “Christianity,” but the actual principles of Jesus which teach that the strong instead of oppressing the weak should bear its burdens.

In thus presenting his program for social betterment, however, the author is not clear as to exactly how it can be carried out, for he seems to believe in a principle which conflicts with that of brotherhood of man. He writes beautifully of the necessity for equality, love and unity, but upholds the idea of racial integrity, which is the fundamental cause of race hate.

NOTES

CATHERINE IMPEY

About a year ago there passed away in England one of the staunchest friends of humanity. This was Catherine Impey. She was born August 13, 1847, in the little village, Street, Somersetshire, England. She was of sturdy Quaker parentage and received along with her sister, Ellen, the kind of education which fitted her for the work which absorbed her interests for more than three-score years.

It was the Quaker institution, Southside House, at Weston-super-Mare which added to the zeal already developed by the group of which she was a member and which quickened her spirit for noble work. She was born into a band of English humanitarians, some of whom refused to use sugar because it was the product of slave labor and who would not wear certain kinds of calicoes and cotton prints because they were produced by oppressive measures in India. In her Quaker meetings she was among those who were friends of Frederick Douglass and who helped to purchase the freedom of other slaves.

Every student upon leaving Southside House had to select some kind of philanthropic work as an avocation and when the Impey sisters made their choice, it was to help remove oppression among the darker races of the world. To this choice was added later another work which likewise engaged much of their zeal and labors, the Temperance cause; as one of Miss Impey's friends puts it, "she was a life abstainer," "a leading spirit in the British Women's Temperance Association," an honoured member of the "Street Teetotal Society."

It was her work in the Good Templar Order that brought her into direct contact with the Race problem in this country. In March 1878, she came to America to attend the meetings of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge. Here the color question was discussed, and here Miss Impey took a firm stand for admission of colored people to the Order. In 1886 she made a second journey for the purpose of thoroughly investigating the whole question. On her return she reported the situation to the Order but failed to get sufficient support from the lodges in her own country to prevent

the drawing of the color line in the United States. It was a trying ordeal for her to find that even members of her own Christian faith could not be brought to understand the situation which she herself had met face to face.

On April 26, 1889, she felt she could no longer be a party to race proseription and withdrew from the order of Good Templars. A part of her letter follows:

A law has been inserted in the Constitution of the Order, the effect of which, in my view, is to allow our fundamental principle of brotherhood to be violated with impunity by providing for the separation of races within the Order.

It has been my conscientious conviction for years that I must have no partnership in any Society which provides separate places for black and white—that any such partnership must be *dishonouring to God* and to the religion of Jesus Christ.

After her resignation, she and many others who resigned with her started a similar Society in which the Lodges were open to colored and white equally.

In 1888 Miss Impey began issuing a monthly paper, *Anti-Caste*, which was devoted to the interests of the colored races the world over. Its caption ran:

Anti-Caste assumes the Brotherhood of the entire Human Family and claims for the Dark Races of Mankind their equal right to Protection, Personal Liberty, Equality of Opportunity, and Human Fellowship.

Anti-Caste was in communication with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the Aborigines Protection Society, the Negroes' Friend Society, the Indian National Congress Movement, the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, the Afro-American League, the National Citizen's Rights Association, the Central Anti-Lynching Association, the Women's Loyal Union, the *Richmond Planet*, the Maloga Mission, Dr. Patton, a worker against the coolie Labor Traffic, and Miss H. E. Colenso, and other friends of the Africans.

In the year 1892, Miss Impey again crossed the Atlantic, bearing still her intense interest in this problem to which she had devoted so much of her life. During this visit she was for some days the guest of Frederick Douglass in his home at Cedar Hill.

This was Miss Impey's last visit to America. She returned to her home in England and continued to devote herself to work for human betterment. It was she who was the prime factor in the movement which first introduced Ida B. Wells to the British public in her Anti-Lynching Crusade. From time to time she entertained

in her home and presented to groups of her friends colored people who could represent their race effectively. Among these were Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Fannie Jackson Coppin, Henry Tanner, and Dr. and Mrs. Alexander Crummel.

The death of her sister Ellen, her valiant support in every effort, left Catherine Impey deeply affected. For nearly three years she survived the shock. On the 14th of December, 1923, in the seventy-seventh year of life, her spirit passed away.

G. R. SIMPSON

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF
THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO
LIFE AND HISTORY HELD AT RICHMOND,
VIRGINIA, SEPTEMBER 29 AND 30, 1924

The first session of the meeting was held at Virginia Union University, Monday morning, at 10 o'clock. After the meeting was called to order, and the purposes of the organization briefly stated, Dr. W. J. Clark warmly welcomed the Association to the institution and to the city of Richmond with appropriate remarks. He briefly reviewed the history of the Association with respect to his interest in it and urged upon the audience the importance of supporting this scientific effort to discover the truth and proclaim it to the world.

Although not on the program for an address, Dr. James H. Dillard, who had recently returned from a tour of inspection of the uplift of the natives in Africa, was called upon for a report as to the progress of the work in that continent. He spoke briefly of the territory covered, the various persons with whom he came into contact, and the institutions established for the religious and secular education of the Africans. He then discussed the method of approach of those in charge of these institutions, the results which they have so far obtained, and the prospects for improved facilities of education. The interesting accounts which he related gave such a personal aspect to the narrative as to make it unusually interesting and profitable in enabling his hearers to grasp more intelligently the meaning of missions in Africa.

At the close of the address of Dr. Dillard, Mr. Jackson Davis, the director of education work among Negroes in Virginia in connection with the General Education Board, made some remarks indorsing the work of the Association and especially *The Journal of Negro History* as a scientific publication worthy of the support of all people of all races. He expressed the hope that those who have not as yet made use of this publication in their general reading or special research might avail themselves of such opportunity.

Dr. L. G. Jordan, the historian of the National Baptist Convention, was then introduced to speak briefly of his efforts. Having just entered upon the task of saving the records of his particular group, he spoke more of his plans than of his achievements. In so

doing, he expressed the regret that such a little has been done to save the records of Negro churches. To emphasize how important and valuable these are, he mentioned a number of fragments of church history typical of the struggles of pioneer days, and at the same time giving light on neglected aspects of history which cannot be otherwise understood.

The next session was held at two o'clock P.M. in the same place. The time was devoted exclusively to the consideration of the reconstruction period. The Director, serving as presiding officer, endeavored to show the importance of rewriting reconstruction history. He brought forward facts to show that most of the histories of reconstruction so far written are the products of biased minds influenced by sensational newspaper reports and inflammatory speeches of fire-eating orators. The Hon. Thomas E. Miller, formerly a member of Congress, could not be present on account of his advanced years and failing health.

The audience, however, was not disappointed as Mr. A. A. Taylor, the other speaker, appeared to play his part. Mr. Taylor discussed Negro reconstruction history from a layman's point of view during the first part of the time allotted him, and then directed his attention to a more scientific presentation of that period. He discussed the situation immediately after the War resulting from the collapse of the Confederacy, the panic which ensued, the prolonged period of uncertainty, the economic readjustment, and the political rehabilitation of the States under Congress. The connection of these events with the State and national movements at that time initiated and since then assuming larger proportions, was emphasized.

The first evening session on Monday was held at eight o'clock at the Ebenezer Baptist Church with Dr. W. H. Stokes presiding. Taking charge of the meeting, Dr. Stokes emphasized the importance of the work of the Association by showing that if some such effort is not now made, and if such records are not at this time preserved, investigators seeking the truth in the years to come will think that all Negroes of this day and time were criminals; for this is the only mention now given the Negro in most of the newspapers, periodicals and books written by white men in the United States.

Dr. Thomas I. Brown, of Morgan College, was then introduced to discuss "Helpful Contact of the Races." While this discourse was, in many respects, a survey of the cooperation of the races for common good, it assumed rather the form of a serious effort to

estimate the value of the association of the races and the results in their bearing on all phases of the life of the nation. The discourse was well written and well presented, leaving a favorable impression upon the audience as was reported by the daily press of the city.

Prof. Miles Mark Fisher, of Virginia Union University, then presented his study of "The Religious Life of the Negro During the World War." This was the presentation of an important aspect of the Negro migration during the upheaval. The speaker showed the effect of the War upon the church from an economic and social point of view, a thing not unexpected in such a crisis; but he gave an entirely new point of view in the study of the Negro in explaining how the peace of the South had been disturbed during the days of increased lynching and mob violence to the extent that it was unwise for Negro churches to continue their operations in certain parts of that section. The effect of the World War on the mind of the Negro, as shown by contrasting his mental and spiritual life with what it was before, decidedly interested the audience and invited its attention to a neglected field from which may come an understanding of many of the inexplicable forces now at work among the Negroes.

On Tuesday morning, September 30, at ten o'clock, the Association reassembled at Virginia Union University. The session began with the reading of a paper on "The Scientific Study of the Negro" by Mr. Charles S. Johnson, editor of *Opportunity*. Mr. Johnson's paper was indeed a scholarly contribution. Before showing what has been done to study the Negro scientifically, he briefly reviewed certain studies of the Negro now known to be everything but scientific. He referred to the opinions of so-called scholarly men as expressed in the proslavery arguments of antebellum authors, and in those of the writers who, after emancipation, justified the debasement of the Negroes to a lower status by nullifying the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Just as many of these theories finally passed from the mind of serious people, Mr. Johnson showed that many fallacies now considered as the truth must evidently have the same experience. What is being done to learn the whole truth in the light of actual scientific investigation of the Negro, Mr. Johnson presented in an elaborate manner.

The next speaker, Mr. L. P. Jackson, of the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, discussed "Missionary Endeavors in Early Negro Education." Mr. Jackson's address was a resumé of the achievements of the apostles to the lowly Negro in the South. He

emphasized, too, the necessity for collecting data before many of the participants in this movement will have passed away and the records which they have kept will have been destroyed or made inaccessible. The speaker asserted that this chapter in the history of the Negro is second only to that of emancipation itself, and should be so treated by the race in showing its gratitude toward its benefactors, for it demonstrates how with a helping hand the Negro has been enabled to rise from inefficiency to unselfish service.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, the business session of the Association was held. The reports of the Director and Secretary-Treasurer were read, discussed and approved. By unanimous ballot all of the officers of the Association were reelected. It was requested that the Spring Conference of the Association be held at Durham, North Carolina. After expressing the thanks of the Association for the unselfish work of its staff and for the cordial reception received at Virginia Union University and at the Ebenezer Baptist Church, the meeting adjourned.

On Tuesday evening, the Association assembled again at the Ebenezer Baptist Church at eight o'clock. This time, the citizens of Richmond and outlying towns, manifesting more interest in the meeting, attended in larger numbers in spite of the inclement weather. Dr. S. G. Atkins, of the Slater Normal School, attended this session to express his interest in the work.

The first address of this session was delivered by Dr. James E. Gregg, principal of Hampton Institute, on the subject "The Question of the Superiority and Inferiority of the Races." This was not a contribution from Dr. Gregg's point of view. It was rather a review of the opinions of so-called scientists who have reasons for supporting the theory of superiority or inferiority of the races. Dr. Gregg endeavored to show how unscientific these conclusions were in that they violate the principles which the selfsame investigators profess to be guided by. He spoke, too, about his own observations throughout life, and of some investigations made at Hampton to test the mental ability of the black, the brown, the mulatto, and the octoroon students. The results have convinced him that the differences shown are so insignificant or confusing that no conclusions whatever can be based thereon. The speaker expressed the hope, then, that men may forget these mischievous opinions and study the good and beautiful in all. He conceded that one race may differ from another, but this does not imply superiority or inferiority.

The last speaker was Mr. C. M. Maloney, of Virginia Union University. Mr. Ma'oney delivered an address on "The Negro Among the Races." His first task was to show whether or not the Negro has demonstrated his capacity to endure. This, the speaker contended, history has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. He then answered the question as to whether the Negro has been able to improve. Considering this from a sympathetic point of view with respect to varying standards and differing ideals, the speaker believed that the Negro has shown as much capacity as any of the other races. Making allowances for the handicaps to which the Negro race has been subjected and the lack of assistance from which it has suffered, he believed that instead of showing inferiority, the Negro had demonstrated elements of superiority.

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(Continued on next page)

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY

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LIBERIA AFTER THE WORLD WAR

For some years it has been my custom, on July 26, the anniversary of Liberian Independence, to send a word of greeting to Liberians in the United States. Radical changes in my own situation have interrupted the practice and last year no word of greeting was sent. Yet I have become accustomed to devote some thought to Liberia on her natal day and this year I decided to mark its return by a consideration of Liberia's situation during and since the war. The last message of the President of the Republic to the Legislature will largely suggest the topics for consideration.

Just before the outbreak of the great war, about as many German ships put into Liberian ports in a month as those of all other nations together. With the war these ships were, of course, withdrawn from operation. Not only so; the boats of other nations became irregular and infrequent. The effect upon Liberia was serious. Her government is practically dependent upon customs dues for its upkeep. The Americo-Liberian population, chiefly given to trade, suffered in all ways. Not only were its sources of income affected, even the supplies of food and construction materials were interrupted. With abundance of natural resources of all kinds, Liberia has depended on the outside world. Rice has been imported from America, dried fish

from Scandinavia, made lumber and metal roofing from manufacturing lands; yet the tribes of the interior raise rice sufficient for their needs and of good quality, the waters of Liberia contain abundant fish, and the greater part of the country is covered with forests. But the people of the settlements have no arrangements for the adequate utilization of these local supplies. English black-listing of German houses and suspected hostiles forced Liberia to neutrality; but the food shortage led to our intervention on her behalf with Britain and to some relief of the situation, through her agreement to deport all Germans, to seize German properties—including the cable-station—and to declare war. Even then the situation remained serious and in 1918 a German submarine appeared off of Monrovia and the city was bombarded, the single naval vessel of the Republic was sunk and property was damaged. Trade was at a standstill; all necessities of life were high priced; the government income was so reduced that official salaries were cut. One advantage perhaps resulted from the war, and that was that Liberia as one of the allied nations was represented in the peace discussions at Paris. The President-elect, C. D. B. King, was there on behalf of the nation to make a plea for justice and an appeal for its future. Neither plea nor appeal gained much attention, but Liberia became a member of the League of Nations, which may perhaps inure to her advantage though entailing pecuniary obligations.

In 1912 Liberia secured a loan of \$1,700,000, the purpose of which was to retire outstanding obligations, which had become pressing and threatening, and to ease a momentary stringency. The loan was handled in New York, though foreign banks participated by invitation. To secure the creditors a clumsy international receivership was put in force. Four receivers were appointed—American, British, French, and German—the salaries of all to be paid by Liberia. Considering the smallness of the loan, it was a mistake to invoke the aid of foreign banks and to load the Re-

public with a commission of heterogeneous composition. A single American receiver could have done all the necessary work, thus saving the government the payment of three salaries and the danger of friction and misunderstandings due to differences of race and interests. Under ordinary circumstances, after this arrangement, the Republic might have struggled through its difficulties. With the coming of the war, the case was hopeless. Financial conditions went from bad to worse. When governmental salaries, heavily cut, could not be met, the interest on debts and expenses of the receivership of course fell in arrears.

An anxious meeting of the President and Cabinet took place in January 1918. It gave careful attention to the critical situation and resulted in a letter to the American chargé d'affaires at Monrovia, in which its conclusions were stated. This letter was dated January 11.

A strong and candid appeal should immediately be made to the government of the United States to come to the relief of the Republic without delay by:

1. A loan of not less than \$5,000,000 to enable the Republic to cancel the refunding loan of 1912, and to establish a receivership under American control alone to take up their internal floating indebtedness; to stimulate education, agriculture and industry, and to inaugurate such public works as will operate for the complete financial and economic rehabilitation of the country.

2. By the loan of additional American agents to assist the government in perfecting its desires and plans for effective administration and control, both in the several departments of government and in the administration of our hinterland.

This appeal was the beginning of negotiations between Liberia and the United States, which dragged through four years. President Wilson and Secretary Lansing were seriously interested and on September 12, 1918, a telegram was sent to the Legation at Monrovia that a credit of \$5,000,000 had been established and the legal formalities necessary to make it available were stated. Two months later the British and French diplomatic representatives at Washing-

ton were notified of this action and given detailed statement of our attitude in the affair. Unfortunately this whole business was largely done by the President and the Secretary of State on their own responsibility and under the general authority of the act of April 24, 1917—"to authorize an issue of bonds to meet expenditures for the national security and defense, and for the purpose of assisting in the prosecution of the war, to extend credits to foreign governments, and for other purposes." If the war had continued, or if Liberia had immediately drawn upon this credit, there would probably have been no difficulty in the matter. It was however June 15, 1920, before the terms of the loan were really submitted to the Liberian government for consideration and at that time the war had been ended for more than a year. The Liberian Legislature asked for certain modifications. Four months later, by agreement between the two governments, a committee with full powers from Liberia, headed by President C. D. B. King, came to this country to perfect the details of the loan, which was to go into speedy operation after agreement should be reached.

The impression made on the people of Liberia by the announcement of the loan was profound. The credit seemed to settle all problems and to ensure a bright and prosperous future. With all debts paid, with only the United States represented on the receivership, with a balance in hand for roads, public improvements, sanitation, schools, what progress was to be expected! From September 12, 1918, on for two years it was the one thought in the public mind, the one topic of conversation. Everything was considered in the light of the loan. Every plan was based upon its realization. When the loan should become available every one would be occupied, money would be abundant, every deserving enterprise could be undertaken. But with this feeling of hope and sanguine expectation, there was an unsettling of actual business. Work was delayed, plans were undecided, urgent needs were unprovided—until the loan should come.

Meantime doubts had arisen here. What was justified in wartime might be questionable in peace. It was finally thought best to have Congress act on the matter and to authorize the loan. Mr. Hughes drew up a bill for presentation; Mr. Harding gave his endorsement and the subject came before Congress. On October 28, 1921, the Liberian Commission and the State Department were in full accord and the plan of the loan was signed in due form—but dependent upon favorable action by Congress. On November 8, the Department of State notified the Liberian government that the balance of the original credit of \$5,000,000 had been withdrawn, but there was no expectation that the matter would fail. On January 22, 1922, Secretary Hughes wrote President Harding urging prompt action to make the credit available; on January 26 a telegram came from the President of Liberia that the plan had been approved by the Liberian Legislature. But in our Congress the bill had met with hard treatment. President King sums up the situation in a few words:

This measure although strongly supported by the late President Harding, and his executive colleagues, had a very hard struggle in the Congress of the United States; its passage through the lower House was secured by a small majority. It was favorably reported to the Senate by the Senate's Committee on Finance by a smaller majority and eventually was recommitted to the Senate's Committee on Finance without instructions. This latter action was regarded as a failure of the loan. The failure of the loan credit of five million dollars was a keen disappointment to Liberia, not only from a financial and economic view point, but politically as well.¹

For four years Liberia had counted on the loan. Through all that time there had been unsettledness of business, halting of enterprises. It would have been better for the country if the loan had never been mentioned. Personally, I was never enthusiastic over it. There is no question as to the seriousness of the situation that drove President Howard and his Cabinet to make the appeal for help. It

¹ Inaugural: p. 3.

was legitimate and wise for us to come to the help of Liberia—our creation—in her hour of need. Given promptly and generously it might have been of real advantage to her. But the aid we were finally ready to give, hemmed around by the conditions we imposed, invoking constant oversight and possible outside interference in the affairs of the Republic, was a doubtful blessing. It involved the employment of eighteen American officials, whose salaries totalled almost \$100,000; it called for an increased, and surely in some degree unwarranted, expenditure on “the Frontier Force”; it necessitated a considerable outlay in revenue guard and patrol duty and in the bonding of the financial commission; it demanded the maintenance of a repository. These were financial burdens of no small magnitude to be carried by the loan and the amount remaining after they were met and interest paid and a sinking fund for capital repayment established was somewhat problematical. It looked as if the roads and harbor improvements, sanitation and schools, would not greatly profit from the arrangement. In the discussion before Congressional committees other questions were raised and difficulties were suggested—misunderstandings that might arise between the Liberian government and the American officials, the status of these foreigners as enjoying immunities, suspicions that the loan was subject to considerable diminution for commissions or influence. These difficulties and objections had been in my own mind from the beginning and they minimized my own regret at the course the matter took. I would be glad to see an enlightened, constant, active and generous interest in Liberia in this country, ready to help in every way, even to finance. But, if Liberia can pull through without such a loan as that authorized in 1918, she will be better in the end without it.

That she is really able to do so is indicated by President King's last message to the Legislature. Liberian trade is reviving. We have already mentioned the shrinkage during the war. In 1913 Liberia received \$485,576 in customs

dues. It was perhaps high-water mark. Then came the years of depression. But during the past three years there has been steady improvement:

The following statement will show the steady increase of the customs receipts at the principal ports along the coast other than Cape Mount for the past three years: ²

	1920-1921	1921-1922	1922-1923
Monrovia.....	\$122,114.07	\$146,549.76	\$168,451.08
Marshall.....	786.17	1,434.75	1,696.17
Gd. Bassa.....	36,144.13	55,997.14	73,120.14
River Cess.....	4,126.28	6,086.66	8,895.24
Grand Cess.....	2,249.95	2,681.22	2,817.03
Cape Palmas.....	32,464.84	42,637.65	51,144.07

Cape Mount is not included in this statement because it is the subject of special comment elsewhere in the Message. Because this brings up a point of prime importance, it may be quoted here:

While all of the principal ports of the Republic show an increase in Customs Revenues, yet that of the port of Cape Mount shows the remarkable increase. This port in 1920-21 showed customs receipts of \$1,092.81. In 1921-22 it produced \$3,392.74 and in this year 1923 it has produced in customs revenues alone the sum of \$15,044.37. An examination of the reason for this great increase shows us that the merchants at Cape Mount have been taking advantage of the Act permitting them to trade in the interior and gives us a picture of what can be reasonably expected as trade with the interior develops at the different ports.—Message: 1923, p. 8.

There is no question of the soundness of the last suggestion. The establishment of fair roads back from each port into its hinterland would give several of the ports as good a showing as this of Cape Mount. It is true that back of that port is a population, the Vai, of extraordinary ability and enterprise, but there are good qualities in many of the interior tribes and only roads and a fair measure of encouragement are necessary to produce a steady flow of

² Message: 1923, p. 8.

valuable raw materials coastward. In a recent article, Mr. Harry A. McBride, for a time a consular officer at Monrovia, tells a story that carries a lesson:

They ("bushmen") are not entirely unwilling to assist the government. During the last year of the war, when steamers from Europe were few and far between, there was a great scarcity of rice for feeding the frontier-force.

The price of the imported article was twelve cents per pound—more than the government could afford to pay. Word was sent far into the interior to a certain Kpwesse chief. He answered the call by sending a caravan of two hundred of his tribesmen to Monrovia—a distance of 100 miles—on foot, every man carrying on his head a parcel of 56 pounds of native rice carefully packed in palm-leaf hampers.

Each of these carriers was given a Liberian dime and a piece of cotton print for his labor, and they returned highly contented to their villages. This rice cost the government about two cents per pound and the first caravan was only the forerunner of others.

These people were not Vai, but they responded willingly when opportunity offered. Such people will not be unready to profit by regular and steady trade.

That there is hope of the Republic meeting its obligations and gradually rising to a satisfactory financial status is indicated by President King's statement of the operation of the receivership:

The moneys received by the Receivership for the year were, \$368,395.47 as against the year 1921-22 of \$303,525.75 thus showing an excess of collection to that of last year by \$64,872.72.

The interest on our 1911 Gold Loan has been paid up to date and there is now deposited with the Fiscal Agents in London, money sufficient to meet the January 1924 coupons when they become due. It may be here pointed out that when the coupons were paid on July fifteenth, 1923, this was the first time since 1915 that the interest on the loan was paid when due. In addition to this, there has been paid two thousand pounds sterling on account of the arrears of Sinking Fund. Besides the current Sinking Fund, charges have been met by regular monthly payments.

The amounts of money remitted to the Fiscal Agents, on account of the Gold Loan, for the last three fiscal years, are as follows:

1920-1921	\$ 38,418.24
1921-1922	128,160.00
1922-1923	158,978.00

making a total transmission of \$324,978.24.

On yesterday the following cable was received by the Receiver-ship from our Fiscal Agents, the National City Bank: "We report 20,000 sinking funds purchase leaving 4,300 dollars against July coupons—City Bank."

This means that:—

(1) The city bank has retired Twenty Thousand Dollars of Bonds purchased from the Sinking Fund.

(2) That sufficient money is already on deposit to meet the January Coupons on their due date.

(3) That they have on hand a surplus of four thousand three hundred dollars to be credited to us against payment of the Coupons due next July, 1924.³

An experiment that has caused some discussion and the wisdom of which has been questioned is the imposition of port and harbor dues. Can such dues be collected from the ships visiting the Liberian coast and are they a matter of sufficient consequence to be worth while and to warrant incurring the hostility of shipping interests? Whatever is true theoretically, the dues are being collected and being used to some advantage:

The funds derived from these port and harbor dues have been specially segregated and applied to the erection of light-houses at Cape Palmas and Monrovia. These light-houses are now almost completed and it is hoped that within the next two or three weeks they will be throwing their respective lights of thirty thousand candle power visible thirty miles at sea; thus demonstrating the benefits of this act by showing to the ships passing off our coast the most powerful lights on the whole West African Coast. In April of next year a third light of similar power will be placed at Sinoe.⁴

Not only is there encouragement in the matter of foreign debt and necessary public improvements. The message announces some reduction of internal indebtedness:

³ Message: 1923, p. 7.

⁴ Message: 1923, p. 11.

It will I am sure be pleasing to know that \$80,000.00 of our internal public indebtedness has been redeemed during the fiscal year in the following manner: \$5,438.62 paid on arrears of salaries; \$5,382.77 paid on redemption of 3 per cent bonds, and \$69,178.61 by cancellation of Debt Certificates and 3 per cent bonds recoverable from German Liquidation.⁵

I have dealt at greater length than was intended with the financial condition of the Republic. There are other matters that call for mention. Most interesting is the recovery of German trade, a recovery viewed with dissatisfaction in some quarters. Regarding this we quote the President at length:

Among the many press attacks made upon Liberia, I may refer *en passant* to those appearing in the early part of the year, in the columns of one of the leading French Colonial Journals called "La Depeche Coloniale et Maritime" contributed by one M. Maurice Delafosse, who resided in this city in the capacity of French Consular Agent some twenty years ago.

In one of these articles the writer calls attention to the rapid growth of German Trade in Liberia since the war, which he attributes to partiality shown towards the Germans by the Liberian Government and its officials. That the German Trade in Liberia is fast gaining its pre-war position, is a fact which cannot be denied. But that this gain is due to any direct or indirect support of the Liberian Government, or any of its responsible officials, is the point where we join issue with the writer. The assumptions upon which Mr. Delafosse's articles are founded, are without any basis in fact.

It is well known that the Germans are now trading in Liberia under severe handicaps. Since the war there has been no commercial Treaty concluded between Germany and Liberia. So far as the Liberian Government's attitude is concerned, the Germans themselves regard it as unfriendly. But we were not inclined to forestall allied opinion, as expressed in the Versailles Treaty, and therefore maintained our attitude, though at the expense of being misunderstood by the Germans. . . . Now, what Liberians cannot understand is this: Why is all this fuss about German commercial supremacy in Liberia, when the Germans are now trading in Li-

⁵ Message: 1923, p. 10.

beria under severe handicaps and restrictions. At present every German in Liberia is only here by permission and not under any Treaty right. They may for cause be expelled from the country at any time.

Under the sanctions of the Treaty of Versailles above referred to, their investments in Liberia are subjected to confiscation for the reparation claims which may be awarded Liberia against their Government. Most of their former business sites and buildings have been taken over by the Liberian Government and are now occupied by the English, French and Dutch commercial firms, under lease from the Liberian Government or the original owners. And yet under all these disadvantages, the Germans since their re-entry into Liberia, now just over two years ago, have regained nearly one half of the entire trade: the other half being shared by the English, Dutch and French in the order named.

In the circumstances, therefore, can the Liberian Government be honestly charged with partiality toward the Germans? No, it is only a question of "the survival of the fittest" here in Liberia as in any other country. But what are the facts? The expulsion of Germans from Liberia during the great European war afforded every opportunity for allied commercial expansion and development in this portion of west Africa, but sad to say, allied enterprises seemed either unwilling or incapable of rising to the supreme occasion.

The failure of both our English and French friends to take the advantages thus offered them by the circumstances of war, for the expansion and development of their trade in Liberia, and their apparent annoyance at German commercial re-entry into Liberia would indicate what might properly be called "the dog in the manger policy." But such a policy would be detrimental to Liberia no matter how loyal she may care to be to her Allies. Liberia must first to herself be true. It is however reassuring to know, that in these adverse and unjust criticisms, neither do the English or French Governments associate themselves, but are rather disposed to place the blame, if blame there be, at the proper doors.⁶

All this calls for little comment. Delafosse knows West Africa well. He has always been a little critical of Liberia and the Liberians. He ridicules the effort of Negroes to run a white man's government in Africa and thinks the

⁶ Message, p. 5.

Liberian experiment would have been happier and more respectable if it copied native African instead of a United States model. There are points in his argument that appeal to me, but how long would such a "native" government exist? It would have been almost immediately gobbled up by some land-hungry, colonizing European nation. Liberia's existence today is due to the fact that she was organized as she was: her continuity depends upon her remaining true for the most part to the pattern. As to the German status—anyone who has seen Germans in colonial lands, in the Orient, or in Latin America, will understand the situation and will admit that they put in honest labor for what they get.

The vast mass of Liberian population is made up of "bush" negroes, native tribes of the interior. There are perhaps 1,500,000 of them. They are good stuff; Liberia's chief asset. Nothing is more important than to gain their good will, recognition of government, and hearty cooperation. In 1912, entering upon his first term of office, President Howard made his inaugural program cover two days, one of which was given over to the native chiefs. It was, I believe, an innovation: it was a great success. Perhaps two hundred chiefs were in Monrovia for the occasion and some impression for good no doubt was made. President King recognized the importance of the policy of rapprochement and would make it continuous. Less spectacular than a chiefs' day at inauguration, but deeper in influence, is such a conference as he recently held, which he describes and which is to be followed up:

In the month of March last, a conference of Chiefs was held at Suehn, in the Teh-Geveh District of the interior of Montserrado County. At this conference I presided assisted by the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Public Instruction both of whom accompanied me on this trip. There were in attendance at this conference all of the principal chiefs and sub-chiefs of the first three districts of the hinterland as well as those of the districts within the limits of Montserrado County. The conference was in

daily sessions for a month and represented the largest gathering of its kind recorded in the history of the Republic.

The Chiefs with their attendants numbered five to six hundred persons in daily attendance, excluding visitors and onlookers from the various surrounding towns and villages. At this conference the Chiefs were requested to make known what grievances or complaints they had against the District Commissioners, the Officers and Men of the Frontier Force, and any other official of the interior administration. This some of them frankly did. After investigation into and ruling upon the several complaints brought up, general satisfaction was expressed by all of the Chiefs and they thereupon reaffirmed their loyalty to the Republic in the most solemn manner under their customary laws.

They were then invited to collaborate with us in the formulation of laws and regulations for the governing and administration of native districts. This invitation met with a very warm and spontaneous acceptance on their part. Whereupon we jointly proceeded with our work of collaboration achieving the results that were most gratifying and satisfactory to all parties concerned.

This is only the first of the series of conferences of Chiefs which I plan to hold yearly, to be presided over by myself and in my absence, by the Secretary of the Interior. By this method we will be able to ascertain the desires and suggestions of the native Chiefs with a view to their closer co-operation with the government in its administration of the country.

The conference was a great success. The tranquility and satisfactory state of affairs which now prevails in our hinterland is due, in a large measure to the far-reaching effects of the conference. Regulations embodying the suggestions of the Chiefs along the lines of native laws and customs for the government of native districts, have been printed and published in pamphlet form by the Interior Department and are now in force.⁷

The control over the interior by the government is far from what it should be. A serious problem, especially with reference to the tribes far in the hinterland, is the fact that they can find shelter, even a welcome, in French and British territory. There is a double danger in this. First, it makes dealings with such chiefs difficult: at any trifling dif-

⁷ Message: 1923, p. 22.

ference, with any effort to improve authority or to carry out regulations, the offended ruler may decamp and settle beyond reach. Second, there is always the chance of becoming implicated in controversy with the power in whose possession the fugitive seeks shelter. It would be easy to develop this problem at length, but space does not permit. But the facts of a specific instance will prove instructive. Reknitting of relations with such a fugitive chief took place last year :

Chief Boymah Quay, a most influential, powerful and intelligent Chief of the Kporpa Golah section of the Country, being one of those Chiefs who took up arms against the Government in President Howard's administration and was compelled to seek refuge in the British Protectorate of Sierra Leone, sought the occasion on my recent visit to Cape Mount to ask the forgiveness of the Liberian Government and to be permitted to return to Liberia and rebuild his country; promising to be forever hereafter a peaceful and law-abiding subject of the state if assurances were given him, by me, that he would not be hung for his treasonable act he would readily submit to and comply with any other punishment which he may be called upon to undergo by the Liberian Government. Being assured that the death penalty would not be inflicted upon him, he came over and met me at Dambarra, the Capital Town of the Kporpa Chiefdom. After the usual "palava" ceremonies, in the presence of all the leading and principal Chiefs of the Territory, I bestowed upon him the pardon of the Government with an exemplary fine of three hundred pounds, which he gladly accepted and promised payment within six months. Permission was however granted him to commence the rebuilding of his former town of Bendajah at once.

The return of such a powerful and influential chief with his great following of people cannot but react most favorably upon the economic development of the Territory of Grand Cape Mount and as such be welcomed by both the civilized and uncivilized people of the Territory.

This is one of many instances where by reason of a better understanding between the Government and the natives, important Chiefs with their followers who have fled from our Territory over to the English and French borders are returning to their homes which

they had been compelled, by force of circumstances in the past to abandon; and they are now settling down in peace and general contentment.⁸

With firm, but just and fair, treatment, co-operation, education, the natives must take an ever larger and larger share in the actual conduct of the government. Their participation is not a new thing, but it is increasing and it must continue to increase. There have been notable cases of native success in various fields of effort and professional life; nor are such cases confined to a single tribe. Kru, Bassa, Grebo, Vai—all of these, and other tribes, have made their contribution. A full record of such native achievement would be interesting and well worth while. We will mention only four cases, just now conspicuous. Theophilus Momolu Gardner, Vai, is now suffragan bishop of the Episcopal Church; Abayomi Karnga is postmaster-general; Momolu Massaquoi, Vai, is consul-general at Hamburg, Germany; Henry Too Wesley, Grebo, was elected vice-president at the last election—he is the first native to have reached that office. In speaking of Mr. Massaquoi as consul-general at Hamburg, it may be mentioned that a new departure has been made in consular appointments. Heretofore, in foreign lands, Liberian consuls have been citizens of the countries to which they have been accredited and usually white men. For the first time there are now *Liberian* consuls—C. E. Cooper, Americo-Liberian, in England and M. Massaquoi, Vai, in Germany.

It was intended to devote much of this article to education but space does not admit. During the time here under consideration the “Jones Commission” has been in Africa making investigations and its report, *Education in Africa*, is easily accessible. The Jones Commission hardly grasps the situation or solves the problem as far as Liberia is concerned. One thing is certain—a school well adapted to Alabama or Mississippi need not, even in principle, meet Liberian needs. My views regarding Liberian education

⁸ Message: 1923, p. 25.

are much what they were when I wrote my book, *Liberia*. So far as present conditions in Liberia are concerned, there is much to do. The failure of the Caroline Donovan Institute to prosper as a public school is a real disappointment. The practical features of Muhlenberg (Lutheran) and Cape Mount (Episcopalian) deserve careful study, further development, and wide application. Liberia College has a real place in a proper scheme of government schools, and in spite of limitations, should continue along much the lines upon which it was originally planned. The relation of Mission Schools to the Department of Public Instruction and the adjustment between public and mission schools are delicate questions, which must however be answered. It is such questions which must come before the newly appointed Board of Education composed of nine members. Its President is ex-President Arthur Barclay and in its membership are the President of Liberia College, the three Bishops, and representatives of every mission board conducting school work in the Republic. If this Board can work in harmony and give proper consideration to its duties, it can do much to improve and raise the standard of Liberian schools.

The present school statistics are given by the President as follows:

	Teachers	Schools	Enrollment
Public Schools:			
1921.....	28	25	694
1922.....	33	33	1,496
1923.....	46	46	2,704
Mission Schools:			
1923.....	317	128	—
Liberia College.....	6		

These are probably neither complete nor reliable. They are introduced here merely because the latest statement. The President however adds an item of vital interest.

For the first time have public schools been established by the government among our aboriginal population at such interior points as Jundoo in the Vey country, Slenzon in the Marbahn country,

Vonjamah in the Buzzie country, Sanoquelli in the Pesseh country, Mount Coffe in the Todee Golah country, Kunor in the Kroo country and Cavalla in Maryland country.⁹

The Missions also are pushing into the interior with their school work. Until lately, the Lutheran mission alone struck in away from the Coast.

The Republic of Liberia is today seventy-seven years old. Behind the Republic was the Colony, founded by the American Colonization Society and fostered by it through more than a score of years. The Society was organized at the end of 1816. The first colonists, freedmen from the United States, were sent to Liberia and settled there in 1823. This event was celebrated in a series of events, that extended through eight days, from January 7 to January 15, 1923. A souvenir program of this Centennial Celebration was issued. The design on the cover displays the flags of the United States and Liberia crossed, with the shield of the national arms above and a quotation from Elijah Johnson, one of the original settlers, below. The words were said at a time of discouragement, when all looked dark. They are as applicable today as when they were first uttered:—"here we are and here we will remain." A strong religious note runs through the program of exercises. Patriotic and religious addresses were delivered by representatives of all interests and groups in the community. The entire military establishment of the Republic—both the militia (Americo-Liberian) and the frontier force (native)—took part in parade and drill. Athletic sports, native dances, a folk-lore concert, a torch-light procession, a parade of boats, devil dancing, illumination and fire-works were items. Two monuments were unveiled and dedicated—one to that good and useful man, Bishop Samuel D. Ferguson, the other to the Pioneers and Helpers. The eight days of the celebration were especially named and each was devoted to some special group or interest. Thus, in order, came Pioneers' Day, Government Day, Aborigines' Day,

⁹ Inaugural, p. 11.

Women's Day, Children's Day, Missionary Day, Foreign Residents' Day, and Looking-Forward Day. It was a time of joy and getting together. An important event in the national history.

There is one disquieting note in the President's message. The last election was one of unparalleled bitterness, in which much that was said and done was unfortunate. The President asks the Legislature for new and more drastic law regarding criminal libel. He says:

Unfortunately however, no provision is made in the said Act for like protection to our own Government, the President, or other principal officers, as a result of which those evil-disposed persons already referred to, have taken advantage of the defects in the law to direct their contumelious attacks upon the Government and its highest officers with impunity. A bill amending such Act is being prepared by the attorney-general to be submitted to you for your favorable action.

Unbridled license is bad, but the restriction of free speech is dangerous. It is to be hoped that the proposed act is wise and moderate and just, not reflecting, or calculated to arouse and perpetuate, personal animosities. The Americo-Liberians are a little group. Its members are in constant and close personal contact. Division is dangerous; harmony is essential. They must stand together in friendly courage and firm resolve. For they face three watchful masses, each larger than themselves. They face a hinterland with an overwhelming native population, that is capable, energetic and waking; they face neighbors, strong and aggressive, hostile, unsympathetic and hypercritical; they face a world, somewhat cold and skeptical, doubtful whether they can maintain themselves. It will take the united wisdom of all, irrespective of party or family or creed, to maintain what the fathers started and what, on the whole marvellously, they have carried on.

FREDERICK STARR

July 26, 1924

THE ORIGIN OF HAMPTON INSTITUTE

Hampton Institute, Fisk University, Howard University, Atlanta, Talledega, Shaw, and other well-known Negro institutions of learning were direct outgrowths of the Civil War. In 1860 such institutions for the black race were undreamed of; ten years later they had all been established and the need of Negro education generally recognized. The opening up of schools for the freed people by Northern missionary and benevolent societies began on a wide scale with the close of the war in 1865, but prior to this time, as early as 1861, the enlightenment of the slaves was carried on by these bodies where Federal military control would permit. One such place was at Fortress Monroe.

Fortress Monroe is situated at the extreme end of the peninsula lying between the James and the York rivers with the neighboring towns of Newport News, Hampton, Yorktown, Old Point Comfort, and across Hampton Roads—Norfolk, Portsmouth, and Suffolk. The educational efforts which began first among the Negroes of Hampton and Fortress Monroe in 1861 and very soon afterwards at the other places mentioned continued throughout the war period, and three years after the Civil War closed, crystallized into the Hampton Institute of today. Thus in one sense we can say that this great institution was established in 1861.

It is a well-known fact to every student of history that the Civil War began on the part of the North as an effort to save the Union, not as a measure to destroy slavery or to interfere in any way with the slave-holders' peculiar institution. The Civil War was to be purely a white man's affair. The exigencies of the situation however very soon caused the Washington administration to change from its passive attitude on slavery at the beginning of the struggle

in April 1861 to a stand which finally led to the emancipation of the Negroes and their subsequent employment in all war-time activities to defeat the Confederacy and at the same time bring to fruition Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

From the very beginning and ever increasing throughout the first and second years of the war the institution of slavery was automatically crumbling. Wherever the Northern armies penetrated the Southland the slaves secured their release from bondage either through the process of being abandoned by their owners or as runaways and refugees to the army camps. In proportion as the Northern armies secured a foothold on Southern territory, in the same proportion did the education of the Negro extend.

The victories of the North in the early part of the conflict were confined largely to naval exploits and to territory lying adjacent to the water—Chesapeake Bay, the Atlantic Ocean, Gulf of Mexico, and the Mississippi. Thus in Virginia, Fortress Monroe, Norfolk and surrounding territory first fell to Northern armies, as well as New Bern, North Carolina, Port Royal, South Carolina, Mobile, New Orleans, and Memphis. It was to these and other places that the slaves found their way to freedom and at the same time became the recipients of Northern philanthropy and humanitarianism.

In the State of Virginia the breakdown of slavery was severe and far reaching. Since the Northern armies did not extensively invade South-side Virginia, slavery there remained comparatively untouched but in the Shenandoah Valley, Northern Virginia, and Tidewater the institution early disappeared. Governor Letcher estimated that the loss in slaves exceeded that from cotton or any other species of property. The counties overrun by the armies contained an aggregate slave population of 80,278 valued at \$45,000,000, all of which was lost to the citizens.¹ In many instances the blacks of the Valley and Northern Virginia

¹ McConnell, *Negroes and their Treatment in Virginia*, p. 18-19.

made their escape across Mason and Dixon's line into Pennsylvania or to Washington while thousands filtered into Eastern Virginia where they could be sheltered by Northern armies. The colonies of Negroes in Eastern Virginia came not only from points in the State but also from the upper counties of North Carolina.

The exodus of slaves to Eastern or Tidewater Virginia leads to the action at Fortress Monroe which in one sense served as a formal notice that all who came within the Union lines would be received. The man who laid down the policy for the status and treatment of escaped slaves was General B. F. Butler in command of the Department of Virginia which included the Fortress. Among the Northern commanders this man with his egotism does not stand out as one with a stainless war reputation. Nevertheless, shady though some of his tactics may have been in the opinion of some, Butler is to be rated as famous for the stand he took on that morning of the twenty-fourth of May when he declared that the escaped slave who stood before him should not be returned to his master but that he and all others who so came were to be regarded as contraband of war.² From this time forward all escaped and abandoned slaves in the South were frequently known as "contrabands."

By a chain of singular circumstances the spot where Butler enunciated his policy was only a few miles from the place where in 1619 slavery had been introduced into this country. It seemed thus that the very site where slavery began was also to be the place in which the beginning was to be made for first the slave's political emancipation and then his intellectual emancipation. The educational progress first begun here for the enlightenment of the Negro race was in time to permeate the whole southland.

The details on the influx of Negroes to the Union quarters at Fortress Monroe are related by one Edward L. Pierce, lawyer, soldier, writer and ardent abolitionist from

² Butler's Book, p. 256-260.

Milton, Massachusetts. In view of his military services at the Fortress and likewise later at Port Royal, South Carolina, he becomes one of our chief sources of information on the contrabands. His services under Butler at the Fortress were limited to the spring and summer months of 1861. During this short stay he relates how on May twenty-sixth, only two days after the one slave appeared before Butler, eight Negroes appeared, on the next day, forty-seven, of all ages and both sexes. Each day they continued to come by twenty's, thirty's and forty's until by July 30th the number had reached nine hundred.³ In a very short while the number ran up into the thousands. The renowned Fortress took the name of the "freedom fort" to which the blacks came by means of a "mysterious spiritual telegraph."⁴

The flight of slaves to Fortress Monroe was prompted in part by conditions in the town of Hampton only three miles away. The white citizens here themselves in May 1861 had abandoned the town upon the attack of the Union soldiers and fled across the creek which now separates the Hampton Institute grounds from the town of Hampton.⁵ On August 7th, 1861, a small contingent of Confederate troops under General Magruder succeeded momentarily in recapturing the town only for the purpose of burning it down. In addition to the refugees at Fortress Monroe there were now these two hundred or more Hampton Negroes who had been abandoned by their masters.⁶

With the slight success of the Union maneuvers during the course of a year or more, the lower end of the peninsula as far up as Williamsburg became a Union foothold so that the whole territory including Yorktown twelve miles to the north at the same time was open to Negro colonization. Similarly, across Hampton Roads, as Norfolk, Craney Island, and adjacent territory fell into Union hands during

³ Pierce, *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 8 (1861), p. 628-630.

⁴ Ludlow, *Evolution of Whittier School* p. 4-5.

⁵ Trowbridge, *The South*, p. 219.

⁶ *Petersburg Daily Express*, May 28, 1861.

the first year of the war, these places became rendezvous for escaped slaves. Again, to the north of the peninsula up the Potomac river to Alexandria the small Union foothold served also to beckon the Negroes.

The value of the Negro as a factor in turning the tide of victory for the North was early appreciated. Hence we have the Confiscation Acts of 1861 and 1862, and after the Emancipation Proclamation the Negroes were extensively employed as soldiers in the Union armies. Of as great value too was their use for fatigue duty and the general drudgery incident to army camp life. The Hampton Negroes were put to work on intrenchments.

The employment and organization of the colonies of Negroes in Eastern Virginia for a while was halting and unsatisfactory. By 1863 some 64,000 contrabands were situated here. During 1862, the year of Butler's absence at New Orleans, Negro affairs were particularly deplorable. For instance, in Craney Island there were two thousand penned together and fed like cattle. Efforts had been made to encourage the blacks to grow corn on the farms around Norfolk to which there was some response, but the enterprise on a whole failed. Little faith was put in the government's willingness to pay since already between fifty and seventy thousand dollars was owing to them.

In order to restore confidence, Butler, upon resuming command of the Department of Virginia in 1863 under the general leadership of General Grant, laid out a plan in his order number 46. Several of its provisions were that all Negroes between the ages of 18 and 45 should enlist in the army as soldiers; that their equipment and rations were to be the same as white soldiers; and that the government should provide maintenance for the family of every soldier. The Superintendent of Negroes, according to this order, must give employment to all and see that the families be provided with the necessities of life. Finally, it stated that there must be one system of management of Negro affairs. To this end Colonel Kimman was appointed General

Superintendent and the entire Department was divided into three districts. The second district in 1864 contained about twenty-one thousand Negroes.⁷

After the contrabands had been provided for physically as just described, the next move was to provide means for enlightenment through the schoolroom and the church and in a still larger sense to teach them to be useful citizens. This program was carried out very largely by Northern missionary societies with the cooperation and sympathy of the United States military forces. General Butler himself, as we shall see, was directly interested in the schooling of the contrabands in his department.

The several hundred Northern missionary societies had their origin in response to the opening battles of the war with the care of slaves that they entailed. Such was the case with three of the largest societies: the New York National Freedman's Relief Association of New York City, the New England Freedman's Aid Society of Boston, and the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association of Philadelphia. All of these sprang up in response to the condition of the slaves in the Sea Islands of South Carolina following the naval encounter at Hilton Head.

The society which most largely operated in Eastern Virginia was the American Missionary Association of New York City. Among all the missionary organizations of the North this one possibly ranks first for its work among Negroes not only during the Civil War but ever since. The American Missionary Association has firmly believed in the brotherhood of man and its work has reached the unfortunates of all races in all parts of the world. This society was organized in 1836 on a strong anti-slavery platform through the union of three smaller anti-slavery organizations. The institution of slavery however was too strongly intrenched in the South for this association to accomplish much in ante-bellum days, but with the opening of the war it was swamped with opportunities to elevate the freedmen.

⁷ *N. Y. Times*, May 7, 1864.

The opportunity for help first presented itself at Hampton and Fortress Monroe where as already described the Negroes were coming in daily in larger numbers. Lewis Tappan, Treasurer of the American Missionary Association, opened up a correspondence with General Butler with reference to his contrabands and suggested that missionary work be started among them. The General welcomed the suggestion for Negro relief; and in August 1861 the association commissioned Reverend L. C. Lockwood as a missionary. Upon arriving at Hampton he opened up a Sabbath school for the contrabands in the house of ex-President Tyler on September 15, 1861.⁸ Later several other Sunday schools were started.

The first day school where the contrabands were to receive the rudiments of learning was established on September 17, 1861, in the town of Hampton in a small brown house near the Seminary, a school formerly used by the whites. This school was taught by Mrs. Mary Peake and under the auspices of the American Missionary Association. Mrs. Peake herself was a Negro woman of light complexion whose father was a white man, an Englishman. She had always been a free woman and received a fair education at her home in Alexandria. She was imbued with the idea of helping her race. To this end, then, she had gone among the slaves during slavery to teach them to read and write. She held her school at Hampton, however, only until the next Spring when she died of consumption at the early age of 39. Mary Peake is worthy of mention in the history of the Negro race in that she was possessed of a strong character and gave her life for her people. Her school was not only the first one at Hampton but the first of the kind in the South. Around the small school she began followed the other schools in the Hampton vicinity all of which led to the Hampton Institute of today.

Another effort around Hampton for the education of the contrabands was the Butler school established by the

⁸ A. M. A., *Annual Report*, 1868, p. 18-19.

commanding general of the same name upon his return in 1863. This school house was built by Federal Government funds in a field of the Wood farm near the Hampton hospital. It was a wooden structure shaped in the form of a Greek cross, 30 feet wide and 130 feet from end to end. The interior was one big room without a partition. Reverend Charles Raymond was appointed principal here. This Butler school remained under the control of the American Missionary Association until 1870. As we shall see later, it evolved finally into the Whittier school of today. It is of interest to note here that the Lancaster method of instruction was used in the Butler school. For a while all the teachers at this school were convalescent soldiers from the hospitals who taught dressed in their slippers and calico wrappers.⁹

Mrs. Peake's school and the Butler school are the significant ones for our purposes. In addition, however, there were a large number of other schools around Hampton and vicinity and indeed the whole Tidewater section. In truth we may say that here there was a beehive of schools, churches, Sunday schools, and educational agencies of all kinds. The blacks themselves were most eager to learn to read and write and their instructors found in them docile pupils. The rush for learning was especially strong after the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. The philanthropic agencies themselves renewed their interest and realized more than ever that the enlightenment of the contrabands fell on their shoulders.

One example of renewed interest and a growing demand for educational facilities was shown at Norfolk. During the first two years of the war there was only one school there but in 1863 a program of expansion was undertaken by the American Missionary Association. In April of that year a missionary was sent to open schools in two colored churches. At the first session 350 scholars came, with 300 in the evening. On the third day some 550 appeared at the

⁹ Reid, *After the War*, p. 16.

day school and 500 in the evening. For these two schools fifteen Negro assistant teachers were engaged while everybody's energy was taxed. The day school enrollment this year became finally as high as 1,200, besides some 1,500 in the Sabbath schools. At Portsmouth likewise the schools were enlarged by the American Missionary Association. Not only in the City of Norfolk were there schools but also around Norfolk on the abandoned plantations. One such school was that conducted on the estate of Henry O. Wise whose mansion was used as the school building.¹⁰

Two years later, 1865, it is estimated that there were in Norfolk, Portsmouth, and the adjacent confiscated farms about 25,000 freedmen, about 5,000 of whom were in the schools.¹¹ In 1867 these pupils and more were accommodated in thirty schools that were sustained by the Association. Returning across Hampton Roads to the town of Hampton and vicinity one found there in 1863 about one thousand in the schools with two or three hundred at Yorktown and about one hundred at Newport News.¹² By 1866 it is estimated there were upwards of 1,500 in the day schools in the town of Hampton with a large number attending night school.

In view of these numbers and the enthusiasm shown by all persons concerned, what shall we say of the character and result of the work? To begin with, the schools conducted by the American Missionary Association in the section under consideration were rated as the best Negro schools in the Atlantic States. The Association itself took particular pride in its eastern Virginia field of missionary efforts. During two years of the war the Association reported that they had given out over ten thousand small elementary books to the blacks. At a time when the white population itself had such a high percentage of illiteracy the freedmen in this section forged ahead of them, leaving

¹⁰ *History of the A. M. A.*, p. 13-14.

¹¹ *The American Missionary*, May 1865, p. 103.

¹² *New England Freedmen's Aid Society, Annual Report*, 1864, p. 32.

a larger proportion of blacks who could read and write than the whites.¹³

Working hand in hand with the American Missionary Association and other agencies were the military forces which we have already seen in the case of General Butler and his staff. Toward the end of the war on March 19, 1865, General Gordon issued his special order 59 which made school attendance compulsory. The order stated that "ample provisions having been made by benevolent societies . . . all children south of the James between the ages of five and fourteen must attend school unless employed at labor." The penalty for non-attendance was a fine or imprisonment.

The Norfolk Journal of June 1, 1867, contained a testimonial of the work in Norfolk which was highly praiseworthy. It is of particular interest in that it represents the opinion of an element of the local white people. In part this paper said: "We visited yesterday the school for colored children on Fenchurch Street in company with some of our prominent citizens. We cannot express our satisfaction with the visit more fully than by saying that we were literally astonished at the display of intelligence by the pupils . . . the ladies who teach in this school were courteous and kind, and took great pleasure in exhibiting the various faculties of the scholars. Their exertions must necessarily advance the colored boys and girls among us to a high order of talent, and more encouragement must be given by our council to our public schools, to prevent our white children from being outstripped in the race for intelligence by their sable competitors. . . . We urge our citizens to acquaint themselves with the system adopted by Mr. Percy's schools (American Missionary Association schools) and urge on them the propriety of looking in occasionally at the several establishments under his charge, and seeing what otherwise would be discredited if told by others." This paper went on to say further that it was a

¹³ *The American Missionary*, May 1864, p. 125.

“grand system of education well carried out” although it was a bitter pill to admit the greater progress being made by these schools than by the white public schools.¹⁴

The Norfolk Virginian on the other hand viewed the same work with disparagement and ridicule. Speaking of the Northern white teachers, it said: “The Negro ‘school-marms’ are either gone, going, or to go, and we don’t much care which, whereto, or how—whether it be to the more frigid regions of the northern zone, or to a still more torrid climate. . . . Our grief at their departure is, however, lightened somewhat by the recollection that we will get rid of an abominable nuisance . . . our only fear is that their departure will not be eternal, and like other birds of prey they may return to us in season, and again take shelter, with their brood of black birds, under the protecting wings of that all-gobbling and fowlest of all fowls, the well-known buzzard—the Freedmen’s Bureau.”¹⁵

The missionary labor carried on among the freedmen of the southland by the various sectarian and non-sectarian societies, as already described, was to a degree temporary and experimental in character. High minded men and women of the North had given their means and in some instances their lives to the cause of the elevation of the freedmen. In order to perpetuate the work after the war and as a measure of protection frequent appeals had been made by the leaders of the Northern societies during the war for organized assistance from the Federal Government. In response to these appeals and in face of the destitute condition of the blacks there slowly evolved the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, familiarly known as the Freedmen’s Bureau. This Bureau came into existence by act of Congress March 1865, and continued with some modifications and a nominal existence until 1872. The Bureau operated all through each of the Southern States with a hierarchy of officials—a commissioner at

¹⁴ *Norfolk Journal*, June 1, 1867, quoted in *The American Missionary*, July 1867, p. 151.

¹⁵ *Norfolk Virginian*, July 2, 1866. *Ibid.*, July 1867, p. 151.

Washington in the person of O. O. Howard, an assistant commissioner for each State with sub-assistant commissioners for the several districts of each State.

The function of the Bureau was to cooperate with and further the work of the Northern missionary societies, to give clothing and rations to the freedmen and refugees, to assist them in labor contracts, and, in short, to serve as a clearing house for adjusting the Negro race in its new station in American society.

Some of the officers of the Bureau were unscrupulous and self-seeking and used the Negroes as instruments to further their program of greed. Others, on the other hand, were Christian gentlemen who sought to effect amicable relations between the races and who firmly believed that the Negro could be trained to know and appreciate all the finer elements of modern civilization. Aside from being trained to imbibe things purely æsthetic or cultural there were noble-minded white men of the Bureau and the missionary societies who were convinced that they could train Negroes to regard manual labor as dignified and ennobling rather than as disgraceful. The foremost exponent of this belief was Samuel Chapman Armstrong.

A mere summary of Armstrong's career shows that he was born in the Hawaiian Islands, January 30, 1839, and remained there until coming to Williams College in Massachusetts where he was graduated in 1862. The young man entered the Union army immediately upon graduation, becoming captain in the 125th New York Volunteers in August 1862. In the fall of 1863 he took command of the ninth and eighth regiments of United States Negro troops and was mustered out in November 1865 as Brevet-Brigadier General of Volunteers. In March 1866 this man was made a sub-commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau with supervision of nine counties in Eastern Virginia. Two years later, April 1868, he founded Hampton Institute for Negro youth. He died May 11, 1893.

W. E. B. DuBois, in summing up the benefits the Freed-

men's Bureau conferred upon the distracted Southern States, says that it helped to locate men like Ware, Cravath and Armstrong.¹⁶ This is a correct statement in that the position held by Armstrong offered him the opportunity to fulfill certain ambitions that were a part of him by inheritance and early environment and which were further accentuated by his two years' experience with Negro troops in the late war. All around him in the territory over which he had supervision were the educational activities and agencies which we have described above.

During the war, before his connection with the Freedmen's Bureau in Virginia, Armstrong had made to himself this vow, "I will found a school to educate teachers for this race. I will begin in a humble way a more patriotic, more difficult work than fighting for my country. I will open the door for this people, whom I dearly love, into intelligence, self-control, manhood and womanhood, and send my pupils over all this southern land to be centers of light and love, examples of diligence and loyalty to the noblest motives."¹⁷

The source of this noble purpose no doubt was found in the bearing and deportment of his Negro troops in the war. Their conduct and deeds of valor convinced him that such a people could learn and become useful citizens. Indeed it may be said that the Negro people in general won their spurs during the Civil War in part by their conduct as soldiers. General Butler on his farewell to his Negro troops January 8, 1865, said: "You have shown yourselves worthy of the uniform you wear. The best officers of the Union seek to command you . . . your patriotism, fidelity and courage have illustrated the best qualities of manhood. With the bayonet you have unlocked the iron-barred gates of prejudice, opening new fields of freedom, liberty, and equality of rights to yourselves and your race forever."¹⁸ For such a people Armstrong was resolved to spend his life.

Armstrong wanted to carry out his project but at first

¹⁶ DuBois, *Souls of Black Folk*, p. 32.

¹⁷ Carter, *Armstrong's Life and Work*, p. 8-9.

¹⁸ *N. Y. Times*, Jan. 12, 1865.

had no idea that the school he wanted to establish would be located in the territory over which he had supervision of Negro affairs as an officer of the Freedmen's Bureau. Most of the schools around Hampton and vicinity, as already pointed out, were under the auspices of the American Missionary Association. In a letter to the Association in 1867 he congratulated them on the closing exercises he had seen in one school. It gave him "satisfaction and surprise at the proficiency of the pupils in the Hampton schools" and after observing them for a year he was ready to "bear witness to a steady growth in knowledge and interest." He ended by saying that "freed children do not get tired of going to school, the more they know the more they wish to know."¹⁹

Within three years after the close of the war the non-sectarian missionary societies, such as the New England Freedmen's Aid and the New York National Freedmen's Relief Association, retired from the field. The sectarian or church organizations, however, remained in the field and even determined upon a higher program. The American Missionary Association, which was supported largely by the Congregational church, decided with the other church societies to establish normal schools, secondary schools, and colleges among the freed people with the idea of turning out teachers and leaders for the race. They reasoned only too well that most of Negro uplift must come from within the leadership of Negroes themselves and that after a course of time the very institutions planted by them for the higher training of Negroes would pass over into Negro control.

With the restoration of civil government in the hands of native Southern whites the first year after the war many of the schools started by the Northern societies passed over into the newly created public school system. Others passed out of existence entirely. Under the new management and under new conditions the schools either by direct design or

¹⁹ A. M. A., *Report*, 1867, p. 24.

through lack of funds could offer no more than an elementary education. The church societies therefore decided to plant institutions of higher grade among the Negroes so that their graduates might fill the positions in the new public schools and in a larger sense assume the leadership of the race.

With this idea in mind the American Missionary Association in 1866 decided to establish a normal school at Hampton, the place where already for five or six years they had been laboring among the freedmen. Here were thousands of Negroes many of whom had come as refugees during the war, the place possessed distinct geographical advantages, and greater still this neighborhood nourished the American commonwealth in its infancy. In this vicinity, at Jamestown, the first permanent settlement was made in 1607 and here Captain John Smith saved the colony. Twelve years after this date came the twenty Negroes in the Dutch vessel marking the planting of the institution of slavery in this country. It was now only fitting that the neighborhood which first enslaved the Negro should have the honor of planting a school which would become the very cornerstone for one phase of the Negro's training in this country.

Lying directly across the creek east of the town of Hampton was a tract of land known during the war as Camp Hamilton. On this land was situated a hospital for wounded soldiers. A part of this tract the American Missionary Association selected as the site for its permanent institution. The sum of money for its purchase, ten thousand dollars (\$10,000), was advanced by Hon. Josiah King, an executor of the Avery Fund, in the spring of 1867. The land consisted of 125 acres and cost nineteen thousand dollars (\$19,000), the American Missionary Association furnishing the remainder. This association held the property until 1872 when the board of trustees took it over.²⁰ The first buildings erected were the Academic Hall which cost forty-eight thousand dollars (\$48,000) and Virginia Hall

²⁰ Armstrong, *Hampton and its Students*, p. 27-28.

which cost seventy-five thousand dollars (\$75,000). A statement of the financial condition of the school in 1873 shows that during the five years of its existence a total of \$271,967.27 had been received. Of this amount the Freedmen's Bureau had contributed \$58,327.89 and the American Missionary Association, directly or indirectly, \$55,978.16. Other means of support in these early years came from the Peabody Fund and the Land Scrip Fund as provided by act of Congress in 1862 for agricultural schools.

As we have already indicated, the decision to locate Hampton on the grounds it now occupies was based on the educational activities carried on in the town of Hampton and all the territory within a radius of twenty miles from this place. On the grounds purchased for the erection of Hampton Institute was located the Butler school as referred to above. Upon the request of the Hampton trustees in 1871 the public school officers of the county assumed charge of it although the building remained the property of Hampton Institute and this school reserved the right to nominate its principal.

The Butler school served the double purpose of preparing pupils for Hampton and a practice school for its student teachers. The most advanced and modern ideas were carried out here through the principalship of Miss Elizabeth Hyde who was in charge from 1880 to 1895. A notable feature carried out here was the "kitchen garden" scheme in which small children were initiated into the whole range of domestic industries. In 1887 the Butler school, as built by General Butler in 1863, was replaced by the Whittier school through a gift of \$15,000. In 1890 this building burned down but was replaced the same year by an almost exact reproduction of the burnt building. The Whittier school of today, the successor of the Butler, is thus older than Hampton Institute itself and served as a stimulus to the rise of Hampton. To a marked degree this smaller school made Hampton a real normal school according to the testimony of Armstrong himself. The practice teaching

done here smacked of the type done in the best New England schools from which its ideas really came.

More important than buildings and equipment in the rise of Hampton Institute was the character around which these things centered. Armstrong as we have seen took a deep interest in the multitude of schools all about him. He kept in close touch with the American Missionary Association and was a chief advisor in their educational efforts around Hampton. A man named Parsons was asked to head this institution, but he declined. To the great surprise of Armstrong the American Missionary Association then turned to him. This action was taken in the fall of 1867 so that the actual establishment and opening of the school fell to Armstrong. Accordingly in the following April 1868, the school opened its doors with twenty scholars and two academic teachers. We therefore style Samuel Chapman Armstrong as the founder of Hampton. In June 1870 the institution was incorporated by the General Assembly of Virginia as the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute.

From the very beginning Hampton was looked upon as a national institution just as it is today. Its first board of trustees was made up of several of Armstrong's closest friends and war comrades. Among these persons were Oliver O. Howard, commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau and founder of Howard University; James A. Garfield, later to become president of the United States; E. M. Cravath, first president of Fisk University; and George Whipple of the American Missionary Association. Closely affiliated with the institution from the beginning also were the leading officials of the Virginia State government. Governor Walker and William H. Ruffner, State Superintendent of Education, spoke words of encouragement concerning the enterprise and indeed were responsible for sharing with Hampton one third of the Land Scrip Fund accruing to the State from Federal funds.²¹ In so doing

²¹ Hampton remained the beneficiary of this fund until 1920 when it was transferred to the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute at Petersburg, Virginia.

Virginia was the first Southern State to pro rate the State fund for its Negro citizens.

It is important to note here that a factor in the rise and progress of Hampton was the Hampton Singers. From the beginning the authorities of Hampton recognized the worth of the Negro's music as did Fisk University; and somewhat influenced by the Jubilee Singers of this institution, a band of singers was sent out in 1873 and made a tour of the North.²² One of their first engagements was at the White House with President Grant. The money raised by these singers was used in the erection of Virginia Hall. What George L. White did for Fisk University in collecting and preserving the Negro music, Thomas P. Fenner did for Hampton as its first head of the music department.

We have already taken into account the vow made by Armstrong while yet in the employ of the United States military forces; nevertheless, it is fitting to note his principles and theories of education especially as applied to the freed people, and to take into account certain spiritual forces at work in the planting of the institution. He says, "the past of our colored population had been such that an institution devoted especially to them must provide a training more than usually comprehensive, must include both sexes and a variety of occupation, must produce moral as well as mental strength, and while making its students first-rate mechanical laborers must also make them first-rate men and women."²³ Armstrong's education was thus to include the head, the hand, and the heart. He was doubtless influenced in this direction by having the opportunity to observe the Manual Labor school, established at Hilo, Hawaii, where he passed some of his early years.

Booker T. Washington, the foremost graduate of Hampton and a disciple of Armstrong, said of him: "One might have removed from Hampton all the buildings, classrooms, teachers, and industries, and given the men and women

²² Armstrong, *Hampton and its Students*, p. 128.

²³ *Annual Report of Principal*, 1876.

there the opportunity of coming in daily contact with General Armstrong and that alone would have been a liberal education.”²⁴ This testimony shows that Armstrong practiced what he preached in that he says, “The personal force of the teacher is the main thing. Outfit and apparatus, about which so much fuss is made, are secondary.”²⁵ Herein lies the chief characteristic of all the Northern missionaries and the schools planted by them. Buildings and furnishings were usually lacking and funds were low, but in spiritual power they were pregnant with forces that would lead to true manhood and womanhood.

The story of the rise of Hampton Institute illustrates the well-known fact that no one person can be given entire credit for some particular achievement. Armstrong was the moving spirit in the establishment of Hampton and his ideas have influenced the atmosphere, curriculum, and aims of that institution until the present time. On the other hand, as we have tried to show here, the soil was already prepared for him by the six or seven years educational campaign of the combined efforts of the Union military forces, the American Missionary Association, and the Freedmen’s Bureau. Armstrong was merely a creature of these organizations.

Hampton is the mother of Tuskegee—Booker T. Washington is the spiritual son of Armstrong. As such Hampton is thus one of the original factors in the development of a high type of citizenship for the Negro race in America. At the same time Hampton sprang from an enterprise that was lofty in its ideals and characterized by a firm belief in the ability of the Negro race to rise—the educational campaign among the contrabands of Eastern Virginia from the very outbreak of the Civil War until its close.

L. P. JACKSON

²⁴ Washington, *Up from Slavery*, p. 55.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

THE NEGRO POLICY OF CHRISTOPHER CODRINGTON

The evil treatment of the Negro and the absence of humane feeling towards him in the early days of slavery are only too well known, but even in those days we find, here and there, men who realized that all was not well with the system, and that Negroes had rights as well as duties. Such a man was Christopher Codrington, West Indian planter and Governor of the Leeward Islands from 1698 to 1703. He is best known as the founder of the Codrington Library, at All Souls, Oxford, and of Codrington College, Barbados. His ideals of education are shown in the scheme he drew up for the scholars and professors there: "All of them to be under the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; who shall be obliged to study and practise Physic and Chirurgery, as well as Divinity; that by the apparent usefulness of the former to all mankind, they may both endear themselves to the people and have the better opportunities of doing good to men's souls, whilst taking care of their bodies." The end of the seventeenth century was a time when a new feeling was beginning to arise in England, and the founding of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* was but one expression of the growing responsibility felt by Englishmen for their fellow-men across the sea. It was to this Society that Codrington left a big bequest in trust for his College. We must not however regard this benefaction as a mere deathbed repentance on the part of a slaveowner; his will was actually made as early as 1703, while all through his life Codrington showed an intense interest in the welfare of the Negro, and this can be traced in his letters.

When first made Governor he received the usual official *Instructions*, and these contained a clause requiring him to

endeavor to get the colonial assemblies to pass a law imposing the death penalty on anyone who was guilty of wilfully killing an Indian or Negro; he was also to encourage the conversion of Negroes. Codrington's criticism of this is illuminating. "There is only one particular concerning which I am very solicitous. The instruction I am most inclined, I shall be least able to observe. I have alwaies thought it very barbarous that so little care should be taken of the bodys and so much less of the souls of our poor slaves. Their condition has cost me many a mortifying reflection, and yet I know not how I shall be able to mend it in any one respect, but feeding my own slaves well. I shall be certainly opposed by all the Planters in generall if I should goe about to secure their limbs and lives by a law, (tho' I will certainly recommend something of that kind) but much more if I should promote the baptising of all our slaves. And in this the Planters have much to say for themselves, for 'tis certain the christening of our negroes without the instructing of them would be useless to themselves and pernicious to their masters, and 'tis evident the few and the very ill qualified clergymen who goe to the islands are not only insufficient for such a work, but can doe noe service to the whole Heathens they find there by their teaching or example. Indeed a work of this nature is only fit for a regular clergy who are under vows of poverty and obedience. The secular clergy who will be sure of their wine before they set about their talk doe not think the hope of a reward in another world sufficient encouragement to turn missionaries. I would humbly propose this might be recommended to the consideration of the Archbishop and Bishop of London. If they can find such a number of apostolical men who are willing to take much pains for little reward my protection and countenance shall not be wanting. I am very sincere in this matter and will have nothing to answer for; as an inconsiderate zeal shall not put me upon an attempt that will not answer its end, soe noe consideration of interest shall hinder me from promoting boldly and impar-

tially a design that may be pleasing to God and truly beneficial to my fellow creatures." ¹ In this manly and straightforward letter we can see the seed of those ideas which finally came to maturity in the founding of Codrington College.

The differing practice of French and English with regard to the baptism of their Negroes led to mutual bickering. Codrington's attitude we have just seen, but he sounds a sharper note in reply to a French plea that they could not restore some runaway English Negroes, since they had now been baptized and were good Catholics. "The pretence of religion is idle," argues the Englishman, "Christianity does not alter the condition of men nor destroy that right of tenure by which slaves are held. This is incontestable in the Civill Law and the French practise is in consequence of it. They baptise all their slaves (I do not say make them Christians) who yet continue as much slaves as those in the English collonys." ² The French on the other hand scoffed at the excuses of the English. The Franciscan, Labat, who was travelling in the West Indies at this time was very indignant. "Les Anglois ne baptisent point leurs esclaves, soit par negligence, ou par quelque autre motif: ils ne se mettent point en peine de leur faire connoître le vrai Dieu, et les laissent vivre dans le même Religion où ils les trouvent, soit Mahometisme, soit Idolâtrie. Leurs minstres, avec qui j'ai souvent eu occasion de m'entretenir sur ce point, disent pour excuse, qu'il est indigne d'un Chrétien, de tenir dans l'esclavage son frère en Christ, c'est ainsi qu'ils s'expliquent. Mais ne peut on pas dire qu'il est encore plus indigne d'un Chrétien, de ne pas procurer à des ames rachetées du Sang de Jesus Christ, la connoissance d'un Dieu à qui ils sont redevables de tout ce qu'ils font? Je laisse cela au jugement des Lecteurs." ³

One other letter of Codrington's deserves notice here: he relates how an Antigua planter had been murdered by

¹ *Cal. S. P. Col.*, 1699, No. 458.

² *Ib.*, No. 628.

³ Labat, *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique* (1722), V, p. 42.

his slaves, and proceeds to a remarkable eulogy of these Negroes. "I'm afraid he was guilty of some unusual act of severity, or rather some indignity towards the Corramantes, for they are not only the best and most faithful of our slaves, but are really all born Heroes. There is a difference between them and all other negroes beyond what 'tis possible for Your Lordships to conceive. There never was a raskal or coward of that nation, intrepid to the last degree, not a man of them but will stand to be cut to pieces without a sigh or groan, grateful and obedient to a kind master, but implacably revengeful when ill-treated. My Father, who had studied the genius and temper of all kinds of negroes 45 years with a very nice observation, would say, Noe man deserved a Corramante that would not treat him like a friend rather than a slave, and all my Corramantes preserve that love and veneration for him that they constantly visit his grave, make their libations upon it, hold up their hands to Heaven with violent lamentations, and promise when they have done working for his son they will come to him and be his faithful slaves in the other world. I am so far from being surprised at what has happened, that I often wonder there are not attempts of the same nature every day."

C. S. S. HIGHAM

DOCUMENTS

LETTERS TO THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY¹

The following letters are not all of the correspondence which the American Colonization Society had with Negroes presenting themselves as prospective emigrants to Liberia. Letters of various sorts typical of a large number of like import have been selected. Although these letters show the methods of colonization, the effect of the movement on the Negro, the hopes that it stimulated, and those that it blasted, the purpose of selecting these documents is not primarily to facilitate the study of colonization but to illuminate the study of the free Negro in the United States. Most of these persons who corresponded with the American Colonization Society were free or became free thereafter on the condition that they should emigrate to Liberia. The value here lies in what is said about the social and economic conditions of the free Negro, about whom such a little is known. These communications, then, constitute a valuable source for determining what this group was thinking, feeling, attempting, and accomplishing at that time.

The Negroes herein represented were largely in the South, where as slaves they had only such opportunities as they could snatch from begrudging masters, or when free only such as a hostile environment occasionally permitted them to enjoy. The Southern Negroes were easily influenced by the American Colonization Society and more easily reached because of the interest of certain whites of that section in the deportation of the free Negroes there and of such others

¹ With the exception of a few extracts from the *African Repository*, as footnotes will show, these letters were photocopied and verified from the files of the *Letters of the American Colonization Society*. These appear in bound volumes of four to each calendar year. These manuscripts were turned over to the Library of Congress a few years ago when the American Colonization Society decided practically to cease to function.

as might be liberated by conscience-stricken slaveholders. Wherever the Negroes had enjoyed freedom in the North, they did not easily embrace the idea of expatriating themselves. The Northern Negroes usually took the position that here their fathers fought, bled, and died for the country, here they were born, and here they intended to die. Occasionally, however, the American Colonization Society received letters from prominent Negroes of the North expressing interest in colonization and seeking opportunities to go to Liberia. This was especially true during the fifties when the heel of oppression upon the Negro in the North was becoming heavier and heavier. In writing about the particular thing they had in mind these seekers mentioned other important facts as to what was going on in most parts of the country.

These letters in themselves are more than interesting. They give evidence especially of the mental development of the Negroes in spite of their handicaps. Most of them are written in the poor English characteristic of the Negroes of that time; but the chirography, which unfortunately cannot be reproduced here, was sometimes very artistic, although the orthography was too often unintelligible. Excellent penmanship appears especially in the letters written by S. Wesley Jones, J. B. Jordan, Benjamin S. Bebee, J. Theodore Holley, Nathaniel Bowen, and John F. Cook.

FROM ABRAHAM CAMP

This is an extract of a letter from one of the free Negroes mentioned in the letter of Mr. McIntosh to the American Colonization Society, and confirms the statement therein given.

LAMOTT, ILLINOIS TERRITORY, July 13th, 1818.

I am a free man of colour, have a family and a large connection of free people of colour residing on the Wabash, who are all willing to leave America whenever the way shall be opened. We love this country and its liberties, if we could share an equal right in them; but our freedom is partial, and we have no hope that it ever will be otherwise here; therefore we had rather be gone, though we should suffer hunger and nakedness for years. Your honour may be assured that nothing shall be lacking on our part in complying with

whatever provision shall be made by the United States, whether it be to go to Africa or some other place; we shall hold ourselves in readiness, praying that God (who made man free in the beginning, and who by his kind providence has broken the yoke from every white American) would inspire the heart of every true son of liberty with zeal and pity, to open the door of freedom for us also.¹

I am, &c.

ABRAHAM CAMP.

Elias B. Caldwell, Esq.

Secretary of the Colonization Society of the United States.

FROM JOHN B. RUSSWURM

Rev. R. R. Gurley.¹

Russwurm was the first Negro in the United States to receive a degree from a college. He was graduated at Bowdoin in the class with John P. Hale who served later as United States Senator from Maine.

Russwurm was not at first interested in African colonization, but later emigrated to Liberia and became one of the most prominent functionaries there.

NEW YORK, Feb. 26, 1827.

Rev. Sir,

Owing to an absence of many weeks from Boston, your interesting letter of the 25th December, never came to hand until some weeks after its date. Sometime since then, has been occupied in transmitting its contents to distant friends, and awaiting their answers. All whose advice I have consulted on the subject, are of the opinion, that at present, it would not be advisable to accept the liberal offer of your Board of Managers. Many reasons are brought forward, by them, which are not necessary to be here inserted. I can assure you that among the number consulted is Mr. C. Stockbridge of Maine; whose views are considerably altered, since his address to you.

With a high sense, of the liberal offer of your Board of Managers

I remain yours,

Rev. Sir with respect,

JNO. B. RUSSWURM.

¹ Amer. Col. Society. *Colonization Reports*, Vol. I, page 116.

² *Letters received, the American Colonization Society, 1827.*

FROM A FREE NEGRO IN SAVANNAH

The following is an extract from a letter from a free man of color in Savannah, highly esteemed for his intelligence and piety, according to the American Colonization Society.

Sept., 1831

"I have always viewed the principle on which the Society was grounded, as one of much policy, though I saw it was aided by a great deal of benevolence. And when viewing my situation, with thousands of my coloured brethren in the U. States, who are in a similar situation, I have often wondered what prevented us from rising and with one voice, saying, we will accept the offer made us at the risk of sacrificing all the comforts that our present situation can afford us. I have often almost come to the conclusion that I would make the sacrifice, and have only been prevented by the unfavourable accounts of the climate. I have always heretofore, viewed it as a matter of temporal interest, but now I view it spiritually. According to the accounts from Liberia, it wants help, and such as I trust I could give, though ever so little. I understand the branches of a Wheelwright, and Blacksmith, and Carpenter, I also have good ideas of Machinery and other branches. I trust also, were I to go there, I would add one to the number of advocates for Religion. I will thank you to inform me what things I should take for the comfort of myself and family. I dont expect to go at the expense of the Society, and therefore hope to be allowed to take something more than those who do not defray their own expenses." ¹

OPINIONS OF A FREE MAN OF COLOR IN CHARLESTON

This letter was published in the *African Repository* in October, 1832, with this comment by the editor:

We have received a communication from a respectable free coloured man, of Charleston, which contains some thoughts which merit the serious consideration of all his brethren. May the noble spirit of devotedness which he manifests to the good of mankind, soon animate ten thousand of his coloured brethren, that they may go forth, not merely to improve their own condition, but to relieve and bless the long afflicted and degraded children

¹ *African Repository*, VII, page 216.

of Africa. We have omitted some sentences in this article, and made some slight corrections; not affecting materially the sense of the writer. His remarks have reference to the three following heads.

I. A Brief Inquiry into the propriety of the Free People of Colour migrating to Liberia, or elsewhere.

II. The objections urged by many of the Coloured People against emigration.

III. The good likely to result to those who may determine to emigrate.

1st. When we reflect upon the laws of Ohio,¹ that expel from her territory our Brethren—when we look to Virginia, to Maryland, to Alabama and to Tennessee, we must candidly confess, that we have much fearful apprehension, in regard to the laws that may be enacted, bearing heavily upon us, even in our own dear Carolina, which generously cherishes all her inhabitants and gives them support and employment, in all of the various and useful branches of mechanism, without regard to colour or condition. There are many callings, in which the coloured people in Carolina have a decided preference; in some cases they have no competitors; how long this favorable state of things will remain, we are not prepared to say—time alone can correctly decide in this matter.² This is an era, however, in our affairs, that we cannot shut our eyes to, and it must appear to the philosopher, the christian, and the sagacious politician, a period of deep and anxious solicitude, as regards the future prospects, hopes and interests of a people little known, but as a nuisance—mere laborers in the most menial capacity; at best a people who seldom deserve notice, or the exercise of charitable acts bestowed on them. Their friends and their foes both desire the removal of the free people of colour; although it is a fact not denied but by a very few, that the descendants of Africa, when transplanted in a country favorable to their improvement, and when their advantages are equal to others, seldom fail to answer all of the ends suited to their capacity, and in some instances rise to many of the virtues, to the learning and piety of the most favored nation. Yet, alas! the prevalence of popular prejudice against our colour, (which

¹ He refers here especially to the "Black Laws" of Ohio enacted to prohibit the emigration of free Negroes to that State and to restrict those already there.

² The Negro mechanics and artisans in South Carolina almost had a monopoly in their field there before the Civil War. Some said that the free Negroes of Charleston were better off than those of New York City.

is the more surprising, as it is well known that God alone creates different classes of men, that he may be adored and worshipped by all in the spirit of truth, without regard to complexion) has almost invariably stood as a barrier to our advancement in knowledge. Hence some of us appear to be useless,* and when it is considered that we are a large body of people, growing rapidly every day, without that improvement which the present age seems to require, in moral virtue and intellectual attainments; indeed, when we examine our own conduct, and that of our brethren, and compare the advantages we do actually possess, with so many bright examples before us of christianizing and improving the condition of mankind, both far and immediately under our eyes, we cannot but enquire "how can these things be?" My friends, if we will venture to look around us, we will behold the most encouraging proofs of happiness in the emigrants from Europe to this country. You have no call to look farther than our city (Charleston) to witness the most lively encouragements given to emigrants.* Many who arrive here very poor, are soon made rich: (and so it will be with us in Liberia) enterprising, industrious individuals, also families incorporating themselves in the community, enjoying all the blessings peace can confer on society, and soon successfully advancing on the high road to wealth and respectability, whilst we sink daily in the estimation of all.—Our apparently inactive habits may, in a great measure be attributed to this reason—"That we have no opportunity for the cultivation of our minds by education." As a matter of course, generally speaking, we lose all regard for any, but our individual self * * * * *—satisfied with every moral privation, with this certain conviction in our hearts, that our children are likely to be much worse situated than we are—as we ourselves are not as well situated in many respects as our parents were. The next enquiry is, what are we to do? I answer honestly and without hesitation, migrate to Liberia, in preference to any other country, under the protecting hand and influence of the Colonization Society. Here comes my second proposition; a consideration of the objections many have to emigrating to a country whose inhabitants are shrouded in deep ignorance—whom long and deep-rooted custom forbids us to have social intercourse with in the various relations of civilized life upon fair and equal terms of husband and wife, and whose complexion is darker than many of ours. But in all this, my friends, there is no reasonable ground of

* Except it may be when we are employed as laborers.

* Without any tax whatever, whilst we pay a heavy one.

objection to your removal to a country more adapted to promote your interests, because a very plain reason presents itself for such removal—and that is, in Liberia you will enjoy moral and political liberty. Besides, the heralds of the cross who first preached salvation to the benighted sons of Africa, were white men; and numbers of ladies also withdrew themselves from the beauties of highly polished circles in Europe to accompany their husbands in spreading the light in dark places. Those who contribute in money to carry on the splendid work of colonization and religion, who sacrifice their health on the shrine of humanity and deprive themselves of all earthly comforts, even stare death in the face, and prefer to die in the attempt, rather than relinquish the spread of virtue and religion amongst this very people you affect to despise—they are white. Who are they at this very period, rearing up an establishment at Liberia, that bids fair under the protecting smiles of Providence, to crush for ever the monster (the slave trade) that has led to captivity, and chains, and perpetual disgrace, our brethren, who, although formed in the image of God, are doomed in most countries, Liberia excepted, to degradation and servitude? They are white men. Surely this is at least one strong reason that should induce you, cheerfully to migrate to a country, where you can possess all of the importance of free citizens; in fact, all your objections dwindle into insignificance, in view of this one fact stated above. Besides, locating in Liberia, does not necessarily compel you to form private alliance in families, that you dislike; on the contrary, there is no country where you could indulge your own opinions in this respect with more freedom, than in that land of equality.—If you do go, and I hope in my heart all of us may speedily go—will we not go with our families and friends; cementing more strongly the bond of our connections, our customs, and our habits. Look for example to the Jews and other ancient people; scattered all over the world; look at our own situation, wherever we are placed: we see no innovation, nothing likely to break in and change the existing face of society.

III. Much good is likely to result to those who are meek and humble, who can see the advantages of liberty and equality, with the courage to embark in an enterprise, under such favorable circumstances. This is the truth, which is useful for all of us to know, and I have endeavored briefly to lay it before you, for your reflection, and if you once bring your minds to serious reflection, your friends will never blush—no—never under any circumstances, on account of dissensions on your part. Surely, my brethren, there

are very strong reasons for us to go—yes go—and invoke Jehovah for his favorable protection to you, and to that country which holds out to us, and to our children, forever, protection, in life, liberty, and property—beside every honor of office, within the gift of a free people. He who holds in the hollow of his hand the destiny of nations, will be with you, and will bless you, with health and vigor, to contribute your personal services of pious example, to improve the country that invites you to possess its soil. Moreover, you will have the great privilege of sharing in your own government, and finally of becoming a perfectly free and independent people. And where would you go (go you must, sooner or later) to look for this noble privilege—the power of electing your officers or removing them when need requires. Yes, my brethren, perhaps much depends on your present zeal and activity for success—and if God be with us, and I have a lively hope that he influences and directs you in this matter, before long the emigrants to Liberia, will become a distinguished nation; and who can prophesy and foretell the future destiny of Liberia. The day, however, may not be far distant, when those who now despise the humble, degraded emigrants to Liberia, will make arrangements with them, to improve navigation, to extend commerce, and perhaps we may soon conduct and carry on our trade with foreign nations in our own bottoms without molestation or fear. Such, my brethren, are some of the high expectations to be derived from a well established colony in Liberia, and to you Carolinians, all eyes are directed, all hearts are uplifted to God in prayer, to know what course your good sense will induce you to pursue, under existing circumstances. Your reputation as a body of first-rate mechanics, is well known; distinguished for your industry and good behaviour, you have with you, carpenters, millers, wheel-wrights, ship builders, engineers, cabinet makers, shoe makers, tailors, and a host of others, all calculated at once to make you a great people. In Liberia you can erect a temple to worship God, in the beauty of holiness; without fear you can set up, and protect your sacred altars, and pour out the orisons of the devout and pious heart before them, in praise and thanksgiving to God. In Liberia, you can establish Academies and Colleges, to instruct youth in Theology, in Physic, and in Law. You will there know no superiors but virtue, and the laws of your country—no religion but the revealed revelation of God—and recollect all of this is for you yourselves.¹

A SOUTH CAROLINIAN.

¹ *African Repository*, VIII, pages 239–243 (Oct. 1832).

FROM JOHN JONES

The following letter, like that of many others addressed to the American Colonization Society, had no particular bearing on the deportation of Negroes except to express interest in the movement. The aim here is rather to secure the aid of the Colonization Society in supplying the various needs of Negroes so harassed and harried by foes without and within.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan'y 30th 1839.

Respected Sir, As I believe you to be a gentleman of Enlarged Benevolence, & a Friend to the Colored Race of People, I beg leave to address you, with the hope that you might be interested in our behalf—I Refer you to Rev. R. R. Gurly (he is acquainted with my views) of Washington, Rev. Doctr Benj. Kurtis & Rev. John G. Morris of Baltimore—Rev Doctr Bachman, Honl James Hamilton Rev Bishop Bowen, Rev. Doctr Gadsden of My Native City, Charleston, S.C—Rev Stephen A. Nealey Rev Albert Barns of this City—I write briefly State to you Sir our greivances—I am Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, St. Paul in this City, Philadelphia. The church was got up through Individual Enterprise—it was dedicated to the worship of Almighty God by Rev Doctr P. F. Mayer & other clergymen of this city—it is near two years since I was persuaded by the highest authority in the Lutheran Connection in this City to Convey the church into the hands of white Gents with the promise that if I comply, the debts of the church would be paid. In obedience to this Command, the property of St. Paul church, was regularly conveyed to Martin Beuhler, C. Schrach & Joseph Devors Esquire in Trust, for the Congregation—The Trustees, at the same time gave their written agreement to raise \$1300—the amt due by the church—during the Popular Excitement in this City, in May last. The same high authority that required, The church be conveyed to respectable Gentlemen desired, that the organ, which was Erected in the church & which was partly paid for, should be taken down & Returned to the Builder,—hard as this order was—on the renual of the promise, that if I comply—the debts of the Church whould be paid, the organ was Removed immediately—We had a Fair in Progress—that perhaps whould have assited to pay of The demands of The Church—it was advertised in the Public Papers to be Exhibited in May last—But the Burning of The Pennsylvania Hall prevented it—The Lady who

had the management of the affair was persuaded, during the Excitement to dispose of the article at private sale—She listened to the persuasion & sold that which Cost much Labor & pain for \$30—Here I received an appointment as Missionary in This City with an allowance of \$100 per year & Received \$25 for which I will Ever feel grateful—But mark what follows—1 The Church was conveyed Messrs. Beuhler, Shrach and Devors. They gave their written agreement to raise \$1300 as soon as possible to pay the debts—2 The organ was taken away from us, with the promise that our debts whould be paid—3 The Trustees persuaded me to give up the \$30—the Fair sold for—and \$50—My allowance to Them to pay a pressing demand of \$80 against the Church—Soon after that last act was done the Trustees cut loose from us—& send us adrift to do as well as we can—I have called the Creditors together & lay the whole matter before them—although the Trustees advised them to sacrifice our Little Lien—They are not disposed to do so and has given us Time to Look up Friends—to save our Church—\$350 is pressing—will you be so kind Sir as to assist us—if you will purchase our church or give us 2 or 3 years to pay—or give us a donation to assist in Extracating a Society of Poor Helpless Colored People you will do a Last-Benefit to us, were you can an opportunity to inspect our Conduct & advise us in your philanthropic project our happiness.

Respectfully in Behalf of St Paul Evangelical

Congregation John Jones—Boston 184 Locust Street.

I have seen your benevolent proposal in the public paper. If you perform such an act as I have proposed, it undoubtedly will give us confidence in your offers—Besides you you can, inspect our Conduct—you will have a House open to you for Lectures to us and we can confidently look up to those who will help us—if you think John Jones favorably of the plan & act proptly you will not be disappointed—2 Feby.¹

FROM A SOUTH CAROLINIAN

WASHINGTON, March 6, 1839.

Respected Sir:—I claim the privilege of a South Carolinian to address you, and to beg, sir, that you will interest yourself in behalf of many respectable colored people, natives of South Carolina, who are digging out a miserable existence in the northern cities; very few of these are comfortable, and most of them are anxious to

¹ *Letters received by the American Colonization Society, January to March, 1838, No. 88.*

return home, sweet home, to our dear Carolina, but are prevented by the enactment of law.¹ From careful observation and acquired facts, permit me, sir, to state that I believe it is the interest, as well as the dictates of humanity, that the laws be repealed, which prevents the native Carolinians returning to their home, if they desire it. I am free to say, that not one of us, who left Charleston with high expectations to improve our condition, in morals, virtue or useful enterprising pursuits of industry, but have entirely failed in their expectations, in fact, so different is the living at the north from that of the south, (I never had the most distant idea of the depravity, in all its most varied and complicated forms of wickedness, until I settled in New York and Philadelphia—there is no such wickedness in Charleston,) that Carolinians cannot live comfortably at the north, for this very plain reason: The manners, habits, and pursuits of the people are so vastly different. The Carolinian, at home, engaged in pursuing some respectable occupation, sometimes is grieved that he is not sufficiently protected by law—he removes to Philadelphia or New York, for the enjoyment of privileges there, which are denied him at home. But alas, he fails to acquire by removal the reasonable desires of his heart. He does not find happiness in these cold regions, where prejudice against the colored complexion reigns triumphant, no matter what a man professes himself to be, he keeps far off from colored people; most of us are without employment in winter, and in spring and summer, however careful we may be, are entirely too short, with the little business we have, for us to live and provide against the long tedious inclement winters of the north; I do humbly think, sir, that it becomes the duty of every christian, patriot, and philanthropist of South Carolina, especially, at this particular time, when there is no cause whatever to reject us, the repenting prodigals, from the privilege of returning home. I repeat my most solemn conviction, that I believe it is the interest, as well as the dictates of humanity, that all of us who are anxious, be permitted and encouraged to return home. In this matter I speak the language of a South Carolinian, who loves the soil where first he learned to life up his feeble voice in praise to God and his country. Besides, the repeal of the law will disarm the north of a very important and powerful weapon, now wielded against you; this very law which denies to us native born South Carolinians the privilege to return within her borders, and that too, without crime, operates against

¹ Many Negroes who went North from Charleston often returned prior to the time when there was enacted a law preventing them from so doing.

you, can do you no possible good, whilst it inflicts a very serious injury upon us—we are your friends. When any of us stand up in defence of our state, which is often the case, we are calmly asked if the customs and privileges are such as you represent them to be in Carolina, why do you not go back to Charleston and enjoy them, why do you remain with us? If South Carolina repeal the law which bears heavily upon us, without doing good in any one single instance, the world will sing praises to your magnanimity, your own approving conscience will cheer you for the part you might take to effect its repeal, besides the blessings of many honest hearts, who will return to the sweet embraces of long separated friendship.

So far as regards myself, who was deluded away from home by offers of large salary, &c., for missionary services, all the promise has proved to be base imposition and cruel cheat; it is true that I had some privilege to travel, which I improved carefully, looking out for a home and in reviewing the condition of the colored people. In this also I have been sadly disappointed; although I have visited almost every city and town, from Charleston, South Carolina, to Portland, Maine, I can find no such home—and no such respectable body of colored people as I left in my native city, Charleston. The law in my adopted city, Philadelphia, when applied to colored people, in opposition to white people, is not as good as in Charleston, unless the former has respectable white witness to sustain him. Property colored people generally transact their business through the agency of white people. They cannot rent a house in a court or square occupied by white people unless it is with the consent of white neighbors—we are shamefully denied the privilege to visit the Museum, &c.—all the advantage that I can see by living in Philadelphia is, that if my family is sick, I can send for a doctor at any time of the night without a ticket.

Respectfully, your ob't serv't,

P. S.—A good remedy—if you desire a Carolinian to have an 'exalted ardour for his native state,' permit him to live a few years in Philadelphia, New York, or any other northern city, and depend on his daily exertions for his daily bread, and I will warrant, if he is permitted to return to Charleston, the process will make a perfect cure.

N. B.—I do not know the names of the gentlemen who compose the Charleston delegation in the legislature of South Carolina—and if I did, my time would not permit me to address every individual

member, unless I had a printed circular, and do not know if it would be advisable for me to do so whilst I am living in the north. Still, sir, I will be glad if you will furnish the names of the whole assembly—please put it on board one of the Philadelphia packets, it will save the postage.¹

FROM JAMES DREW

CLARKSVILLE, MECKLENBURG CTY. VA. Mar 27th 1847.

Dear Sir

after having consulted Mr John Nelson (who is a member of the Colonization Society with who I am very intermit acquainted residing in this neighbourhood) on the subject of emigrating to Liberia, that in consequence of this being the first offer made to him on such an occasion together with his not being well acquainted with the nature of some late alterations that he fealt apprehensive had been made in the rules connected with that institution; he advis that you should be writin to; who would as Agent give every necessary information and instruction concerning the matter, therefore in as much as myself wife & five children, Bery Lewis, wife & two children who is my son in law, also two young men making in all 13, all of whom are free born persons of color, and are desireous to go to liberia, and as we are in rather limited circumstances to affect such an object at this time without assistance, we wish to know what assistance that the society according to their rules are allow, we do not wish to be misunderstood that we want to be hired, to go to liberia, for we are ————— for going so much so that we had rather go within ourselves if able, therefore whatever assistance we may obtain from any source (if any) may be considered in good degree as a loan, if provided providential aid should secure our health & though it may seem strange to some, to find us rather behind hand at this time (securityship has been the cause), notwithstanding from these ressons I flatter myself we have improved, and if we should fortunatly git there and by using industry and good economy prosper (which I hope we shall) I feal assurd that we shall exercise a similar degree of charity to what we have here been accustomd, which has been to subscribe a benevolent cause in nearly all its bearings; notwithstanding I am considerably advanced in age, I wish to go with my children to a land which seems throug the kind hand of providence to be destind for the colord man, and as I am favord with a tolerable libural education for colord persons

¹ *African Repository*, 15, pp. 178–180.

in this region of country (which you may some what judge from this, and in addition have figurd through Pikes Arithmetic also fealing assurd that I have been together with two others of my family changd from nature to grace) with these advantages if I should git there and enjoy health and strength of mind I trust that I may prove instrumental in doing some good in that noble cause (colonization) Scripture being my guide.

In as much as we would be glad to go in the next on the trip following in the Liberia Packet we ought to of writin before this so waiting for Mr. Nelsons answer after soliciting him on the subject we had to defur until this therefore I hope you will answer this speedily, and please condecend to remember our case at a Throne of Grace. Also in as much as their is som three or four other families that talks much of going and amongst some of which owns considerable property we wish to know the terms of carying property, I have between 20 & 30 African Repositorys of that number their is one of a No. that appears to wanting, Vol. 21 No. 10 if it should still be wanting I will send it ¹

CLARKSVILLE MG. CTY. Aug. 12th 1847

Dear Sir

In answer to yours of the 4th Inst. I can say confidently that about 12 person will meet the packet at Norfolk about the 1st of Sept. (namely) myself 60 years of age. Mary my wife 47, B. Lewis 27, Delila his wife 24, my Son Peyton 21, my daughter Sophia C, 18, my Son Rufus 14, my daughter Evelina 11, my daughter Julia 8 B. Lewis, Son Wm. 7, his daughter Mary 3, John Quinichett about 40, which makes up the 12—(6 males & 6 females;) Smithea and family are rather uncertain, though If he should come, he has 6 in family, himself about 30 years old, his wife Mary Jean about 30 and has 2 Daughters, & 2 Sons. Their are 2 others talks of coming—Willie Carter about 35, and John Cousins about 22 or 3. Their is between 50 and 100 persons around us here, that seems to be very much in faver of migrating to Liberia, if provided we should after fairly investigating the matter give a faverable account,

Yours &C.

JAMES DREW.

Mr. Noah Fletcher—

Colon.Rooms, Washington City, D. C.²

¹ *Letters received by the American Colonization Society, January to March, 1847, No. 248.*

² *Ibid.*, July to September, 1847, No. 196.

FROM BUREELL W. MANN

The letters of Bureell W. Mann present in detail a most pathetic case, typical, however, of thousands of ambitious slaves who, after having been imbued with the spirit of freedom offered by the prospect of African colonization, struggled hard and too often struggled in vain to reach this "land of promise." He was a slave of John Cosby of Richmond. Yet in spite of his bondage he had picked up some fragments of education, as these letters written by him will show, and he was serving his people as a minister in the Southern Methodist connection. His superiors, however, did not seem to think well of his ambition to go as missionary to Liberia. In addition to the strong presentation of his own case, the letters give valuable facts as to what was going on among the members of both races in Richmond.

RICHMOND VA June 21st 1847.

Dear Respected Brother I write to inform you—that I am what is here term a private African Slave Minister belonging to Mr. John Cosby of this city and My determination if possible is to go to Liberia let it cost what it may This resolution I came to for more than 9 months ago and I have made Many Applications to our Methodist Ministers here to send me as a missionary to some vacant field in Africa and they Spurn me away Saying that they could do nothing for me in these respects if I were not a free Man. So I continue asking them up to the 30th of last May at which time they agreed to send Me as a Mission but they did not agree to raise the funds to buy me, if it should be needful. So now I intend to ask My Master to let me go on free cost to said Liberia and should he deny me then will I beg him to sell me for that purpose and should I do this I wish to have the Good Brothers of Colonization Society to be here to buy me immediately for the purpose mensioned above Dear Sire I wish you to know that the only object I have in view is my God & the Glory of his Son and in these Southern States We African Sons in the church of God are Cut off for our part So that we can not become wise unto Salvation our selves and can not be the instrument in the hand of God in turning Many to Righteousness and the deprivation of church Rights & priviledges here has made me willing and ready to give up this part of the world & any other object for the Sake of Christ and the Glory of his people in

that continent Dear Sire a potion of our Methodist Ministers of the South has So repeatedly defeated me in my attempt that I could not avoid writing to you hoping and praying that God may help you to undertake My case and advocate My cause if needful among the Northern Ministers and people Dear Sire Mr. John Cosby bought me about 17 years ago and Should he purpose to sell me to myself or to the Society he will not charge more than half as much as he then payed for me which would be about \$150 for he only give \$300 for me 17 years ago Dear Sire you here See the object which I have in view and if it is in your power to come to Richmond now or in a short time you will please do So, if not, you will please send Some one to this city to see Me and My Master and if this can not be done I pray you Dear kind friend to write to me and teach Me what to do or if not Write to Rev. Mr. Edwards of Centenary church and teach him the facts that is here written that he may call for me and hear my determination and rewrite to you on My behalf & do whatever is proper to be done in this matter. My name is Burell W. Mann now belonging to Mr. John Cosby and now working at the tobacco factory of Mr. Daid M. Branch on the bassin and attached to the Methodist church, on union hill, in Richmond, under the charge of Rev. Joseph Carson. My little Talent & usefulness can be obtained by writing but I rather you would come your self or Send Some one if possible I and am a poor christian here and wishing to get Good and do all the Good I can while I live on the earth but there is a very Small chants of doing Much Good in these Southern States—I ever remain your humble Servant, in Christ Jesus, Bureel W. Mann ¹

RICHMOND VA June 27th 1847

Sire

Your letter of the 22d inst is received which gives me great consolation to know that my case shall come under the in spec-tion of wise & holy men who loves the African Race and are Striving with a true heart to raise it from degradation & wo Sire I understand from your letter that Mr. M. lain is now absent from home and I wish to inform you that I am very thankful to you for this information as well as puting yourself to the trouble of writing, I hope Sire that you will continue to write whenever it is needful in these respects I would Say for your instruction that My Master, in a few days will leave Richmond to go to the Springs and there remain for Some 3 months and Should Mr. M.lain return home in 10 or 12 days from

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1847, No. 242.

now he will have the opportunity to come, or write to me, or My Master as he may See proper and should he remain absent from home for more than 12 days you will please write me word and Should Master leave our city in a Shorter time I will write you word—Dear Sire it were my intention to write to Rev. George, Lane, & Tippet, of New York for some information as it relates to Missionaries, church Rights, and priviledges. as they are pointed out in the Methodist Discipline and Should I do So I hope they will give me information upon that Subject as well as needful Aid but this I have not done as yet Answer this as Soon as you can and look for another in Short.

Yours in Christ, and in friendship

Burell W. W. Mann. to Mr. M.lain & Fletcher ¹

RICHMOND VA. July 12th 1847.

Dear Respected Secretary of Colonization Society

I now have the opportunity of sending you a letter by hands hoping at the same time that you will not take it amiss I wish to inform you that I sent you a letter by the mail the 27th of June which were directed Washington City Colonization Room to Mr. Noah Fletcher and as I have not heard of it you will please to let me know that you have got it in the Answer of this letter and I will also inform you that my mind is the same now as it were at first and if any thing, I am more determine now, than I ever were God being my helper, I wish you to know that my Master is yet remaining in our city and has not gone to the Springs and Should you want more information of Me you will please write for it or if not Come to Richmond and you can learn more of Me than I am able to write please take my case and consider it as soon as you can for heaven Sake answer this forthwith

your humble servant in hast

BURELL W. MANN

P. S. Should my request Cause Mr. Mclain to come or Send Some person to see about the business mensioned in my first letter you will please write word before you come and let me know where I may see you, if you should Come or Send ²

B. W. MANN

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1847, No. 267.

² *Ibid.*, July to September, 1847, No. 33.

RICHMOND VA August 1st 1847

*Dear Respected Brother & writer for the
Colonization Society*

I humbly ask permission to write you again and I entreat you & the officers of said Society not to take it amiss but to hear me with love and great tenderness, here I once more offer myself to the Society to be it servant & Slave untill death on the Shores of Africa, here in these States, my way as a minister is So blockated in Religion that I can not become wise unto Salvation myself nor be instrumental in turning many others to Righeousness So this is the first beginning of my Sorrow Grieve & wo, in my first letter I labour to show what steps I intended to take in addressing My Master on the subject and should that plan be deemed improper in the judgment of the boad of Directors I will pospon it and take any other that you and the boad may judge best if you will write me word what to do and what plans to take in such a case Dear Sir I am a man that you know not and perhaps you rather I should get some Gentlemen to write for me and if it is prefered by you or the boad I wish you would write me word and give me information as to who I should get to write for me, if it is desired, by you, or the boad of directors, I know many Gentlemen that would write for me if it is requested but from being deceived by some in the commencement of my communication to the Society, that I at this time know not who to trust, however the Rev. Mr. Edwards of Centenary church in this city is one that you know and you can write to him in regard to this matter and if it pleases you & the boad that I should get Mr. Edwards to write what I have to say to the Society you will please do so as soon as you can, I am the same now as I were when I first wrote, if the Society has any use for me in any part of liberia, in any Colony, and will buy me for that purpose I am ready & willing now to go with the Agent of said Society Dear Sir I have receive one answer to my first letter and the writer informed me that you were absent from the city and promise to send me an Answer in your return, expecting you to come in the course of a month The other letters I have not receive any answer from at all The one Sent by hands I wish to hear from if possible and I wish you to answer this one forthwith as I am a little troubled about others being unanswered My Mind is still the same I am still a member of union church under the care of Rev. Joseph Carson Brother John Nettles & Richerson who are of this city & members of Said church I still belong to Mr. John Cosby now working at Mr.

David M. Branchs factory on the bassin near Mr. Dr. Mosbys factory and has been attending the post office every day as I expect to do hereafter, when you answer this always write to Burell W. Mann, and I shall be sure to get the letters
I am your true and humble servant

BUREELL W. MANN ¹

RICHMOND VA. September 13th 1847

Dear Sir

I deem it proper to write you again, as I has not heard from you, for more than a month, and do not know whether, the Rev. McLain, has returned home. Dear Sir, in your letter of August 3d, it seems that you, expect him home, in a week or ten days, and as it has been more, than a month, Since I receive your letter, I thought that Mr. McLain, had return home to the city, and my case were forgotten. Dear Sir, My Mind is still the same now as it were, when I first wrote and should the religion of Jesus Christ, in duce, the Colonization Society, to send Me to any one of Africas Vacant fields, I am willing to go now, or at any time the Agents, of said Society, May Call for Me, Finally, Dear Sirs, if a Missionary is wanting, for the African fields, Here am I, Send Me, I will go with your aid, God being My helper, if Mr. McLain has gotten home, to washing-ton, you will please Answer this letter forthwith, and oblige your Most humble servant

Burell W. Mann, To Mr. Noah Fletcher.²

RICHMOND VA. (Sept. ?) 18th 1847.

Dear Respected Brother

I receive your letter of the 13th inst which give me much satisfaction of mind So fare, I am very thankful to God and to you for the information and advice which I find in your letter Sir I wish you to know that when I first offered myself as a missionary it were to the Missionary Society, thinking that they would buy me, for a mission to liberia, or if not, give me some help, but they refered me, to the Colonization Society, telling me, that Colonization had bought Some mission for liberia, and it would buy me also. I then wrote to both The methodist missionaries Society & the Colonization, not knowing, at the same time, what it had done for others, I think however that colonization will help me some, and I do hope that the Lord may help the methodist Missionary Society

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1847, No. 115.

² *Ibid.*, No. 134.

to do the best they can for me in these respects—My mind is now made up, to get my freedom the best way I can, and on the cheapest terms, I were willing to buy and pay for myself at first if I had the money, but I had no money then, and are not got any now and see no way to get any, in my present condition, it appears from reading your letter, that I might find a friend in our city who would lend me the money to buy myself, but if it is So, I judge, that you know them better than I do, for to my knowledge, I know not one I should be very Glad of the chanst, and thankful to God for the offer, you, in your letter, wish to know what wage I were geting and could still get, I must tell you Dear Sir, that I get non at all My Master who hires me out is now geting from 75 to 80 dollars a year for me and about ten years ago he use to get \$150 for me a year but now the price is fell to 75 & 80 dollars a year, which I could get if I were a freeman. The man that now hire me, only pays me 75 cents a week for my boad, and I can see no way as yet, to better my case—I have once offere Myself, to my church, and by it tow ministers, the presiding Elder & Station preacher, and nothing has they done to My knowledge, for me, in this case, and if you think it proper, you will please write me word forthwith and I will offer to them the third time, My Master is now gone to the Springs and as soon as he shall return, I shall see him upon this subject and will write you word in Good time. it is my wishes to find out the Superintendent, Agent, of the Methodist Missionary Society I wish to know his name, & what town, or city, he now live, that I May beg a little and, from them, if you know, you will please write me word forthwith, or if not, you will please writ my case, to the above Agent, asking him at the same time, for a little aid, if I knew him and where he now lives, I would now write him myself—you will please answer this as soon as you can, Dear Sir Since I found you I believe that I have found a Friend

Your Most humble Servant in Love to God & all Mankind

BUREELL W. MANN¹

RICHMOND VA. Sept. 21-1847

My Dear Sir

I write to inform you that if you know of any person or friend, who will buy me and let me work for them, untill, I can pay for myself, you will please get them, to do it, and after it is done, I will try to pay them, by working as Soon as I can. I am determine to do all

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1847, No. 144.

I can Myself, and to get as many persons, as I can to help me, pay, and if it is needful for me, to get a Note from My Master, certifying the Price, you, will please write me word, immediately, for I am expecting him every day to return from the Springs, to which, he is now gone—I ever Remain

Your humble Servant in the bounds of a peaful Gospel

B. W. MANN

of Richmond, Union Methodist church ¹

RICHMOND VA Sept 30th 1847

Dear Sir

yours of the 21 inst is receive and I am very thanful to you for your advice & instruction Dear Sir it appears that the Gentlemen refer to in your letter are not Station in the city of New York, and if they are, they has not Answer, So much as one letter, that I have written to them of late, for Since I recd your last letter I wrote five letters to them and has recd no answer at all Three to Rev. Dr. Pitman one to Rev. George Lane the other to Rev. Thomas Bond D. D. the other one I has not written to as yet for want of opportunity your name I have not mensioned in those letters at all, and I do not intend to mension it no where with out consulting you Dear Sir I expect My Master home the first of October and if you or the Colonization Society has determined to buy me or any other Good friend you will please write me word as soon as you can for my master will want to see them and if it is needful for me to mension the Society or to call your name to My Master, when I Shall See him, you will please write me word also, and if you know any Gentleman in Richmind who will do it, you will please write to them, and let me know in the next letter who they is, yours in hast

BUREELL W. MANN ²

RICHMOND VA October 4th 1847

Dear Respected Secretary of Col. Society

I take this opportunity to inform you that My Master is Come and I have seen him upon the great Subject of which I have been writing, to day and he has consented for me to go to liberia and he seem to be very glad to find such a determination in me, when I first inform him, of the fact, he asked me, for what purpose I wanted to go to liberia, I told him to preach the Gospel to the hethens, The next question, that he ask me, were, What does you know about preach-

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1847, No. 171.

² *Ibid.*, No. 174.

ing, I answered him, Sir, I can tell the hethen how to live in this world, and what they must do in order to go to heaven when they died, he then ask who were to send me, I then told him, the Missionary Society, he then said that I might go, and he would give me some thing, to help me likewise, I told him that I had determine to buy myself, and ask him what would he charge me, and he told me, about half of my value. I then ask him how much was that, he then told me not much, he said to me, that as soon as he see you or Some person whom you may send, he will give me up, and there will be no falling out, about the price, Dear Sir, I think that a white preacher who know much about liberia could get me, with out Price is they would See him them selves, and converse with him for he is an unconverted man whose mind is in a State to receive instruction from a preacher in regard to doing Good, again while he were talking he partly, told me that he would Set, all his Servant free and do a Good part by them, this still lead me to believe that I could be bought for, a little money, or non at all, and if you will Come yourself, or, Send any influenal Man, who unstand, African Woes, and can show them to my master, and then to plead with him So as to get me with word, with out any money charge for me, I will afterward, try by the help of God, to pay you, or them in work or in money, as may be requested. Dear Sir, I am a poor man but my religion induces me to believe that one kindness deserves another, I humbly thank the Lord & you for what has been already done, for me, and I pray that God may help you, to remember me always, & bless you & the whole Society evermore, Come Send, or Write, by the next mail, Should you Come or Send, Enquire for me, I still work at Mr. David M. Branch's factory, Ask for Burell Mann or Burell W. Mann at Branchs tobacco factory and any person will tell you, Your letter of Sept 13th requested me to let you know when I had seen my Master. This I have now done, please write me word by the next if you possibly can and do not fail I ever Remain your humble Servant in the bounds of a peaceful Gospel

BURELL W. MANN¹

RICHMOND VA October 10th 1847

My Dear & much Respected Friend

Your of Oct—4th is recd. and I have to inform you that my master charge me \$400 and fifty dollars for myself which is \$150 more than he give for me 16 years ago, having before

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1847, No. 9.

told me on the 4th inst that he would take half of my value Dear Sir, you request me to write again, Saying that you would then See what you Can do for me, now dear Sir if you can, and will, buy me, I will work it out any way you Say, if, I can not pay you other wise. It is fully known in Richmond that I am going to liberia and I am now labouring to get my church & Brethren to do their ful duty in regard to me and as I has not Call your Name to my white Brethren you will please write me word what to do & whether I must Call it or not. I recd. a letter from New York but I have no indications as yet, for any aid you will please continue your communication to Bureell W. Mann untill you can instruct me more in this matter I partly promise them that I would give them Some answer about the money this coming Tusday

Your Most humble Servant

BUREELL W. MANN

Write to me as quick as possible ¹

RICHMOND VA October 17th 1847

My Dear Respected & kind friend

yours of the 8th & of the 13th inst. is Recd. and likewise the Repository and pamphlet, and I have to inform you that I am very thankful to you, through Christ Jesus for them and the information there in contain I find it to be the very knowledge that My heart Stood in need of and permit me to inform you that your pamphlet has taken hold upon the hearts of many of my friends who has read them and they here request me to write to you to send them Some, Saying that they will pay you any price for them, in Reason, or write word to me, where and how, they can get them, and if you think fit you can send Six pamphlets naming the Price and how you can receive the money for them, Dear Sir Since I last wrote I have been trying to get my church & white Brethren to aid me in my undertaken but as yet they have taken no action in the matter More than to See My Master and to know the Price he charge for me This evening My Pastor told me that the Methodist, South, could not do any thing for me by way of buying, nor Sending me even after I am bought They Seem to Clear themselves of their duty in these Respects and refers me to the northern Bishops & Missionary Societies in said Point, and if you know any of the northern Bishops, or northern Methodist Missionary Societies, you will be So Good and kind as to teach me where they are, and their Names and the cities or towns in which they live, I thought from your advice, & the

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1847, No. 30.

written Rule of the Methodist church, that the northern Bishops, & head men of the Methodist Missionary Society did live in New York, but My Pastor in conversation with me, to day made Some doubts, on my mind, in regard to where they live, and their names, he did not tell me of, after I had ask him, as many as 3 times, Dear Sir, I shall be very thankful to you if you will give me information how to write to Northern Missionary Board, or to its Bishops, and if the New York Missionary Board, is what is truly term, The northern Mission Board, you will please write me word by the next mail from washington, in order that my letter may get there this coming Wednesday, the very day that the Missionary Board is to meet. I mean, get to new york, The letter from Rev. Dr. Pitman Saith, that I with the Requisite recommendation can get employment in liberia, but he did not Say what that employment were, you can get the balance in my next. Your humble Emigrat in Christ Jesus my Lord

BUREELL W. MANN.¹

RICHMOND VA October 24th 1847

My Dear Respected Friend

I promise in My last letter to let you hear the balance of what I had to say, and in the first place, I wish to inform you that I has receive one letter only, in which the writer advises me to get Some benevolent persons, to write in Securing my freedom, and that extra efforts Should be use on my part to get the money as well as on the part of my friends, This letter is from Rev. Dr. Pitman of new york, he saith, that by persuing Such a course, Such a thing has been done for missionaries with the understanding, that said missionaries went to liberia, and he give me to understand that my Recommendation would be wanting, and Dear Sir, it is true, that I have never mension any thing about My charecter to you, nor the Rev. C. Pitman, and as I have been backard in So doing, you will please pardon me for my backwardness, and permit me at this time to Say a word or tow, inrelation to my Recommendation, Dear Sir, if you think it is wanting in the least, just write word, and any person can get it in full, and in quick time, and in regard to the extra efforts of which he Speak, I could use them, if I were already purchased and I could become successful perhaps, in geting Some of the money, toward Paying for Myself, but this can not be done yet awhile, Lest I Should give an offence to Some of my owners,

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1847, No. 54.

but I wish you to know, that should the Lord open the way for me, soon, I Shall have the opportunity to visit Many of the Sister churches, whom I know, will give me much aid. Mr. Pitman in his letter never said that I should not be sent as a Missionary to liberia, but that the Society would not allow Slaves to be bought with its funds I then wrote to him, to know if it were against the Rules to help a poor Slave preacher to buy himself, for their own purpose and if it were not, againts their Rules, would they aid me to the small sum as a copper a piece, from each member of Said Society, thinking that where as they could not do much, according to Rule, they could in great Mercy do a little, but to My knowledge they has not wrote to me Since Mr. Pitman informed me that the Mission Board in New York would meet on the 20th inst, which cause me in one instant to write, & the conversation that I had last Sunday with the Pastor & church likewise cause me, to write, for quick information from you, but since that time I thought that they were just trying me, to See if I were determine to go to liberia, The people every day is asking for your pamphlet & Repository, or information where they can buy them, again I wish to inform you that it is my purpose now to beg among the churches, and to do it by writing, untill I can have permission to go about myself, and Should I succeed in So doing would it be any harm to tell My friends to leave with you, whatever money they have to give me toward paying for myself & helping me on to liberia. My Dear kind friend permit to tell you that My mind is Made up to go as a missionary to liberia, if there is any way possible and ever Since I receive your first letter I submited my case into your hands, and in the hands, of a Good God (?) with the willingness to go, and do for going, any thing that may be charged me, by those who bought me for the above purpose and since my determination to go I have written to many but have not as yet, found them to be Such a great friend to me as you have been, Oh let your friendship & kindness continue toward me for I am poor & needy And May the Lord bless you in all things and save you in Glory is my prayer for Christ Sake, your very humble Servant, in Christ My Lord.

BUREELL W. MANN

you may answer both at the same time if you think proper ¹

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1847, No. 84.

RICHMOND VA. November 9th 1847

My Dear Sir

I now write to know if Mr. McLain has returned home and if he is, I wish him to know that I received his two last letters and that of the 24th of October made me fear much, but I still live in hopes that you will succeed in advocating my cause, I mean Rev. McLain, Sir in your letter you Speaks of it being hard to Raise money for Such a purpose Dear Sir I always thought it to be a hard matter with the Southern Methodist to buy or to aid any one in such a case but I never thought it tow hard for the northern Methodist to advance the money or aid any one who has such a purpose in view as I have, therefore if you find it a hard matter with my own denomination both north & South, you will please try other denominations. I will go for any christian denomination who will help you, to get me out of this distress. The Repository is a pamphlet that our people love and they are desirous to take them by the year if it can be done and Likewise the an. Report. I think it is the wish of the color Female aiding Society to become Subscribers for Said Reports & pamphlets if it can be done you will please write me word and if it is pleasing to you, they will Pay their Subscriotion to Mr. James C. Crane in advance, at the time appointed—and if any thing can be done in My case, now is the time to do it, if you can possibly. I have nothing now, and cant get chants, to go about in the churches to get the least aid and yet my master Call for his money and I wish you to know that I have got more discouragement from my own church than from any other but none of these things move me. if you See any way for me to go next January you will please Send me word

Yours ever truely
BUREELL W. MANN.¹

RICHMOND VA November 21-1847

My Dear Respected Sir

I received yours of the 17th inst and from it I apprehend that you have gotten home. and I will inform you that the Cloud at the time, is very great and my way is more blockcated now than ever. I had hoped Some 18 days back that I should be bless to go next January in the Liberian Packet but the thought is gone out of my mind, in a very great degree. first because I have no money myself and seconly, because my present employers will not allow me any

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1847, No. 173.

chants to go among my friends at the churches, to beg a little aid. and during your absence, the Rev. Mr. Ryland saw my master and asked him all about it, & when he, intended to give me up; & he said, as soon as the money is Paid. and ever since I ask my master's consent about going to Liberia. The man who has been hiring me is much closer & harder with me now than ever he were. So that you will perceive that in my present State I can not help myself nor get the opportunity to go & beg others to help me. I have written to the Bethel church in Baltimore for some aid and entreated them to leav it in your care & likewise to the color Methodist church in Washington but I have never Recd any answer & the churches here & in manchester has been expecting me to visit them for some aid. and my church would not give me a note for that purpose and said that they had no time to attend to me. I found Mr. Ryland to be the very friend of which you Speak in your letter of the 8th October he has given me a good advice and promises to help me pay, & use efforts to get others to help me. but not So with my church. & Preacher they want my Service in their church here, and of course they will not give me money, nor instruction to help me away from them to Heathens in Africa. The only Good time I could have to beg for aid in my case is on Sunday and then at the churches and this I ough to commenced tow week ago but this I have not done because it were out of my power. So I remain now in greater distress than when I first began to write to you. as I have put my case in your hands Some time back, and I Suppose that you have done, what you could, in presenting my case to others, & advocating my cause. and therefore as you See no way, for my request and know of none, I think I had better, take in the report, and let the people of Richmond know, that I can not go. Since I made up My Mind to go to Africa, there is about five persons going, or has determined to go, if I went, their names will be sent hereafter. Send me word how many times in a year will the Repository be Sent.

Yours in many tears

BUREEL W. MANN

P. S. As you see no way as yet by which the money can be Raised you will please Send me word whether I must have my Clothes made, or to make any preperation for going ¹

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1847, No. 174.

RICHMOND VA November 28 1847

Dear Respected Sir

I will again write, Requesting you to excuse the failures which you find committed in my letters from time to time, as I am in great trouble, but I perceive from all your letters, that you have understood my intention thus fare. Dear Sir, I wish to inform you that a woman & tow children are given up to go to Liberia Some 5 or 6 months ago but her mind were in a State of indecision, untill I visited her at which time She determined to go with her tow children her name is Gracy Ann Clark. They are given up by Mrs. Robison. She Saith that, if I can go, the first of January, that She will go also, Mr. Albert Matthews got one of your pamphlet and it converted him, and he now Saith that he is ready & willing to go at any time. he is a freeman. Mr. Sterling Ruffin were converted with one of pamphlet and are determine to go to Africa. Mr. Wm. Brown & family, are owned now, by Mr. Jackson, in this city, your pamphlet has induced him to ask his master the second time, to let him, & family, go to Liberia, and his master I think ask him for your An. Report, intending to give said Brown an answer hereafter. Mr. Francies G. Taylor in hanover Country Va has 6 Servants, that he wishes to go to liberia, but they are unwilling as yet, and I think they stand in need of Some of your pamphlets and a great many others. one Mr. Colds has gotten a pamphlet & has determine to go & is now gone up the country to get his family as I am inform—Dear Sir, I am still determine to go if I can Rev. Mr. Ryland in his advice give me to understand that it would be some advanage to me if I were to go as a Colonist, as well as a missionary and Should you write again you will please tell me all you can upon this point—I saw Mr. John G. Mosby the other day & he encouraged me much & lovingly invited me to call & see him, when he had more time I am still willing to work out my freedom—your humble Servant

as true as ever

BUREELL W. MANN.

P. S. if you think fit you can write to Mr. Francies G. Taylor in hanover coutry Va and if you Say So, I will write to those 6 persons that he wishes to go to Liberia

B. W. MANN ¹

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1847, No. 206.

RICHMOND VA November 30th—1847.

Dear Respected Sir

yours of the 24th inst were duly Recd, and I had not the opportunity to answer it then. I will however give you a few lines now and in the first place, I will inform you that from the coming of your last letter, my heart is much encouraged, and I am very thankful to you, though Christ Jesus, for the advice & encouragement lately Sent to me. Dear Sir, it is not as I please about going, but as you wilt, or the loving friends of Africa. I find here that it is pleasing to many of the white people that I should go at the first opportunity but what pleases them may not please you & those that are concerned in My case. So if I can go when you and my helpers think best, I Shall be contented, but My desire is to go next January if possible, first because it is agreeable to my health, Secondly because I expect many of my acquaintences to go, who has become willing to go, from hearing that I were going, but I will inform you and leave it in your power to inform others that I am willing at any time. My friends & helpers Say, and I am now laying By the pool waiting for the moving of the waters. 2 more persons, Since the coming of my last letter, has made up their minds to go Mr. William Joiner about the age of 21 Declared that he will go when I go Mr. Barlett Harris Saith the Same, in part. Mr. W. Joiner wants a Small pamphlet, & the people is Sending to me for them, from many quarters, & if you have any to Spare, you can Send them, and as I am requested to make a Speech this Sunday in the Female helping Society, you will please Send me Some of your latest Repositories. My aim is in this, to get as many subscribers as I can & to pour the information of the Repository upon the hearts of our Race here, therefore Send me Some forthwith if you think proper and can spare them and you will please send this week, as I shall have to Show them to the Society This coming Sunday.

Your obedient, as true as ever

B. W. MANN.¹

RICHMOND VA December 6th 1847

Dear respected

yours of Dec the first is Recd, & I have to inform you that the Rev. J. B. Taylor is now absent from the city & will not be here, for Some long time. If I could go at all, I prefer to go as Colonist & as a missionary from America. With you I am truly sorry for myself,

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1847, No. 218.

and I must say that I never knew the value of being free before; for had I been a freeman I would have been in Africa long ago & would not be troubling the Good citizens of America as I now do. My case I have labour fully to present to you, judging that you would present it to all the denominations that had mission fields in Liberia, and if you have done this you have done according to my first intention & wishes upon the Subject; because it were my purpose first to offer to the methodist mission Board & Should they Refuse to take me for their Mission, then to offer to all other denominations, & Boards, who has mission fields in liberia, and as I have written to C. Pitman & to that board and they will not take me, you will please present my case to all other denominations, by writing, those who have mission fields in Liberia & are in need of a labourer to Send into those fields you may tell any of them my distress and that I am as willing to go for other denomination as I am to go for my own—Mrs Gracy Ann Clark and her tow children Seem to be determine to go out in January, So I give the Said Clark one of the pamphlet lately Sent to me—Mr. Wm. Joyer is quite young & wish to See you him Self or to Receive Some information from you Respecting his departure in January he is also already free and willing to go if he can get a little fund to prepare him for his out Set and I let him have a pamphlet—Mr. Ruffin wishes to see you also his freedom is paid for and he are determine to go & the question that he asked Seem to be fare ones, but I were unable to answer them—and in regard to my Self, I must Say that I am cut of for my part & my hope is loss. Answer the 30th of november with this,

Yours in many Sorrows

B. W. MANN ¹

RICHMOND VA Dec 12th 1847.

Dear Respected

yours of the 3inst is Recd and I wish to inform you that I received 7 of your Repository for which I were very thankful, as I am for all your acts of kindness to wards me. I hope Dear Sir that you will continue to be a friend & helper to the poor & needy. The Repositories Some of them are now in the hands of persons who expects to become subscribers. They will examine them to day and hereafter Send their names. One Mrs, Lucy Ann Burl has call on me for information about Liberia, & about going, and I told her that the

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1847, No. 236.

colonization Society could not buy her, but that it would pay her expenses out, & Support her Six months, & I give her a Small pamphlet. Dr. Henry J. Roberts arrive here as your letter Stated & I must say to you that my heart did rejoice at his arrival in this city, he give me much instruction about Liberia, & about going, he also promise to Speak a good word to Some Gentlemen on my case, from which I took fresh couruage, if my way should be come possible in time, I Shall rejoice to go with him in January Dear Sir you will please write, if you think proper & tell the northern board that if they will take me for their mission, they please write you word forthwith, and you will please let me know at the first opportunity am about to make my last offer, to my church

Your obedient Servant

B. W. MANN ¹

RICHMOND VA Dec. 19 1847

Sir

I take the opportunity to give you a few lines, beging you not to take it amiss. as it appears to me, that Mr. Mclain, has been absent from home the last tow weeks I wish you would be So kind as to let me know by writing me a few lines. My Dear Sir, if he is still absent from your city you will please write me word but if he is home you will please ask him to let me know it by Answering Some letters already Sent and as Soon as I can know that he is in Washington I will let him hear from my poor condition no more to say at present

Your obedient Servant

BUREELL W. MANN ²

RICHMOND VA Dec 26th 1847 Yours Dec 23 is Recd

My Dear Respected Sir

humbly ask the liberty, of writting once more. Sir I hope you will have patient with me and continue to advocate my cause, for I will assure you and every other friend that loves Africa, that my mind is the same about going now as ever it were & I know nothing in Va that can change my mind or turn my attention from going If I can, and as you can not find any Missionary Societies willing to purchase my freedom, I will inform you, that if you can get any person or persons to advance the money for me now, I will pay them the

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1847, No. 260.

² *Ibid.*, 1847, No. 300.

money again as soon as I am well settle in Liberia. Sir, I in making the effort to go, has gotten into great difficulty and I know not what the end may be, very probably, my master may Sell me to Some trader, If I do not get Settle in the above mensioned way and from now until new yearsday is all the chants I have as fare as I know yet a while therefore if you can find any one who will advance the money for me, you will please write me word forthwith and I will let master know and will get out of this difficul before his Selling time comes on. and as my Master has promised to aid me, (after Society had bought me). I think, with his aid, I can get ready by the 15 of Jan. The Rev. J. B. Taylor has returned home and I think that you can do great Good by writting to him in my case, you can tell him much about me & how long I have been striving to go, and you may tell him tow, that I am more willing to go under the Directions of the Southern Baptist Mission board, than under the Southern Methodist. Should you write him by the next mail, he will get your leter the Same day that I expects to see him. I have seen him once Since he come but he had no opportunity, to converse with me. My Dear Kind Sir you will do the best you can, If you please in getting Some one to advance the money, and to do so as soon as possible because I have got into Distress in puting forth efforts to go to the poor color man home Your very humble & obedient Servant

B. W. MANN.¹

RICHMOND VA Dec 28th 1847

My Dear Respected Sir

Please Bear with me a little longer I wish to inform you, that if you know of any one who would advance the money to pay for my freedom now, that I will Repay them again before I go out to Liberia, this I will endeavour to do by my extra efforts & the aid of the Colored Baptist Church, they Seem to be very desireous to Send me as their missionary and willing to Raise a Subscription Paper & to Subscribe to it My Dear Respected Sir, whenever you meet with Africas lovers you may beg them for me, to do this, and they Shall not be disappointed in no Shape or form. The Rev. J. B. Taylor has talk with me the Second time, he Spoke very highly of Liberia to me and after a while he dismissed me, by Saying, he believed, that I would be of great Service in Liberia, and my Dear Sir, I have got a full Satisfaction of Liberia and of it priviledges &

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1847, No. 323.

Prospects, from Reading your Pamphlets and Repositories, I must Say I know tow much about Liberia, to be deprived of going there, while I am willing to do all I can to go. My Dear Respected, you will please remember me in prayers to God & answer my tow last in friday evening mail, Good news or bad news

Yours ever truely

B. W. MANN.

P. S.

it is the expectation of the Baptist Brethren to get me in to their colony and as a colored people, they Say that they will help me to Repay any one who will advance the money now and get me out of the present difficul—B.W.¹

RICHMOND VA Jan 1, 1848

My Dear Respected Friend

yours of Dec 30th is Recd and I am glad that it is as well with me as you find it Recorded in this letter. I wish you to know that the matter between me & my master, Stands now in the Same way as it did, when I first addressed him upon the Subject of going to Liberia. When he Spoke of parting with us all, Some of his Servants had freted him, but in regard to my case, I now find no change in his mind. he has hired me out on conditions & the others of his Servants as useal, and I do truely believe that he will do what he Said at first & comply with the promise he first made to me, which promise when fulfilled will nearly pay any gentlemen who will now advance the money to pay for my freedom, and Dear Sir, I do truely tell you that I see other way by which I could get money for these purposes, but not in my present condition. In my State I can not So much as Get the money that my master has promise me. again Dr. H. J. Roberts told me while he was sure that a missionary is wanting in the Baptist Colonies here the Baptist members is after me continually to join them that may be sent to the Baptist Colonies in Liberia. Dear Sir, their every days Cry to me is, Raise your Subscription Paper and we will help you pay for your Self and from one to five dollars, they has pledge them selves to Subscribe. Some promise me 1 dollar Some 2 Some 3 & from that to five and what would it be if all these were white ministers. Should I get one of this State & get 3 Subscription Papers from some disinterested American Minister, I will soon make myself known to all the white ministers & white members in Va as soon as the colored people

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1847, No. 334.

who has promise to help me, but I have ask my own church to give me Subscription paper and they would not. If any other Minister do it, before my freedom is pay for, they will become offended therefore I can not expect, to get along in my undertaken till my freedom is pay for, and as you speak of uncertainty in your letter, and the probability of Sickness & death. I will here inform you that I am as healthy in Va as any other man I know, and if you, or any other Gentleman, will advance the money now I will be that Gentlemans Property on the American Shores till the debt is paid. Dear Sir, I know that African Baptist church of Richmond wants Missionaries and while Some are willing to help me pay, others will aid me, only by beging, not by paying money. but I will inform you that if you, or any other Gentleman advance the money for me, & they get me into their colony they will have to help me pay them, who now advances the money for me. I do not think I can be going the next vessel. Answer this as soon as you can—Your humble Servant

B. W. MANN¹

RICHMOND VA Jan 5th 1848

My Dear Sir

yours of the 3 inst is Recd and I understand from yours of Dec 23, that the vessel will Sail about the 15th of Jan, at which time I do not expect to go, unless it is done in an extra manner, unknown to me at present. therefore I have prepared My Mind to go, in the Summer, if I can. My Dear Sir, if you have done all you can, to get Some friend to advance the money for me, and they would not, I now ask you to advance it for me, if you please, and I will Repay you again, time enough, to be ready, to Start in the first Summer Voyage to Liberia. Sir I Should be Glad if Africas friends in Richmond, knewed my determination, about going to Liberia as well as you do. and I judge Sir that you know all the names of them that has Emigrated to Liberia, and I do not know whether you have ever met with one that has strove to let you know the trouth of their intention more So than I and I now ask you to advance the money for me, because I am the Same in heart as you has found me, in words ever Since you first began to write. I think Sir, that my intention is fully pointed out in every letter that I have written to you. I have been trying here to get Some friend to advance the money, and they refuse, before I could fully express my

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1848, No. 2.

self to them on the subject, but I do hope, Dear Sir, that you will patiently hear all that I have to say now, & hereafter upon this subject. My Dear Sir, I wish you to advance the money for me, as soon as you can and I will tell you, if you know not, how you can do, in order to be sure, that you will get it again. Sir if you will do it, I will come to Washington and there remain under your inspection untill you is Repaid or if not, I will remain under the inspection of any Gentleman or Minister in this city that you may prefer. Dear Sir, Mr. John G. Mosby, the Rev. Mr. Ryland, & Rev. Taylor, are Gentlemen of this city in whose hands I am willing to be place, untill the money is Raise to Repay you. and if I do not comply with what I here promise, I am willing for you, or those in whose hands I may be placed, to sell me again, to any Citizen in Richmond, or Washington. These Gentlemen has seen my face in the flesh but they do not know my mind Relating to Liberia as you do. the Rev. Ryland & Taylor is interested in my case Mr Ryland has promise to give me some money & to be my Agent, to See me righted, if I could get any one to advance the money. in my last conversation with the Rev. Taylor he Seem to be So much interested, that he promise me, that he would See 2 other ministers upon the same subject, and it is not tow late to write to Mr. Taylor now, in regard to my case and Should you do it you will please let me know and I will go to see him again, forgive me if you please & bear with me patiently

Your most obedient

B. W. MANN

Servant of John Cosby Richmond Va for 1848
you will please teach me your ways & I will walk there in B. W.¹

RICHMOND VA Jan 23-1848

My Dear Respected Sir

yours of the 8th inst were duly Recd and this is the best opportunity I have had to answer it. I find in your last, that you are astonished at My imaginations, & Petition. Dear Sir I do not think that you are made of money, & did not know that you did not have the money, and I thought as I had no money My self and were asking others in America to advance it, that I had a right to ask you—See your advice in Sept 10th 1847 your own letter tells me, to use efforts to get Some friend, if possible to advance the money, and having tryed many persons who did not know as much about it as you, then thought it proper to ask you to do it. and if my actions are wrong

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1848, No. 20.

in these respects, you will please pardon them, and hereafter, teach me how to think & ask—It is a hard matter to hire my self now—My Master would think, that emigrating as a missionary to Africa Were all a Sham, and it would cause him to think wrong of me in other respects. This is the late advice of Rev. Taylor. It may be that, I could not Raise the money as you think by the next vessel, and should I not do it, I do not think that it would take me nine months to Raise it, by extra efforts as well, as by working you will please continue to advocate my cause & do the best you can for me Answer this Soon—Your humble Servant B. W. MANN.¹

RICHMOND VA Jan 27th 1848

My Dear Sir

yours from Baltimore is Recd, of the 14th inst. & I have to inform you that I have sent a letter to washington for you dated 23rd Jan, if you has received it, you may answer that one with this. With pleasure, I will make known your request to my friends, to the concern & unconcerned and as the Liberian Packet has not arrive you will please write me word when the chartered vessel shall start, & I will inform any person from this Port, that they are to be at the place of embarkation, tow days before the vessel Sails. If Dr. Henry J. Roberts is there, or is to Start in this vessel you will please tell him to write me, if he can, a week before he takes his departure or if others of the Liberian Citizens be there, you may tell them my case & tell them to write to me.

Yours very truely in many tears

B. W. MANN.²

RICHMOND VA February 12th 1848

My Dear Sir, I Sent you a letter the 23 of January, from which, I have received no answer. I received yours of the 24th of Jan. which cause me to think that you were in Baltimore but from being not certain that you were there, I Sent a letter to Mr. James Hall of Baltimore for you & I never got any answer from that one, So I judge it to be a bussy time with you then, and I thought proper to forebear, writting untill now, if you has gotten those letters you will please answer them with this one and let me hear the prospects of the last vessel of Emigrants to Africa and whether The Liberian Packer has arrive. My Philanthropist & Religion is the Same, for

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1848, No. 112.

² *Ibid.*, No. 134.

My fellow men in Liberia and I am at a loss to know how I shall go to them. I hope Dear Sir, that you are not weary in advocating my Cause. if you See, or hear of any thing that are of advantage to me you will please take an active part in My case, or if not write me word forthwith. This year, I live with Mr. H. Dickison. Should you have any hasty intelligents for me you can write in care of Mr. H. Dickison for me, or you may continue to write in the usual way This may be done when you are in any other City or Town, or have any thing to inform me of quick. I remain your humble

Servant true & Study-

B. W. MANN¹

RICHMOND VA March 20th 1848

My Dear Respected-

yours of Feb 17th is Recd from which I learn that the Vessel has Sailed from Baltimore to Africa with 44 Emigrants, and the only thing that pain me, was that I were not one in that number. yet not withstanding, all Sickness is not unto death. I hope that my time will come ere long,—Dear Sir, as I can not find any friends in America, who will advance the money, for the purpose above mentioned, It came into my mind, of late, to write to the Liberian Government, to inform Said Government, that if they will Redeem me from this Slavery, that I will go as a Colonist, and I will Repay the Government the Same money again, and work at my Trade there every day, and in the missionary field of Sundays. but I judges it proper to get your advice upon the Subject. you will please give me all the information you can in regard to this point and if it be in your power you will please answer this by returning mail, or in Some Short time.

I Still remain the Same, B. W. MANN.²

RICHMOND VA March 28th 1848

My Dear Respected

yours of the 22 inst is Recd. & I will inform you, that if you think it will do Good, I will write to J. J. Roberts and Send the letter to you, fold in brown paper after which you can Direct it & Send it, by the Liberian Packet to the above mentioned person—I shall not Seal it, that you May have an opportunity to read it if, you like—You Stated, that you expect to be here Some

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1848, No. 195.

² *Ibid.*, No. 335.

time in April, at which time you hoped to See me. I am Glad to hear that you are coming & hope to see me. But I am very Sorry, that I have no good, tidings, to tell you, in regard to my case—I live on the Cary Street number 14 Street, leading to Mayos Bridge, at Mr. Hiram, B. Dickisons Tobacco, Factory.—When you arrive in Richmond you can find me at the above mensiend Place, or if it is more Suitable to you to Send for me after you arrive here, you will please send for me, or write in the office as useal.—a week ago I wrote to Dr. Pitman, but I got no answer. I Seem to be forgotten by our mission Board. you may look for the letter to J. J. Roberts—Your humble Servant

Slave of John Cosby

B. W. MANN¹

RICHMOND VA May 2nd 1848

My Dear Respected Sir,

The letter that I intended for J. J. Roberts, I have already Sent to you, folded in Brown paper as I before Said, and as it were Directed to you, by the Post Master, I have feared that he made Some mistake, that you have not gotten it. therefore if you have gotten it I shall be much please to know whether you have sent it out by the Packet, and I Should be much please to know the prospects of the Packet which were to Sail the 11 of April and Should you continue your notion about coming to Richmond you please let me know in the P. office a fews days before hand. I long to see you, My heart would Rejoice Much.—in yours of March 22 you Speak of coming to Richmond which in duced to look for you every Morning in P. office, for a month, and I am Still looking for you, Try & make my case known any where you think proper and let the friends know that my Resolution is Greater now than ever about going to Liberia. you will please if possible let me from the Missionary fields in Liberia. Your humble Servant in great haste.

B. W. MANN—²

RICHMOND VA May 27th 1848

Dear Sir.

I am sorry I have to trouble you on this occasion. I hope however you will pardon me for being So officious. Sir I wish to ascertain whether The Rev. W. Mclain is at home, at this time, or, you will please let me know, in what city or town he is, so that I can write

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1848, No. 378.

² *Ibid.*, April to June, 1848, No. 126.

to him. It has been more than tow months Since he wrote to me, & I have been looking for him ever Since the last of March, I had thought that if he were not Sick, he were paying visit to other city, or towns. Please answer this by the next mail.

Yours humble Servant.

B. W. MANN.¹

RICHMOND VA 10th 1848

Dear Respected

it is very important with me at this time to know the Resident of Rev. J. Tracy. Where are his office? In what State is he located, when he, is Said to be at home? for if Boston were his Stationed place I think he would have gotten the letter that I Sent, and as he has given me no answer, as yet, I thought that he were there on a visit. Again in looking over an old African Repository I find him to be a Minister, and the Secretary of the Massachusetts Colonization Society. This lead me to think that Boston were not his Stationed place. Had I known this before I wrote, I should have Addressed the whole of the above Society. It is very important for me to know if President Roberts continue his visit in Boston, and what cities or towns he will hereafter visit & when he leaves you will please let me know as much of these points as you can & as Soon as you can. I am Still an object of pity

Yours most truly,

B. W. MANN.²

RICHMOND VA August 4th 1848

My Dear respected Friend.

yours of the 24th of July is receive and I will in form you That as yet, I have received no answer from the Rev. J. Tracy. I hope however he will write me as soon as he can, yet at the same time I am not weary in waiting on the Lord. I am her requested, by certain Persons to ask you a few questions in regard to emigrating from America to Liberia First the enquire wishes to know, will the American Colonization Society take a person who goes from a Slave State, to a free One, and Colonize, That person, or persons to Liberia? Secondly Will they treat emigrants of this discription as well as they do others? Thirdly Do any other Colonization Society own Packets, like the Liberian Packet? And forthly can Such

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1848, No. 211.

² *Ibid.*, July to September, 1848, No. 41.

persons go to Liberia? Dear Sir, if all these questions can be answered in the affirmative you will please answer them in your next to me. and Should you See any way for me, you will please let me know as quick as you can, as it will be, great Advantage to the Colonization Society. hereafter you will hear from your last years Pamphlets & Repository. Yours in Great haste

B. W. MANN.¹

RICHMOND VA Aug 13th 1848

My Dear respected Sir

your two last is Received. and I am very thanful to you for the information of the first, by informing me in Due time of Mr. Payne visit to this city & of the Second which informed me of the arriv of the Liberian Packet and of the time it will again Sail. My Dear Sir I must Say That in regard to the Rev Paynes visit here, That Great good has been done, and I judge that Lord were with him Because he brought what we believe to be the True & good Report of the Place Secondly he made a short Speech in the African baptist church, at which time he pull down many untrue Reports, which had been publish about Liberia, thirdly, he in the evening, preach to the colored congregation of Trinity church and aided in administing, the Lords Supper. These actions here done by a Liberian Minister, has Created great excitement here and has left them in a wonder. I having to preach in Manchester church, Could not be there to hear him, at this time, but these things were told me by christians Brethren who were there. In regard to my case I must Say that I am Still over whemed in deep waters and know not what to do, and it does Seem, to me that Mr Tracy of Boston has forgotten me or he has not answer my letters.—as I were disappointed by the Rain, you will please tell Mr Payne farewell.

Your humble Servant B. W. MANN ²

RICHMOND Sept. 15th 1848

My Dear Sir.

you will please bear with me a little longer.

I thought it proper not to write in your bussey time but to wait untill after the Sailing of Packet when you might have more time to hear my case

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1848, No. 142.

² *Ibid.*, No. 173.

I Some time back promise to let you hear the Effect of the African Repository, this I can do in part, only as it relate to me & my family It has prepare My mind fully for going as a colonist and my whole family is also willing to go if possible

My Dear Sir

I have not heard from the Rev Tracy up to this moment & if it is possible you will please write to him of my case & get him to do the best he can in my case and as he has never answered one letter from me it has led me to think That if he ever thought of me in pass times, he has forgot me now. I Should be Glad to hear how many Emigrants has been Sent out this year & when the next vessel will Sail for Liberia. I will esteem it a great favor on your part if you can get any one to advance the money. Write me as Soon as you can, if you please.

B. W. MANN.¹

RICHMOND VA Sept 26th 1848

My Dear respected Friend.

I humbly thank God, That I have it in my power to inform you That I has Received a letter from the Rev. Mr Tracy, in which I find no Small Consolation. It was written Aug 17th and as it had My Masters Name on the outside, It were taken out of the office & preserve by Some person untill My Master returned from the Springs. he arrived here on the 23 Sept & having Read the letter "he gave it to me on the 25th, and I forthwith Sent it to My Pastor & Church, and next Tusday night it is to be examined before that Body. although My Master Read the letter, he had nothing to Say againts it. Should you know of any one wishing to write to me you will please tell them not to put my master name on the out side, but, Mr B. W. Mann or Mr. Bureell W. Mann, will suit.

My Dear Sir I must say That Mr Tracy s letter has cheerd my spirit much, and has cause me to see as I never saw before, & I humbly thank God for his goodness to me in these Respects & all others, of his, servants for their aid in my Case, and in regard to you, and Mr Tracy, I must say That I feel myself under ten thousand obligations to you both for the active part you have already taken in My case. I hope Dear Sir That each of you will Continue to do So untill I am fully Restored to the home of my forefathers.—as soon as I get the decission of our church Relative to Mr Tracy s

¹ *Ibid.*, 1848, No. 285.

letter I will write you. yours of the 25th inst is Recd. which lead me to say That you need not Send my last to Mr Tracy in Boston, if you have not done it, for I wrote him on the 25th inst & I judge that he is Satisfied So fare inregard to the one letter, he wrote me first

I do truly think Dear Sir, That the Lord is now about to trouble the Waters, May God Grant it I pray. Should you wish to know any of me, or my family, just write forthwith, or if not wait untill I write again as I intend to let you hear from our church. Yours in great hase.

B. W. MANN.¹

RICHMOND VA. January 2nd 1849

Rev Sir.

It Seemeth proper that I Should inform you of my present State, and the expectations of the Methodist in this place, and also a misunderStanding Relative to the Price that my master charge for me, from first to last.

Sir, the chains of Slavery Do hold me up to the present moment and I can not help Myself now But I do hope that I shall be able hereafter to Repay any Body of men who may be the least dispose to join the Boston Methodist, in raising the a mount of money. Sir, the methodist people here are waiting to hear whether Dr. Pitman wants me for a missionary in Liberia, and to write to them all needful information. They, the above mensioned people has been expecting a letter from Nr. Pitman for more than nine weeks and if Dr. Pitman do not show them by writting that I am much needed in Liberia, as a missionary and manifest his desire to Send me as Such, That I can never go. Oh! My Dear kind Sir, if you have time, and have reason to think that you can do any Good by way of writeing to him, you will please do me this, one more kindness. Sir, Great is the difficulties that I have had to contend with Since I offered My Self to Missionary Board, The Scattering of my children to the four winds of heaven, and the Selling of My beloved Wife! together with other heart breaking Circumstances! are all discouraging, and Serious in their tendency. But in the words of one of old, None of these things moves me. I do not Weep to stay in any part of America, But to go home to my fore-fathers Land! The triumph of God, I trust will bring my Wife & children together at the day of judgment at which time Sinful

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1848, No. 324.

parting will be done a way. The misunderstanding aluded above, is That in 1847. The Rev. Mr. Courtney Seem to have misunderstood the Price that my master charge for me, that whereas he said it were 4.50. dollars. It is only 400 dollars. Should any friends, to your knowledge, be desireous to know the fact in this Matter, Let them write to my master Saying, That they has heard that he charge \$400 and beg him to write them word, But do not mention the \$4.50. Because he told me & others, that he charged \$400. about 3 weeks a go.

yours most truely

in Great hase

B. W. MANN.¹

RICHMOND VA May 12th 1849

My Dear Sir

yours of March 27th were duly receive from which I learned That Mr. M.Lain were expected to be home at Washington. your letter expected him the first or Second week in May, and I thought it best not to write untill now and I write now, to know if he has return home, if he has, you will please Show him the last Three letters that I Sent to him or you may show him this letter and if the above Mension letters are misplace any way, you or him will please write me word

My Dear Sir, I am very thankful to you for your kindness and also to Mr M.Lain I do feel myself in debt to Mr. M.Lain for his past kindness to me, in advocating Cause I hope he continue in So doing, untill I am restored to the land of my forefathers.

Yours Most truly

B. W. MANN.²

RICHMOND VA Jany 28th 1849

Rev And Dear Sir

yours of the 6 inst is Recd. and I have to inform you That the church here has lately gotten a letter from Dr. Pitman Relative to my case, in which there were a very little Good done, if any. he did not so much as manifest to our church, the least desire to Send me out as a missionary nor as a colonized Preacher. his letter only Suited those in this city that did not wish to aid in this matter. As I

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 21.

² *Ibid.*, No. 172.

learn from our Secretary, that it will cause our church to with draw its efforts in Aiding me In this city the question now is What is the use of trying to raise the money When the missionary Board will not Receive you as a missionary nor as a colonized Preacher? Mr. Pitman has three Recommendations from our Secretary & Preachers. Should you or any other friend wish to See them you will be So kind as to write to Dr. Pitman for them or if not, let me know and I will write for them. Great is my trials now on the right hand and on the left. My family are now Sold to the traders and gone; But this does not go So hard with me as the Being deprive of going and Preaching the Gospel to the down trodden Sons & Daughters of Africa Great is my zeal for their souls and Great is my philanthropy for that Country at large.

Sir if I can get any person, or persons to Stand for me a few months, or to Lend you the money, So that you might Pay for me, It is my purpose to pay all for myself, That you can not borrry Some may be dispose to give a little for the Gospel Sake. others may be dispose to lend you Some for Africas Sake and Should this be So you will please Write how much each person may lend you for the purpose That I may know how to make applications, to other quarters, to get help. now I do not expect any thing from the colonization Society nor do I expect any thing from the missionary Society But I do expect that the lovers of God, and of Africa, will give you a little and lend you the balance. No one from these quarters is to know any thing about my paying a cent, and if I do have to pay all It must go in the name of the Boston methodist and of others who may Join to help if this can be done, It is my purpose to come to Washington where you is and to remain there untill I Repay to you as much as you may now have to borrry. I Say that the Boston methodist is to bear the name of doing it Because they first promised by letter to help and not only So, my master has Seen the letters which they Sent Sir, my mind is made up to work & pay you for all your trouble! Please oblige me if you can, and if there is the least hope for poor me, Write Soon, yours.

B. W. MANN.

P. S. This letter contain my new resolutions and efforts to go to Liberia.

in my above remarks I Spoke of moving to wahington as Soon as the money are raise and paid for me. by this, I shall quickly gat the money That my master has promised to give me and my determination is to appropriate it in paying

those that lends you the money now. I have other reasons for wishing to move to Washington, of which I will hereafter Speak if it be needful

Please bear with me, & help me, untill I can help my self and then I will repay you and all that now lend you.¹

RICHMOND VA Feb. 14th 1849.

Rev And Dear Sir

yours of the first inst is receive from which I learn that nothing can be done in my case at present My Dear Sir if you think that there is the least hope of borrrying the money in days to come, There is some hope of my going as mission to Liberia or if by your influence, A agent could be Sent out to beg and use extra efforts to Raise the money. I do Say that there is some hope in my case Not with out. Sir my face you never has seen; But I tell you that non in America knows as much of my purpose and determination as you do! and you may take my word for it. That if any of the above mensioned Steps are taken and the money raised and left into your hands, to pay for me I will as Soon as it is done commence to Repay what ever may be required by you or those friends who may be kind enough to lend you, for the purpose. My condition requires me to remain in one Spot, working for my master and since he promised to let me go for \$400. he has got \$150. and I know very well That if you can not Succeed in non of the above mension cases, I need not hope ever to go. for I will be hire out always and my master will get the money. Now while this is lawful here It does not suit in my case; for if I could have borried the money at first, and paid for myself, I could by this time have paid, by my trade, \$150. and by next Christmas 250 dollars. Not including extra aid, nor the money that is promised me by my master himself. My kind Sir, If any friend can trust you for the money, I am willing to remain in your hands, as there property untill I pay the money again, This is my Second reason for wishing to live in your city a while. As you has never Seen my Recommendations from my church you please write to Mr Pitman for all three of them or if not, you will please get Mr Tracy to write for them and Send them to you, for I think the other missionary Boards will wish to See them besides Mr Pitman s. The influence of Colonization here is So great at present that I as a Slave can not talk as much now about going to Liberia as I has done in pass days, you will please answer this as soon as

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 262.

you can After which I will let you hear from many of the free people

I remain truly your,

B. W. MANN.¹

RICHMOND VA March 4th 1849.

Rev And Dear Sir

I promise in my last to give you some remarks relative to colonization in this place among the colored people and this I should have done before now if it had not been for the want of time and a qualification to write.

Sir, as a true friend of Liberia and of the cause of colonization, I do Say, That the excitement among the color people relative to Liberia, are greater now than, it ever were before, and that many from this place has determine to emigrant to Liberia and many are Still making up their minds to be settle in Liberia. This seem to be the State of things among many of the free color people,—and in regard to the Slaves, I can not tell how many they are who are desirous to go.

On last Sunday evening in the African baptist church,—a missionary, for Liberia preach for the color people, after which J. B. Taylor made a few remarks which seem to bring about new determinations in the hearts of many upon Subject. May the Lord bless the colonization Cause ever more and induce all to return to their own lands that have it in their power to do so. I wrote in my last requesting you to get Mr Tracy to write to Dr Pitman for the three Recommendations of mine which he has receive from the methodist church South relative to me, if you or Mr Tracy has gotten them, you will please let me know when you answer my other and you will please give me an Answer as Soon as you can

I remain your humble servant

B. W. MANN ²

RICHMOND VA. March 22nd 1849.

My Dear Sir

I have written twice to Mr. McClain, and have receive no Answer, and this cause me to think, that he are absent from your city, you will please write me word of what town or city he is in at present, or when he will return home.

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 354.

² *Ibid.*, No. 423.

You can Say to him that I am not out of patients, in waiting for an answer from him, and that my heart is Still fix to go, if I can to Liberia.

Your most obedient Servant
B. W. MANN.¹

RICHMOND VA August 3rd 1849

My Dear Sir,

you will please let me know whether Mr McClain has return home from his long voyage if he has, you will please Show him this letter and give him to understand that I Sent Some letters while he were absent from home, and know of him, whether anything can be done in My case, and Begg him to write me word and if he are not there you will please give me a Small answer yourself informing me where he is.

your most humble Servant
B. W. MANN ²

FROM LEWIS C. HOLBERT

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 7 # 47.

My Dear Sir

As I did expect to go this fall to Liberia for to see for my self but my famely was so much aganst it I could not leave and all my ferriends so much opposed to it but for my peart I am rady to go this moment for I am convinsed of the place and of it value the coloured race and by ouer indустery it may be in time as richly covered with citys farms and commerse as the grate United States of Amarica which 300 years ago was an wilderness but I hope I shall See the lande for my self for I discier long to go I hope you will write and let me know the latest news of Liberia I suppose the packet left on the first of the month May kind Heaven fill her sales and waft her across the brode Atlantic and land them all in health to injoy the free soile of ouer forfeathers. Rev. Sir I hope your in good health write soon direct to the Columbia House Chesnut street Philadelphia.

Rev. W. McClain. I remain your O.b. Sr..

LEWIS C. HOLBERT.³

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1849, No. 137.

² *Ibid.*, July to September, 1849, No. 142.

³ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1847, No. 108.

PHILADELPHIA Oct. 2nd 1847. (?)

My Dear Sir

I received yours dated Sep 11th and was glad to hear that some of my colored ferriends had seen that this land is not thear country of Liberty & freedom but that land which ouer forefeathers lived I hope I shall be able to go the next sail of the Packet I wish to go not that I do exspect to become rich and set at ease but it is the love of liberty and freedom and by us who are free and bornd free as it regards slaves leave this land to astablish a free government of ouer own I think therre is nothing could be more dissiarble to us people of colour as for my peart to know it is a grate blessing to us people of colour and I hope the time will soon come when all of my colour will see as I see but the main object of my writing to you at this time is that thear was a gentlemen called at the Columbia house the other day and wished me to call at the Colonization Rooms but as I was ingaged I could not talk to him much he toald me whare they was but I could not find them I think he said his name was Mr. Cressen but I hope you will write and let me know where and what street thear in. I am yours
Lewis C. Holbert.

REV. W. MCLAIN.¹

FROM GEO. H. BALTIMORE

Messrs. Editors:—In reading the notice of a call in your paper for a National Convention of colored people to be held in the city of Troy, October 6th, I can adopt all its suggestions, excepting one, that is as follows: to recommend immigration and colonization, not to Africa, Asia, or Europe. This I consider a fling at the American Colonization, and even to stagger the minds of those of our people, who are desirous of going to their fatherland.

The Colonization Society, with all its faults, has done too much good in the eyes of the world in planting the colony of Liberia; and the few colonists have affected too much good in the minds of the immediately surrounding native tribes, in abolishing the slave trade, for us, the free people of color at this day, to say aught against them. We should bear in mind this very Liberia has been so prosperous, that it is now on the eve of taking a stand among the independen: nations of the earth. Already England and France are making propositions to them for the purpose of trade, and American naval officers stationed on the western coast of Africa,

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1847, No. 8.

are appealing to the government of the United States, not to be backward in doing the same. If I do not choose to immigrate, or share in the glory and honor of the Liberians, in building their villages and cities, constructing their canals, raising their ships, and above all, the suppression of that evil, the slave trade, which has been upon our race for so many centuries, not only on the American continent, but in Africa, I will at least be silent. These are the reasons why I do not attach my name to the call, though I shall attend the Convention.¹

GEO. H. BALTIMORE.
Whitehall, Sept. 21, 1847

MITCHELL VILLAGE August 22, 1848

Rev an Dear Sir.

I received yours of June the 22. In answer to the information I required an should have answered. and i also intended, to have seen you an veiwd Capital of Capitals of the U. S. before this time. I am rather woman like around my little ones, and i suppose rather to much so, when they are sick for my own good. I feel thanfull to say by the blessing of heavens it is about well an I have not been well myself so i have been busiing myself an collectting facts, for a little historical work that i am trying to write. I wish to inform you that i was in Troy my native City the later part of May. I visited the Rev Mr Stele the Methodist personage an we conversst on the cause of colonization. I told him That i would speak in his session room: he said he would rather give me an invitation to lay the subject, before the coming conference wich would meet in a few days. The above mentioned sickness prevented; I read the Repository an i find them extremely interesting especially the July and August number.

Yours for the oppress an colonization
GEO. H. BALTIMORE

Rev Wm McClain.

Washington City.²

Aug. 26, 1848

Sir some times when a single word is left out it spoil the whole face of a letter. In my letter to you of the 22 or 23. I did not thank you

¹ *The African Repository*, XXIII, 374.

² *Letters received by the American Colonization Society*, July to September, 1848, No. 207.

for the required information. you will now please accept my sincere thanks.

Yours &c. GEO. H. BALTIMORE.¹

Rev. Wm Mc Clain

Washington City (Errata.)

FROM CECELIA D. LYON

BALTIMORE January 16, 1848

Dear Sir & friend

this will inform you that I am In Baltimore. I arrived here yesterday I Came the land rout expecting to finde the vessel redy. But as I have been disappointed I am Compeled to throw myself on the Society for the time I shall remain here. I left home with bearly money enough to pay my expenses for I made up mi mind not to let any thing prevent me from going to Liberia with My Children although I have nothing to begin with yet I trust the lord will provide for those that put there trust in him. I expected to have got eight or nine hundred dollars that is in the hands of a gentleman but I am compele to leeve it and prehaps I may never get it. this would have enable me to Commence some little business in My new home, but so it is a colord person cant get there right in the Countrey that I am from. I am now at the House with other emigrant, where I finde the Land Lady very kind—But the House is crowded and I cannot have a room so as to make myself and Children Comfortable. I am sorry I did not Come to washington I am very anxious to see you sir the one that has been so kind I moste trully desire to see to get your advice and to returned you thanks for your kind attention to my letters &c. In Savannah the people appears quite anxious to go to Liberia. before I left three famelyes Came to me and pledg there worde that they would Come out on April and many, speak, favorable of the Coloneys. I received a letter from my Father and all so the Constitution and other papers which I endeavourd to shew to as meny as I could and I think it will have a good affect

Your humble and obedient Servant

CECELIA D. LYON

P. S.

There is a man by the name of Clay a Preacher that will go on with us I expect him daly ²

C D

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1848, No. 222.

² *Ibid.*, January to March, 1848, No. 76.

FROM PETER B. BOLLING

MOBILE ALABAMA 13th March

MR. W McLAIN

Dear Sir

I received your kind letter a few days ago wherein you put forth so conspicuously the choice that should be made by those emigrating to Liberia (Namely that of benefiting my fellow man) It is with this and no other that I wish to go and every endeavor will be made by me and mine to do what good we can towards converting a people from Ignorance Superstition barbarism & Paganism to the true religion & civilization that characterises the United States. Perhaps you have thought me dilatory in answering your letter But with my excuse I think you will not blame me which is that I have been looking out some of my Bretheren who would accompany me with the same feelings I have myself and those you say a man should have imigrating there, and thank God I believe I have found some of the right stripe, at least six who would like to engage in the mighty work and I assure you there are none of thim Lofers loungers dandies or those who wish to cut a swim. But all plain industrious and well meaning men who wish to take their tools of the Various employments they have and go right to work when they get there. But here is one question which I hope you will satisfy me in regard to when you answer this (namely) What is the best articles to take with us, for I have been informed and I think not wrongfully that there are some things would be more bineficial than money, and if employed as it, the natives would assist us in building &c when we get there & you will greatly oblige me by letting me know what is most needful & answer this as soon as practicable and oblige Your humble Servant

PETER B. BOLLING ¹

MOBILE Dec 1 st 1848

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 6th Nov has been received—Much to my regret I shall not be able to leave by the next vessel as I have not been able to dispose of my place with out making a greater sacrifice than I wish to submit to—I being the leader of the movement in this city my friends are not willing to go without me of which there some twelve or fifteen who are anxious to go—

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1848, No. 2.

It would have afforded me much pleasure to have met with my old friend Pres. Roberts as we were raised together from children— Please let me know how or where we are to pay our subscriptions to the Af. Repository as I & several of my friends wish to subscribe for it—

I shall be pleased to hear from you occasionally by letter

Your Obt Servt.

PETER B. BOLLING

Mr. W. McLain

Baltimore ¹

FROM BRANCH HUGHES AND E. DUNSTAN

March 27 1848

GRANVILLE COUNTY NORTH CAROLINA—

My Dear Sir

I was very Glad to here that the emigrants all landed well and the Surviving are doing well and I was very Sorry to here of The death of Friend Drew for I Think it rather disencouraging To the feelings of some Tho some of us are yet in spirit of liberia Tho myself nor none of my acquaintance are ready for this voyage. I can only Say that myself and some others are trying to make Ready for the first of Jan if there will be an opportunity Myself and Mr. Drews friends were expecting letters by the packet we hope to get them by the next opportunity I close by Saying I hope you will forward to us all necessary information yours with respect until Death

BRANCH HUGHES

P. S. Please to say to us what are The Freight of a family of 8 or 10 persons from baltimore To liberia and if there is any danger in caring infants and oblige Your humble Servant

—E. DUNSTAN ²

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1848, No. 228.

² *Ibid.*, April to June, 1848, No. 7.

FROM JOHN F. COOK

April 9, '48

REV. WM MC LAIN.

Present.

Dear Sir:

Your note together with Mr. Ball's came duly to hand. I regret to say that I cannot now determine positively whether it will be in my power to witness the departure of the Packet for Liberia, I told Mr. B—— I would if I could make it convenient. I can only say at this time the same to you. If I can make any arrangement with reference to my School, &c. I shall endeavor to be in Balt. on the occasion named, do not depend however on me for an address, as I feel my incompetency, but would rather be a looker on—only. But if present will not hesitate to wish them a safe passage &c. My thanks for your considerations.

I am very respectfully

Yours, &c.

JOHN F. COOK.

Washington April 9th, 1848.

Sabbath P. M.¹

FROM ALFRED EVANS

MOBILE ALABAMA May the 16 1848

My Dear Sir I Now take this opportunity of writing to you in order to inform you that I have made up my mind to go to Liberia and I want to emigrate with the company that first goes to Liberia and I wish to get your advice so I may know what plan to fall upon and my dear Sir I am a free colored man of Mobile Alabama and therefore I have very little money to carry me to Liberia and wish to have the Society aid to carry me there and Mr. Rev. W. McLain as you is the agent of the Society and I be glad for you to let me know by this letter as you can for I am ready now to by the first opportunity and please to tell me by the letter you will send to me in Mobile and I have a Wife and Child my Wife name is Patience Evans my Childs name is Francis Evans and only three in my family that is myself making the three and please to give me the understanding of the place in Liberia and the State of things in that land and how a man is to get along there and direct your letter in the care of Mr. Jacob Anderson in Mobile and I think that the

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1848, No. 53.

is many more in mobile that Wants to go to liberia now and this is all I have to write now

ALFRED EVANS your ¹

FROM JACOB ANDERSON

MOBIL May the 20th 1848

MR. WM MC LAIN *Sir* I has bin Requested by a family of free pepeal Nam Alford Evens wife And 1 child he has consiiderable esteat that he his sold And turning to mona that tha may be Rady the fust opportunity that may be a fordid to Emigrant to liberia pleas Receiv these fue lings from a frind And pleas give me such direction is you may think Best And it will be thankfully Recd I Remember you good laber of love & that the Blessing of god may be with you your Respectful

JACOB ANDERSON ²

MOBIL Oct the 29 1848

TO THE REVD WM MC LAIN

Dear Sear I tak this oppertunity By the Request of my friens to inform you that one of my intellajent frinds namley Jack Georg (?) is ingage ing Bying himself in order to go to liberia his master charge him six hundred doller And he his now th \$300 doller Ready to pay And untell he can git Som frind to helph him he cannot get a long well Dear Sear is you wil Be So Kind is to Advance \$300 doller on the sam princable that you did with Edmon I can pay the mona Back ing one year my Case is Before you Be pleas to give it Such a investagaesion is you ing your Judgment may think proper But you instructsion from you will Be gladly Received I hav Sen Edmon D Taylor And famelay All well he Say that By the 20th of december he will complet the payment of six hundred doller And the Ballanc of the mona he can get And mak payment in ful So that he may sav the insouren Dear Sear the mona deu you from me for the Repository Be ing no Eagunt Ana infearmasion on the subject Will Be comply I Want the liberia hearl you Will pleas Send me som informasion on the subject And I Will send the mona

I Re mann

you Respectful

JACOB ANDERSON ³

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1849, No. 4.

² *Ibid.*, April to June, 1848, No. 276.

³ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1848, No. 97.

MOBIL Febuary the 16 1849

THE REV AND *dear Sier*

I tak the oppertunaty to send you the names of sum new sub sbribir
for the Repository

Directsion

- 1 Peter Bolling to H C peabody
- 4 Mary F leaving
- 4 Thomas Robinson
- 4 John Bryent the care of Thomas leaving 3
- 4 John Center to Thomis S King
- 4 Louis Bowen
- 4 Willam Simpson the car of Edmon D. Taylor 2
- 4 Peter Williams to Miller Fre
- 4 William Johnson to the care of Jacob Anderson
- 4 Garet Butler to H N Gold

I will send the Ballenc of the money ing Appril you will
pleas exsept \$5

JACOB ANDERSON

to the Rev W mc lain ¹

MOBIL Sept the 10 1849

TO THE REV W MCLAIN *Sear* I hav Subscrib for the liberia hearil
When you pas though last winter And hav not Recev my paper
you Will pleas Send them

I Allso pad a Subscripsion For the Repository for *Mr Guilford Ward*
that has not bain Rece you Will pleas correct this cas

You Respectfull

JACOB ANDERSON ²

FROM TITUS SHROPSHIRE

These letters of Titus Shropshire show that his case was somewhat like that of Burell W. Mann. He finally obtained his freedom but had some difficulty thereafter in establishing the right of his family thereto. They were liberated by the will of an owner whose name the slaves bore. The heirs, however, endeavored to prove that the manumission was illegal for the reason that the owner had only a life interest in the slaves, but the highest court in Missouri

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 275.

² *Ibid.*, July to September, 1849, No. 268.

decided in favor of the slaves. Many such bondmen whom their kind masters sought to transplant to Liberia lost their freedom in the entangling law suits instituted by malevolent relatives and ill-designing persons.

May the 21, 1848

Dear Sir

You will please not to stope the African repository on me as I am a poor Slave but a cording to will Expects to Goe to Liberia before long and would like to know all a bout it you would be please If you have on hand the April & may numbers to Send them to me If you cant Send gratuitous I will Try to rease the money before the year is out and Send your paper is a Grate light to me

TITUS SHROPSHIRE Tippecanoe
W Mclain ¹ mo

August 24, 1848

Dear Sir

your Letter Come to hand July 18 Which give mi greate Satisfaction to know that you would send the reposotory to mi you send mi a pamphlet for Which I thank you very much I would be glad that you would Send me Sum of your Africas Summarys and the Liberia herald if you please I think as you do I will be glad when the Time Come for me to go to Liberia but I will leave that matter with God I loock at the Colonization Society as the greatist thing a mung man kind and the mend the greatist of mend for thay must be Good men any thing from you would be greate with me

to William M Clain
TITUS SHROPSHIR

Sum of your numbers of the Liberia herald ²

LANCASTER MO. October 7 1848

Dear Sir

by this you will see that your letter has bin rec but I must Truble you agine You will please Sind all my papers to Lancaster. the Letter that you receved from me Last from Cherry Grove was handed to a Gentleman and he mail It at the rong post office. the Repository for Sept has not bin rec as yet. I would be Glad If you please to Send the September number If it will not Truble

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1848, No. 193.

² *Ibid.*, July to September, 1848, No. 216.

you to much as I Like to See Every thing from Liberia Lancaster
Mo

I am Yours TITUS SHROPSHIRE.

William McLain

the September number. I have no dough but it bin mist lade
for you have any by you please Send one of that number ¹

March the 30 1849.

REV MR McLAIN *Dear Sir*

three mounth has pass a way and I have not received the African
Repository I hope you have not Stope It You will please Send the
January and *february* and *March* Nos. If you have them by you
and them Liberia papers that you promus me If the Packet have
Return from Liberia you writen in your last letter to me that when
the Packet Return, you would Send me Sum I hope you have
Not for Got me

TITUS SHROPSHIRE

lancaster

Mo.

Rev. W. McLain ²

CHERRY GROVE October 14th 1849 Mo

MR McLAIN *Dear Sir*

I Take this oppertunity of write you a few Linds to let you know
that the old Lady is dead and Left us all for Liberia but her children
is about to Bring suit for the family and we may not get of Before
nixt fall but we want to be of as soon as posserble thire Lawyers
Tells thim that thay can Brake the will but our Lawyers says thay
cant Brake the will I hope I will not be from my calling as preacher
of the gospel of the lord Jesus Christ upon the soil of Africa we are
all in the hands of a administrator Know Sir any thing from you
on that subject will be great with us that is on the subJect of
Liberia

I sill an yours

TITUS SHROPSHIRE

Mr McLain

Washingont ³

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1848, No. 20.

² *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 460.

³ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1849, No. 37.

LANCASTER SCHUYLER Co Mo April th14, 1850

MR McLAIN

Dear Sir

I Take my pen in hand to in form you that there have ben no suit as yet Brough a Gine us and I think Will not be the Adminerstator says he will wind up the business as soon as he can and Let us be of we want to be of About Dec or Jan or feb nix we have Tow Children to try to Take with us to Liberia if our frinds will help us to git them and five at home with us and we hope to git you and the Colonization Society to help us to get them the friends in this country say thay will help us all thay can will you please to send the *March number of the repository* as i see agrate meney Letters has come to your office & to you will you be so Good as to send me som of your *Liberia papers* the *herald* & the Summary and Ill pay the postage if any

I am your in Tuth

TITUS SHROPSHIRE.

To William McLain
Washington City.¹

November the 12 1850

Rev Dear Sir

I receved your faver of may and the papers that you sent me you wish to know the names of the famaly my wife is name Ellin C She 37 years old my oldes Daugher Charlotte J 17 years old John W 15 years Ruben Monrovia is 14 years old Randolp R is 12 years old Mary Jane is 10 years old Wilson Oing is 7 years old Josephine is — years old Thomas Buchanan is 6 months old myself 40 years old

TITUS SHROPSHIRE

you Will please When you are don Reading some of your Liberia herald send me som of them
we Will leve for Liberia as soon as the Admin winds up the Estate
you Will please Take Notice that To of the Children we have To Try to by as soon as we see how all things Workes

TITUS SHORPSHERE

William McLain ²¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1850, No. 56.² *Ibid.*, October to December, 1850, No. 135.

LANCASTER SCHUYLER Co Mo July 6th 1851

deare Sirs

I Take this liberty
to Writ you a few Lind to let you Know that sence I Rote you in
January last that the heirs of the Late Mrs Shropshire have Brought
suit agine our Administrator but the attorneys in the case say the
is No danger at all the Trail Come of in the September Court of our
County

Dear Sirs the Repository of May and June have never come to
hand I thought mabe you had Stope it if So please Sent it on for
I would Rether pay \$200 for it and to have you stop it
please send the to Back numbers

TITUS SHROPSHIRE to

Rev W McLain and

J W Lugenbeel ¹

LANCASTER SCHUYLER COUNTY Co Mo January 4 1852

Dear Sir

I Take my pen in hand to inform you a little abut our Suit. the
case have not come of yet as we had no court last fall but I am
Requested to Say to you by Mr Caywood our administrator that
he thinkes the Suit will be at a End in the Spring and the Blacks
reddy for Liberia in the fall as for the Repository the administrator
Say he will pay me som money between now and Spring. I will
Send it to you you must not be oneazy I will pay you

TITUS SHROPSHIRE

W McLain ²

LANCASTER SCHUYLER Co Mo Nov 22th 1852.

MR McLAIN *Dear Sir*

I Take my penn in hand to write you a few lines to let you know
that we sill Expect to Go to Liberia our souit come on the sep-
tember aparte of the case was Trid James S Green our lawyer
says that he will Gain the hold case in the Spring he Gained my
freedom and he says he will Gain the other parte of the famley in
April nixt you will please send Repository tell April Court by
that time we can tell you all about it will you send me one copy
of Dr lugenbeels sketches of liberia you will please send me the
little Book by mail call the histry of the new Republic and I will
send you the money and oblige yours Titus Shropshire ³

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1851, No. 28.

² *Ibid.*, January to March, 1852, No. 31.

³ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1852, No. 268.

LANCASTER SCHUYLER COUNTY Nov 15th 1853

MR McLAIN *Dear Sir*

I Take this oppertunity to say to you that my wife and children lost there suit at the november Term of the Court on the groundes of the late Mrs Shropshire having only a life time Estate in the woman Sir I am free my Self but my famley is Left in Slavry and I still hope to go to liberia yet if I can git my famley will not the friends of houmanity do som thing for the woman and Childrien to helpe them to git to liberia as we all want to go our friends in this County say that if the friends of Colonization a broad will help pay for the famley and let them go to liberia thay will do all thay can to raise I will write to the Rev Mr Showmate and git him to do Business for us and write to you and all the friends of the Course you will write to Richard Caywood a lawyer in this County and he will State the case to you in it Tru light Sir I do think if the Methodist Church a few years ago could raise twenty tow hundred dollars to by tow Girles that the friends of the course can raise a nuft to send a family to Liberia you will please write as soon as you git this

I Am yours TITUS SHROPshire
W McLain ¹

LANCASTER MISSOURI August 25 1855

REV WILLIAM McLAIN

Dear Sir

I write you a few Lines to let you know that I will send you the money for the Repository in october and I want to send som money then for to pay for one of Capten footes Book I will say to you that the case of my wife and childrien has been Trid in the lower Courte and Taken up to the supreme Court I Think then that we will Be Able to Be of to Libria it will Be Trid in october

I am your in Truth
TITUS SHROPshire ²

LANCASTER SCHUYLER COUNTY Mo January 11th. 1857

MR McLAIN *Sir*

I Take my pen in hand to say to you that the Supreme Court givt thier opinion in the case of my family the Court decided them all free by the will we Expect to trie to git of to liberia in the fall

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1853, No. 248.

² *Ibid.*, July to September, 1855, No. 255.

the court decided the 23 day of December you will please say to mr Gurley to sill send me the Repository and I will soon send him the money I am yours Titus Shropshire

TITUS SHROPSHIRE ¹

LANCASTER SCHUYLER Co Mo January the 9 1859

MR R R GURLEY

Dear Sir I want you to still send me the Repository and write me how much I owe on the Repository as I have for got what I do owe on it I Think we will be Thiohgh with our law suit nixt spring and in the fall be Ready for Liberia I would have sent you the money in Advance but I have had to pay lawyers fees in a greate meney casus but I will send you the money soon If you have any liberia papers you will please send me A number som Times the Liberia Advocate or the lone stear or the heardl

Your frind TITUS SHROPSHIRE ²

FROM SHERRY J. JACKSON

June the 12th 1848 REV. W. MC LAIN *Sir*

Having recd. your letter with pleasure and it our determination to go on to Libera we are making preperation fast as possible that at the appointed time that which we have not done must go undone. I have recd a letter frome my sister a teacheress in New York who will and is agoing on with us which will make 7 in number. I sent early be shure and give or reserve us a birth. Sir you mention of our bretheren the Slavey to beshure we feal for them and at our family altar morning and night we remember them not only them but we pray for those who hold them in bondige that God may in mercy soften the hearts of their masters, in reading the repository it stated that a number of slaves were liberated and that One or a white man had to claim them as his own in order to get them safely on aboard the vessel it appears that there is danger for those that are free to reach the vessel however I lay the thing before you we are not able to pay our fair but this we will promis you or the Society if we get their and over with the fever or I should say live through it you shall receive yearly as far as I am able money to aid in the cause of the Col Society my Father is welthy but will not give me one cent because I go but our minds are established and cannot be removed. It has ben said that in

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1857, No. 57.

² *Ibid.*, January to March, 1859, No. 22.

this Town Colchester that there could not be found 3 abolitioners but I tell you Sir since I recd your letter and they see my determination they all protest against the colonization all appeared to be abolitioners even our Rev. T——A seems to draw back all tho he first surgest it this is my mind Concerning the colored people these that are able worth propity they love this friendly country stand in fear, of slavery dread to cross the Atlantic imagine there is some sketch in it hate to leave their homes and the abolition is no help to Aid them on and they will not go till a few more from the free states go I have a Brother 1 and sisters that are able or quite welthy but Will not go till they have heard from me there is more than 50 which have requested me to write the particentars of the plase back to them

I put my trust in Him who is able to save both soul and Boddy this from your most humble servant SHERRY J. JACKSON

Colchester Conn

O Sir we should be verry happy to hear from you soon.¹

COLCHESTER Feb the 5th 1849

Rev Sir yours is recd. The reverend

Mr Ely while at our residence gave us this advise that we had better go the coming fall than this winter for going from this extencive cold winter in so warm a climat saith he we shall not do so well this is my advise saith he keep your children in School and be redy by next fall and we will assist you I asked some question to which he gave answer to our satisfaction we concluded to follow his advice we shall be on hand then in season our bosoms burn to be landid on the shores of Africa Mrs. Jackson is quit impatient we supposed Mr Ely has inform your honaor of us or I should have written before let this not be a disappointment to you the time will soon be here we by kind Providence help we shall not fail one article at the time to be shure we shall make a grate sacrifice by going away but we cannot help it it is impossible to give you the number this time for seeing my family is all agoing there is several of our most respected young peopl that intend to go with us there has sinse I recd your leter a accomplished teacher redy to go with us two as mishionary so you will see that good may be don by our delay we should be glad to hear soon from you

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1848, No. 253.

to know if you are discourage in writing to us and wating for us
your most humble servant

SHERRY J. JACKSON

(N. B. I shall have 2 fine boys 3 girls
to go)

Pleas to mention to the Pres. Mr Ely that his uncle James Ely died
in a short time after he left.

To revd W. MC Lain
Washington Citty.¹

FROM S. WESLEY JONES

The letters of S. Wesley Jones, of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, not only give valuable information as to the progress of the colonization movement in that quarter but illuminate the general situation in that state. He was a Christian of fundamental education and a business man owning considerable property. He hoped to emigrate to Liberia as soon as he could close up his business, and while waiting to do so he aided the movement by speaking to the people in that city and by lecturing to others in cities and towns near by. What he had to say about things in general is valuable evidence as to the conditions which there obtained.

TUSKALOOSA, ALA.,

June 12th, 1848.

Rev. and Dear Sir:—After a long silence, I again take up my pen to communicate to you some facts in relation to the subject that lay nearest my heart, save that of the Christian religion, that of African colonization. You no doubt think me a dull and unworthy correspondent, and very justly too, for I ought to have written you months since, and I am quite ashamed of myself for not doing so. Pardon me, kind sir, for the past, and I promise you to do better for the future. Your very kind favor of the 27th February, was duly received; likewise, the different numbers of the Repository you was so pleased to send me, i. e. the January, February, March, and April numbers. The May and June numbers I have not received, and am indeed puzzled in mind as to the reason why, unless it is my unfaithfulness in corresponding; and should

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 216.

this be the fact, I have not a word of complaint to utter, for I do assure you, sir, I feel myself under undying obligations to you for the care that I have received at your hands, to say nothing of the flattering and kind manner in which you regarded and noticed my letter; and if you have been induced to stop sending me the Repository because of my failing to write you, please pardon my past negligence, and send me the May and June numbers, together with the subsequent numbers. I have used some efforts to make the numbers of the Repository that I have received, useful, so far as lay in my power to do so. I have read and caused to be read, to the superstitious and prejudiced of our people, every opportunity, and I am proud to say, with some success. I have not failed in but a single instance, of removing old prejudices; and I still think, with patience in one hand, and perseverance on the other, I may succeed, even in that instance. I have traveled some the past winter, and have met with a great many free persons, and have never failed to bring the subject before them when an opportunity offered; and though I have met with the enemy in his stronghold, I have never failed to completely rout him by and with the aid of your valuable Repository. There are many in the State that are willing to go to Liberia, and all they wait for, is to see certain ones of their friends make the move. I candidly believe if I were ready at this time to go, I could easily raise a company of an hundred or more; but when I would reason with any upon the subject, they bring this to their relief: That I am willing they should go, but am not willing to go myself. Sir, my intention fully is to go to Liberia if it should please the Lord to spare my life. I have a ten years' business to try to settle up in this country, before I can leave for Africa's shores. If I can succeed only tolerably in collecting what is due me in this country, I shall be able to go to Liberia independent of aid from your benevolent society; but if I can't collect my dues, I shall be poor and dependent. So you perceive, sir, that it only requires a move to be made by some one in whom the people have confidence, to put the whole column in motion. My word for it, whenever there is a start made in Alabama, the whole body of free people will join in a solid phalanx. I intend making a tour through North Alabama, and perhaps I may extend my trip into Tennessee, as I have some business in that part of the country; also some relations, that I desire to confer with concerning Liberia. Should I go, sir, you shall hear from me at Huntsville. I will write you from that place, informing you of the results of my labors in that quarter. Fail not to send me the Repository, and write me upon what

grounds it was discontinued, and if you are tired sending it gratis, write me and inform me as to the subscription price, and the money shall be punctually paid, for I would not be without it under no consideration. I will write you again upon the reception of your answer to this.

Believe me, sir, with considerations of the highest regard and esteem,

Your obedient servant,
S. WESLY JONES.

Rev. Wm. McLain,
Washington City, D. C.¹

TUSKALOOSA ALA May 2nd 1849.

Revd Sir

after a long Silence (of which I am ashamed) I again Take up my pen to write you a line to acknowledge your many Kindnesses to me wards. your letter was Duly Received and appreciated you mentioned in your letter that you was sorry that I could not get off to Liberia sooner than Ten years my dear Friend your Simpathising Heart could never (under the afflicting Despensations of Providence though they were to deprive you of Mother Father Sister Brother wife & children) be as Heavy as my Poor Heart would be if I thought that had to spend Ten years more in this Country you misunderstood that part of my letter it was a Ten years Business I had To Try to Settle up that had been Transacted not to be transacted. I have been making Some Efforts to collect what is due me here that I may be able to get off next spring if I should live but I have succeeded very poorly as yet but let me tell you Friend McLain without an alteration in my mind Make or Brake I Start for the land of Promis (to the collord man) next spring. Please accept my Thanks for the valuable Paper you Sent me Pubd. in Philadelphia allso your valuable Repository which have come Regularly to hand since I wrote you last. I have given them to different persons to whom I Thought they would be Beneficial you Requested me in your letter to write you who in this community you could sind the Repository to that would take it. I have not ventured to make any enquiries among the white citizens in Regard to the matter from the fact that this is a very difficult part of the country in Such things and it would not do for one like me To talk to them about Such Things with a very few Exceptions.

¹ *African Repository*, XXIV, 268-269.

However I will venture to Suggest to you a few names among our white citizens who I think you might with Propriety Send your Repository to

Hon. H. W. Collier chief Justice Supreme Court of alabama Rev Mr. Furguson Pastor M. E. church in this city Revr Saml K. Jennings Alexc Glascock J. P. Turner Geo Purcell Jno Percell Revd N. H. Cobbs. Revd Mr. Peek Revd. Mr. White all of whom I have conversed with upon the subject of colonization Except Mr. White and found them to be strong Friends of the cause there are Some collord Persons allso who would be glad to have you Send it to them I will mention the names of Soln. Pertect Edward Berry whose Post office is in this city Martin Grear at Romulus Tuska County ala.

I contemplate writing you again Soon as if there are any others that I can find out or Think of I will write you in my next the Trip that I had in contemplation when I wrote you last have never been Performed yet in consequence of Sickness Both of my Self and family and my Business Engagements. I am compelled however to make that Tour before I leave this country But I dont expect to be able to make it untill I get Ready to leave my letters which you Published caused some Excitement hereabouts a Gentleman in this city had the good conscience to Say to others that I was Seeking an agency at your hands and stated that I had writen you a letter to that Effect and that he had Seen the letter and Said that I Stated to you in my letter that I had Travelled over Ten States and had Spent all the money I had & if you did not Furnish me with means that I could go no Farther and many other Such things that he thought would injure me and the cause of coln. this man is our Post master he is my worst Enemy I Believe in the world and from no other cause than that he owns a man of the Same Prefession as myself and the United Efforts of he and his man cant get my Business from me I had no thought of you Publishing the letters or I Should Requested you not to have done So not that I cared for any ones knowing the True contents of my letters only I knew they would be Exagerated and that to my Injury and allso the cause of colinization for of all the States of this Great Republic colinization has less friends in alabama than in any other I have just today Red the April number of the Repository and among the list of Passengers per the Barque Laura Discover some with whom I am Personally well acquainted my Soul was made glad to see alabama Breaking the Ice and my Thoughts Ran with lightning Speed across

the Great Atlantic to their future home and contemplating them under their own vine and figg Tree in the full Enjoyment of all the Blessings of True freedom and Equality. I wish you would Send me the last annual Report and any other Documents you may be in possession of that you can spare which you think would be of any advantage to me. I think I can safely Say that I will leave this Country for liberia in the spring of 1850, there are several others will move when I do. Please write me and give me by letter all that you think will be Interesting I have to Request you not to Publish my letters for the time to come at least untill further Instructions

Respectfully yours.

Revd Wm. McClain

S WESLEY JONES.¹

TUSKALOOSA Aug 4th 1849

Revd & dear Sir

your last favor Came duly to hand & its contents appreciated I have delayed answering untill now for the Purpose of collecting Some information in Regard to the Persons who are likely to Emigrate from the imediate vicinity of this Place that I might inform you of thier intention condition &c. there is Some 25 in this vicinity of Tuskaloosa with whom I have conversed on the Subject of Emegrating to Liberea that manifest much anxiety to leave here as Soon as posible & I am Sorry to Say that there is as many more who listen to the well invented Tales of the Enemies of Coln. and Refuse to Emigrate untill Some one have gone to liberia who they Personally know & write or come back and given them information. well Sir when that is done I doubt very much whether it will have the Effect to Remove their foolish Prejudices or not there is Such an amount of Ignorance among our People i.e. Some of them that they are Easily gutted (?) by the whites who are disposed to do it the People who want to go from this Region are all free People and nearly all of them free born they are however Poor there Being a very few of them able to Pay thier Passage or any Part of it there is Some few that will be able Perhaps to pay there Entire Expences you will See as to that however when I Send the list on I wrote you in my last to Send me a copy of the last anual Report of the A. C. Society you Sayed nothing of it in your letter and I concluded you had overlooked that Part of my letter or forgotten it I Renew the Request in this letter if it is to be obtained please

¹ Letters received by the American Colonization Society, April to June, 1849, No. 100.

Send it to me as Soon as you can you need not fear to Send me any document that you think would be Serviceable there is Some information allso I wish to obtain from you Both for myself & for my friends who wish to go to Liberia. do the Society pay the Expenses of those who are unable to pay from the place of their Residence to the Place of Embarkation and are they allowed to carry their Beds and Bed Clothes these Questions are frequently asked me and I am not able to give satisfactory information please write me on these Subjects as Soon as Possible I have information from North Alabama that there are Several in that Section of the State who design going outnext Spring I Expect a letter from there Soon and I Shall Know all about it and in my next I will give you what additional information I may be able to collect you need not Entertain any fears as to what you write me doing harm write freely upon any Subject for your letters comes Safely and no one See them but my Self I will allso write to the Eastern Part of this State today to Some friends and old acquaintances of mine who told me when I Saw them last that when I Started they would certainly go too of which I will inform you in my next

Yours Respectfully

S. WESLY JONES

P. S. I am certain to go next Spring if life & health last I wish you allso to inform me what is the charge for childrens Passage of twelve years & under

S. W. J.¹

TUSCALOOSA, ALA.

I am proud to be able to inform you that colonization is growing in favor rapidly in this State, among both black and white.²

I see in the public journals a proposition laid before Congress by a gentleman from this State by the name of Bryan, for the building of four large steamers of the first class, to ply between Liberia and the ports of the United States, for the purpose of carrying the mails and passengers. I have heard much talk upon this subject. It is one that is received with as much favor in Alabama, as any that has come before the National Legislature for many years. All classes speak of it in the highest terms, and seem to be very anxious

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1849, No. 143.

² This letter was probably from S. Wesley Jones also. At times it was not expedient for him to sign his name.

that it be carried out. If it is carried out, I candidly believe that in ten years from the date of the first trip, there will not be a free man of color left in the southern or slave-holding States. The most obstinate among us give way, and agree that they will willingly go if this project is carried out. The great length of the voyage, and the time it takes a sailing craft to perform it, deter very many, and the expense of the trip keeps many others away from the Ethiopian Republic; all of which would be obviated, if these steamers were in operation. My sincere prayer to Almighty God is, that they may be speedily put on the line, and that every free man in these United States may avail himself of the great advantage of getting to his fatherland.

It is gratifying to me in the highest degree to see colonization taking such strong hold upon the hearts of the people of this great Republic, and upon that class that is able to give the cause that aid which is so much needed—I mean pecuniary assistance: the rich merchant, the wealthy farmer, the large slaveholder, are all joining their hearts and hands to the cause, and raising their voices in its praise and defence, all over the land. And I think it would be well for the friends of colonization to set apart some day for the purpose of returning our sincere, devout and humble thanks to the Disposer of the hearts of men, for his goodness towards us, and offer up our prayers and supplications for the continuation of the same.¹

TUSKALOOSA, ALABAMA,

Dec. 29, 1851.

Rev. and Dear Sir: Colonization is rapidly growing in favor in this State. Ere this, doubtless you have heard of the formation of a State Colonization Society in Alabama, having for its object the colonizing her free people of color on the west coast of Africa, or in other words, sending them to Liberia. And I doubt not that the day is not distant when there will be an uprising of the free people of color—not only in Alabama—not only in the much persecuted South, where it is said by the fanatics that we are sorely oppressed, and inhumanly treated, but in the liberal and philanthropic North. We are treated about as well here, at least those who behave themselves, and conduct themselves as they should, as the same class of persons in the North. You ask the question, are you ever going to Liberia? My answer is, yes, without hesitation. I heartily thank you and the society which you represent for your kind and

¹ *African Repository*, XXVI, 276-277.

liberal offer of a free passage, and six months support. I regret exceedingly that I shall not be able to avail myself of the offer tendered at so early a day as the 10th January, but trust you will keep the privilege open a few months at least; and I think myself and several others will accept the proffered boon. We would most certainly go now, if we had our little matters closed, but those of us who want to go to Liberia are men who have been striving to do something for ourselves, and consequently have more or less business to close up. I think, however, that we will be able to leave here in a few months. There will be a handsome company from Alabama, I think, about next spring or fall. I have been informed by a correspondent at Huntsville, in the north end of this State, that there is several about there that have in part made up their minds to go, and they only want a little encouragement to settle them fully in favor of Liberia. The day is coming, and I trust is not far distant, when every free person of color in this country will esteem it a privilege to be sent to Liberia.

I am rejoiced to see that the free people in the great North is coming to their right minds at last. I was much pleased with the letter of Mr. Washington, of Hartford, on the subject of the condition of the colored people in this country. I trust there will be found ere long many Washingtons in the field laboring in behalf of Colonization. I was also pleased to see an account of a meeting of the colored people of New York, not long since, to take into consideration the expediency of emigrating to Liberia. I trust that these meetings will be gotten up in every State in the Union. Let the free colored people of every State meet in convention in their respective States, and exchange opinions, and make their views known to each other, and if needs be, hold a grand convention of all the States at such time and place as they may think proper; and let those State conventions send delegates to Liberia, or if they should think proper to have a general convention, let that convention send delegates. There is upwards of two thousand free colored people in Alabama; and if each of these would contribute but twenty-five cents a piece, we could have a fund sufficient to send two delegates to Liberia. Now, it does seem to me, if we, as a people, do feel any interest in our own welfare and that of our children, we will have no objection to inquiring into a matter of so much moment to us, at so small a cost.

I trust my brethren will think of this matter, and arouse themselves, and let national pride be kindled up in their hearts, and go to

and make us a great nation of our own, build our own cities and towns, make our own laws, collect our own revenues, command our own vessels, army and navy, elect our own governors and law makers, have our own schools and colleges, our own lawyers and doctors, in a word, cease to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water," and be men.

Believe me, yours, and Colonization's devoted friend,¹

Rev. W. McLain.

S. W. JONES.

HUNTSVILLE ALA April 18th, 1852

Revd and dear Sir

your favor of the 27th ult came to hand via Tuscaloosa on the 15th inst. I Rd the Report alluded to in your letter and found much Interesting matter in it. I have been careful to have it Read by Every free Cold. Person of my acquaintance and those who could not Read themselves to Read it to them Especially the Report of the Maryland delegates. Thier Report Seem to give Entire Satisfaction to the people so far as they have heard it indeed it is so Encourageing that many of them are fully made up and are making preperations to Leave this country at an Earlier day than befor anticipated by them. I am still more than Ever Encouraged to believe that we will have a large and Inteligent company from Alabama in the fall or spring at farthest. I have been in this place two weeks to day. I have visited nearly all the free families here and made it convenient to talk with them about Emigrating to Liberia and I am gratified to inform you that Every one of them with whom I have conversed seem to be alive on the subject and many of them Express a determination to go to that country and that as soon as they can Posibly get away there are many interesting People in this part of the state and if we could get them to Liberia they would indeed be valuable to themselves, to Society and to thier country

there is a Gentleman here with whom I am staying by the name of *John Robinson* who is a valuable man in any community he has an Interesting family of five children and wife a son in law who by the by is an Inteligent and valuable man and four grand children the ofsprings of this son in law and four other grand-children which ar the ofsprings of one of his sons, making a family of seventeen besides several orphans, under his charge left by a free woman who died here some time since his children can all Read and write and

¹ *African Repository*, XXVIII, 148-149.

are very intelligent. *Robinson desire me to say to you that he is together with his family candidates for Liberia he wishes you to send him the African Repository during his stay here and Requests you will be carefull to direct to John Robinson Levy stable Keeper, as there are several Gentleman here by the same name and if not directed as above he would in all Probability never get it.* I visited yesterday a family fifteen miles from this place named Sampson I Read to them the Report of Messers Janifer & fuller which seemed to gratify them much Sampson wife has a Brother in Liberia who is a member of the Legislature his name is M. H. Smith the whole family seemed anxious to Emigrate and they say they are going and no mistake there are many others in and about Huntsville who Express much anxiety on the Subject and I think I have never seen a people among whom an agent of your society might Effect so much good as this people. I have leave here for Tuskaloosa on the 19th I hope I shall be in time to meet Mr Pease if I should meet him there I shall take pleasure in complying with your Request when I get home I will write you more fully

Your devoted friend

S. WESLY JONES

Rev'd Wm McLain ¹

TUSKALOOSA ALA Nov 7th/56

My dear sir

your favor of the 29th ult have been Red the contents was cheering to the Persons Interested. they Express a Great deal of Gratitude for your and the societys Kindness in Extending to them a free Passage and Six Months support in Liberia and will avail themselves of the opportunity and desire me to say to you that they will be in the City of Baltimore In time for your vessel to sail on the 1st Decr next. I would be Gratified could I obtain Names Enough to fill up the Blank form Sent in your letter there is Several Persons here in the same condition as those for whom I applied In my last letter I.E. as Regards the Law, having bought thier time: some of them have made money and have somthing ahead. they will be compelled under the Existing law to leave this state. they have entertained erroneious opinions in Regard to Liberia. Ignorant and designing Persons having misrepresented the country the Coln Society and Every Person connected with the Coln. Interest but

¹ Letters received by the American Colonization Society, April to June, 1852, No. 96.

the spell Is begining to Break and they are now thinking of making Liberia thier future home.

I have not left a Stone unturned to convince them of what I honestly believe to be their true Interest I.E. that Liberia is the country Emphattically the Country for the Colored Race and the only Country upon this Green Earth where they may or can Enjoy Social and Political Liberty which is the dearest of Earthly Blessings

You doubtless think that I am Slow In making up my mind about going to Liberia but such is not the Case for my mind have been for years Settled upon the Question but thier are hindering causes in the way that Prevents my Going for the Present. and they are of a character that is wholly beyond my control. I had fondly hoped they would have been Removed long ago but such Is not the case & I must Patiently bide the time when they will be Removed. In the mean time I have lost none of the zeal manifested years gone by In favor of the Coln Cause & Liberia but feel deeper Interest and a more abiding Fidelity than Ever In both. With the deepest Gratitude for Past favors, and the most ardent desire for the Prosperity of your Self the Coln Society and Liberia I am my dear Sir

Most Respectfully
your obt Humble Servt

S. WESLEY JONES

Revd Wm McLain
Washington Cty ¹

TUSKALOSSA ALA April 10th/59

My dear Sir

your letter came to hand several days since and I have been waiting for a hearing from Frank Owen after Reading to him your letter. I wrote to you at his urgent Request and after the Society so kindly a Second time complying with his Request I am Pained to say he declines going to Liberia

the cause of Refusul (he says) being that his wife have been Tampered with by some designing Person or Persons, who have got her to believe that to go to Liberia is to die of Starvation or be Eaten by the Natives, and Rather than subject herself to Either of these Evils, She will Remain a Slave in Alabama I have seen her She will listen to nothing or any Persons save her deceptive advisers

I much Regret that I troubled you or the Society with the Case

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1856, No. 176.

trusting what I have said will be satisfactory in the Premis
I Remain My dear sir

your obliged Humble Servt
S WESLY JONES

Revd Wm MLain
Washington City
D.C.¹

FROM JAMES M. BLAND

CHARLESTON So CA July 3 1848

Rev Sir

I trust that you will not take it to be a liberty in my addressing you not having been known to you before but your position with respect to the Collonization Society have induced me to make bold to entreat your kind offices in my behalf, I have a Son at present residing in Philadelphia, Allen M. Bland is his name, you may perhaps have seen him as he has visited Washington city; during his childhood he received the best Instruction attainable in this City which enables me to say that he received a very fair Education as his Tutor was a graduate of the Charleston College and bestowed upon him much attention and from his displaying much faculty for acquisition and very rapid progress for one of his years. I was induced after his school course were completed to consent to Sending him north in the view of his having Superior oppertunities to improve his mind and be placed in a sphere of usefulness, but these hopes are not realized and he is without any Steady calling in Philadelphia, therefore Sir my object in addressing you is to entreat you to endeavour to induce President Roberts to take him into his Service in Some capacity and take him along with him to Liberia as his being now but on the verge of manhood the Recommendation and concern in his behalf of Pres. Roberts would not doubt conduce much to his welfare, Refferences of his character may be had from Rev. Daniel Paine Philadelphia, by complying Rev Sir with the above entreaty you will do an invaluable Service to an anxious Father and Mother and place them under the highest obligations of gratitude to you, please should you Succeed Address him at Philadelphia and myself at this city
and permit me to Subscribe myself your most

Obt Servt

JAMES M BLAND

his Residence is no 157 South Sixth St
Philadelphia.²

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1859, No. 34.

² *Ibid.*, July to September, 1848, No. 26.

FROM ALPHONSO M. SUMNER

WASHINGTON, July 6, 1848.

Rev. Mr. McLain.—Sir, having determined to visit Liberia, Cape Palmas and some other parts of Africa, if found practicable, for the purpose of collecting such tangible and incontestible evidence as shall enable me to work effectually in the advocacy of truth in opposition to the prejudices of my brethren entertained so generally against emigrating to Africa, I have been advised by a number of the distinguished clergymen and gentlemen of Philadelphia to come to this city to solicit aid. I have been for many years familiar with the views and feelings of the colored people in the free States, and have recently made myself acquainted with the sentiments of the free colored people of the southern States.

The more intelligent among them in both sections are greatly divided—a respectable minority at least are strongly inclined to emigrate beyond the limits of the United States, believing (as I do) that unrestricted freedom, political, and social elevation cannot be attained here. I am strongly inclined to the opinion, that at the present time at least, Liberia and colonization present the only tangible prospect. The question therefore with them is, can we emigrate there with a reasonable prospect of living. It being under the tropical sun, you will say, sir, I doubt not, that they have abundance of proof. But I would respectfully reply, that we have had the most exaggerated statements upon both sides, and been forced into opposite extremes; many have gone in search of an El Dorado—came back disappointed, and represented the colony as a “Grave yard.” While others still maintain that there is no place on earth so blessed.

Unfortunately, every thing is attributed to interested colonists or persons favorable to banishing the free colored people from the United States, that slavery may be made more permanent. I unhesitatingly confess that the latter is the opinion entertained by the humble writer for many years, an opinion formed from hearing the speeches of eminent agents; and the only legitimate one deducible from what I was in the habit of hearing, urged as reasons for supporting the scheme where I resided.

But I have been led to examine the subject in connection with that of emigrating to Canada and the West Indies, and have come to the conclusion above indicated. I believe also, that the success of colonization promises the only reasonable hope of civilization and Christianizing the natives; and that the abolition of the slave

trade cannot be hoped for upon any other ground, while a market exists in any country.

I have thought proper to be thus particular, sir, in order to inform you precisely what I aim at, as I am seeking to obtain your approbation and patronage. My design is, to go to Africa as soon as practicable, and remain there a sufficient time to obtain whatever information shall be deemed attainable and necessary; and then return to the United States for the purpose of disseminating the useful information. I have for some time published a small weekly paper at Cincinnati, Ohio, devoted to the elevation of colored people, which will be used as the channel of communication, should I live to return.

In addition to the letters I have, I would respectfully refer to the fact, that I have the confidence of a number of distinguished friends of humanity, as will be seen from my subscription paper, among whom are the Rev. J. B. Durbin, D.D., Rev. J. Parker, D.D., Rev. A. Potter, D.D., Rev. J. W. McDowell, D. D., Rev. J. H. Kennard, Rev. T. L. Janeway, Rev. R. B. Dales, D. D., Rev. E. W. Gilbert, D. D., Hon J. Jones, Messrs. P. T. Jones, J. Hazelhurst, R. B. Davidson, W. Wurts, esq., and Drs. John Bell and S. P. Gebbard, M. D., of Philadelphia. Also, Messrs. R. and W. Lennmons and S. Sands, Rev. T. B. Sargent, J. A. Collins, and Rev. Mr. Morgan, of Baltimore.

The gentlemen whom I have consulted, advise me to call upon you, sir, believing that should I be able to secure your confidence and approbation, I might succeed in obtaining considerable aid in this city.

In the hope of meeting with your approval and patronage, I remain your humble servant,

ALPHONSO M. SUMNER.¹

FROM JAMES R. STARKEY

NEWBERN, N.C.

July 12th, 1848.

Rev. and Kind Sir:—Your favor of the 23d June was very thankfully received, and with regret I learn that the constitution of the Colonization Society forbids the use of its funds for such a purpose as mine and therefore cannot advance the money I need. But I feel extremely thankful to find in you, sir, a friend who will try and borrow it for me: should the effort succeed, I assure you,

¹ *African Repository*, Vol. XXIV, 243-244.

sir, it shall not be abused. My master is at present in the western part of the State and will not return until November, when I hope a final arrangement will be made.

I have authority from the Rev. William N. Hawks, of this place, to refer you to him for my character, &c., and if you will drop him a line it will be forthwith attended to. I did not give all my real name in my first letter for fear of detection and punishment, not knowing how it would take under the laws of this State, but since I have consulted the Rev. Mr. Hawks, he assures me that there is not the slightest danger in the world in such a correspondence as this. My real name is James Rial Starkey. I am a barber, and follow that business, and were my wages stopped I could in a very short time refund it back. I am sorry to say that I do not belong to any church, but I flatter myself that I am not the vilest sinner. I am a regular attendant of the Episcopalian Church. Mr. Hawks will be glad to hear from you, sir. You exhort me not to be too much encouraged, but wait with patience: but, sir, I must feel encouraged as long as there is a glimmer of hope of me ever seeing the country I long to make my home.

Respectfully, your humble servant,
JAMES R. STARKEY.

To the Rev. Wm. McLain.¹

NEW BERN NC Nov 21st 1848

Rev and Dear Sir

I trust you will not construe the reception of this letter as any act of impatience on my part with regard to my case for I assure you Sir I am thankful and content to await my fortune whatever it may be and hope for the best.

I would simply call your attention to the fact that I have some what of a limited time to arrange my business with my master he gives me to the first of January to see what I can do for myself. any intelligence between this and then you may be pleased to communicate will be indeed very thankfully received. I See in the Repository of october my letter published and with some success God grant the remainder may be raised and should I ever be so fortunate as to reach Africa s suny clime where I shall raise my voice in unison with those gone before me "The Love of Liberty Brought me Here" then I hope to be able to remember my friends

¹ *African Repository*, Vol. XXIV, 304-305.

and particular those who remembered me, Respectfully your
Humble Servant

JAMES R. STARKY¹

NEW BERN N. C. Feb. 26th 1849.

Rev and Dear Sir

your very obliging favor of the 6th inst. was received by Mr Hawks, and he directs me to Say to you Sir, that my prospects has again brightened a little since I write to Mr. Pinney. my value being reduced \$150, and I have every reason to believe that I will be able to rais by the end of the present year through my own exertion aided by a few friends here, a sufficient amount (\$200) to meet the sum that you has been so kind and instrumental in raising for me. should I succeed (which at present appearances I believe I can) it will be that much money paid and *not* borrowed. So therefore I will be able at once to enter uppon the payment of your \$450.- will you be good enough kind Sir to inform us through Mr. H. whether or not you can induce those benevolent and noble hearted gentlemen who has contributed so largely to my aid, to stay the amount for that length of time (12 months) or in other words, whether the loan can be affected at that time.

Sir I am not at all insensible of the fact, that I have been exceedingly troublesome to you for the last nine months. but for which I hope Sir, the interestedness of the case to myself *personally* will plead my apology. accept then kind Sir, my sincere thanks for the noble part you has taken in my behalf. you will ever live in my memory whilst on earth I stay, and Sir, as I am unable to reward you, I trust that *he* who rules the destiny of all things will reward you for me.

By answering the above inquiry you will greatly oblige your very humble Servant

JAS R. STARKY.

P. S. I called on the Rev Mr Brown the agent for this State when he was here a few weeks since, and conversed with him freely upon Liberia and its future prospects, of which he spoke very encouragingly, and he promised to do all he can for me on his route—

J. R. S.

To the Rev Wm M Lain.

Washington City

D. C.²

¹ *Letters received by the American Colonization Society, October to December, 1848, No. 188.*

² *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 319.

NEW BERN May 6th 1849.

Rev and Dear Sir

Yours of the 6th March is recd. and by it I am informed that you were then on the eve of leaving the city of Washington and would necessarily be absent some two months. at the end of which time you desire me to drop you a line of information—that time being now about to expire I sincerely hope these few lines will meet you and your safe arrival in the district in the enjoyment of good health.

Sir I regret that my last was not sufficiently intelligible to be understood. "I inform you Sir that my *Master* is willing to wait for the present price which he asks for me, till the end of the present year and by that time I *will* be able to raise the *balance* necessary to meet your \$450 should you be able to secure that amount for me."—Sir I was much grieved on ascertaining that the arrangements you had made for me were all put to flight in consequence of the price being raised but I do hope those arrangements will once more come together.

if they do, I certainly intend to avail myself (honestly) of their benefits.—I am truly sorry to trouble you so much Sir and that too with a subject entirely of no importance to you. but I trust my motive will be duly appreciated and therefore excuse me.

Should you be fortunate enough to again raise the \$450 I think I shall be able to have the *remainder here* in time to meet it.

Be kind enough to let us hear from you Sir through Mr H: and accept my sincere thanks for your unwearied attention to my interest.—

Very Respectfully

To Rev. Wm McLain

JAS. R. STARKY.

Washington City D.C.¹

P. S. if you have any numbers of Liberia newspapers that is of no service to you, I like to see a number Sir if you can conveniently enclose one to my address.

J.R.S.

NEW BERNE Aug 17th/49

Rev and Dear Sir

I trust you will pardon me for again interrupting you I know I have been more trouble to you now than I shall ever

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1849, No. 112.

be able to repay, But I sincerely hope it wont be very long before my troubles shall *cease*. Your letter in answer to my last, was received with the two newspapers, for which I am greatly obliged to you. they have been read by a great meny persons both white and colored

My object in writing you now Sir, are simply to inform you of the fact, that we shall be ready to receive any thing you can do for me by the first of September should it be convenient with you, as our arrangements are all made and ready. But if you should not be ready Sir, and if there is any *probability* of any thing being done for me at any other *time*, I can *gladly* await its forthcoming.—

Be good enough kind Sir to let us hear from you, either through Mr Hawks or Mr Stratton.

If I can make it convenient when the agent of your Society passes here again, I will subcribe to the Liberia Hearld, as I like it much

Respectfully your humble Servant
JAS R. STARKY

to Rev Wm McLain
Washington City
D C ¹

NEW BERN N. C. June 23 1850

REV MR McLAIN, Sir

I understand that the Libria Packet will sail in a few days for Monrovia. if so you will greatly oblige me by forwarding the enclosed letter to Andrew H. Dickinson—

Allow me to avail myself of this occasion to return you my heart-felt thanks for past favors. Tho your efforts and those of others, has as yet proved unsuccessful, yet I cannot forget the gratitude I owe you and thim for the zeal manifested in my behalf. Sir, the way yet looks dark and dim before me. yet I hope ere long to discover a ray of light that will continue to brighten until its beams are sufficient to light my path-way to the suny shores of Liberia. Should you yet see any way to relieve me, I assure you sir, that intelligence of the same will be most thankfully received.—

I see in the last Repository the publication of a little Book called *The New Republic* will you be so good as to *send me a copy* to the care of Rev Mr Stratton or Rev Mr Hawks, and tell

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1849, No. 188.

us the price as it is not stated in the Repository and I will send it
you, also a Liberia Newspaper and oblige your
humble Servant

JAS. R. STARKY ¹

FROM THOMAS G. SMITH

CHARLESTON So. CA June 30 1848

Rev. Sir

I am directed by Resolution of the Liberia Association Institution constituted by a number of Free Colored male Inhabitants of this City and its Suburbs and intending to Emigrate to Liberia as you will perceive, to solicit your kindness in perusing the enclosed Communication to President Roberts and if you perceive nothing exceptionable therein to Seal and forward it to him, and should you or he at any time desire to Communicate to us any thing thereto relating or of the Republic of Liberia, I think that a letter directed to the undersigned and enveloped and addressed to Mr. S. Howe will be certain to reach its destination and the postage will be defrayed by me.

Hoping Rev. Sir that you are in the enjoyment of good health I Subscribe myself most Respectfully your Obt Servt.

THOMAS G. SMITH
Pres. Liberian Association

P. S. I have given the names of myself wife and two male children to Mr. S. Howe as intended Emigrants by the next trip of the Liberian Packet as per notice in the Repository TGS ²

CHARLESTON So CA July 13th 1848

Rev Sir

I have received yours of 7th Ult. and it afforded me much Satisfaction to learn of your approval of our Communication to President Roberts and your anticipation of his Responding thereto, with respect to the publication of the said Correspondence in the Repository I can See no harm to arise therefrom as I feel confident that Pres. Robts. will communicate nothing unbecoming for Publication all that I would like is for the names of the Committee to be excepted as we are all disposed to avoid unnessessary notability and I do not deem that the mention of the names would be Essential to the form of Publication.

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1850, No. 324.

² *Ibid.*, No. 297.

I am quite glad to learn of the voyage of the Packet and will inform the Friends that I know to be a going out in her to make ready. And trusting Rev. Sir that you are in the Enjoyment of good Health

I Subscribe myself with great Respect
Your Obt. Servt

THOMAS G. SMITH
Pres. Liberia Association ¹

CHARLESTON So CA August 11th 1848

Rev Sir I intrude upon your known Spirit of Kindness by addressing you a few lines feeling assured that if you cannot comply therewith you will not conceive my Sugestions as offensive, we have received the glad tidings of the Safe arrival of the Packet I have received a very encouraging letter from F. P. David whom you will remember as being one of the Howards Emigrants, from this City, he speaks highly of monrovia his Kind reception, its churches Buildings &c, now Sir my object is to State that in consequence of the very favorable auspices of all things connected with your great and Humane work that there exists quite a Sensation on the Subject in these Parishes and I feel confident that unless Something unfavourable Should turn up that Charleston will become a regular annual Contributor of Emigrants for Liberia, now when it seems that Folks are apprehensive about the danger of the Affrican Voyage prior to the Autumnal Equinox Therefore Rev Sir I think that if it would harm no Interest it would be bestowing upon us a great boom to delay the departure of the Packet untill the latter of September when it will be Safe and convenient for all parties; Trusting in the Kindness of your disposition towards your change and knowing that whatever your conclusion may be it will be Such as the circumstances of the case require, and Trusting that you continue in the Enjoyment of good Health I Subscribe myself with great Respect

Your Obt Servt

THOMAS G. SMITH.²

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1848, No. 58.

² *Ibid.*, No. 160.

CHARLESTON So ca Nov 16th 1848

Rev Sir, I trust that these few lines will meet you in good health, My object in communicating the Same is to bring myself to your remembrance having had some former correspondence with you which you will no doubt recollect, having been unavoidably detained from Emigrating with the late Expedition, I am a Candidate for the January trip from Baltimore, mine together with another family, they moving pretty much by my advice, Viz J Ballantine and his, to endeavour to Secure a passage as above is the cheif object of writing as we have made all our arrangements &c and trust that Providence will bless the Society with the means to continue the good work,

I Subscribe myself with much Respect your Obt Servt

THOMAS G. SMITH

N.B. we have reported to Mr Howe ¹

CHARLESTON So CA. Febr'y. 8th 1849.

Rev.Sir

I hope that these few lines will find you in the enjoyment of good health, eer you receive which, we will have Sailed from this City for Baltimore to take the Liberia voyage in the Packet, we will leave in the Schooner Monteray expecting to Sail on tomorrow the 9 Inst, Three familys consisting of Eleven persons (including children) forms our party, I have been advised by a correspondent in Liberia to apply to Mr. E Cresson of Philadelphia with respect to a School Located at Factory Island Liberia in which there is a vacancy of a tutor, Rev Sir you will do me a favor by acquiring the particulars concerning the Same and inform me thereof when I meet you in the City of Baltimore, I felt much Interest upon learning of your late visit to New Orleans and was gratified to learn of your being enabled to defer the Expedition and thus escape from your Eminent Liability to danger. The late accounts from the Emigrants to Liberia I regard as being decidedly favorable. In haste, With great Respect I Subscribe myself your Obt Servt.

T. G. SMITH.

REV W McLAIN ²

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1848, No. 169.

² *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 231.

FROM SION HARRIS

BALTIMORE. Aug 3 1848

REV. MR. MCLELAN

Sir I received your letter this morning in answer to the one that the Dr. wrote he thinks you did not understand the drift of his letter from your answer But he will answer it himself as he wrote it. I did not wish you to think hard I only wanted to know whether I would be any service to you or whether you would want me planely or not as I could not git here any sooner I am here and if I can be any service I am willing & if not I only thought I would try to get home do not think that I wish to tuch or hurt your feelings in the least I did not I believe you are a man of your word if not I would have been in Africa But I am here willing to do what I can if any thing Just what you think is the best I am willing to do I am in a land amungs Strangers I look to you & what you say I will try to do as far as right I only wanted to know what you would do & what you could do that was all Dr. Hall will answer that letter I send this to let you know that I did not mean any harm if you had no work for me I ment to go home in the packet this is not Liberia no more My love to Mary Moore Say to here Mrs Harris is well the Dr. will write to you what that letter ment he says he will write tomorrow then your mind will be settled and you can let me know what I may lie apon in that answer then my mind will be at ease I know It takes time for all things

yours SION HARRIS ¹

FROM H. B. STEWART

SAVANNAH 17th Guly 1848

Dear Sir I Reciev your leter dated the 23 Gune Together with the packedge come Safe to hand and and I will a Shure you I was more thin glad to have such a complement pade to me in this part of the world for it was a Sorse of gate Satisfaction to Reciev Such a masterly pease of work as that more Esspesily Be cause it came from one of the fabel Sons of Africo I must Repeat it it is in my humble (?) Gugment it is as good an adress as Eny I ever Read I a Lude to President Roberts inagural adress and more So Because the foundation of his ReMarks is a humble Relience upond the aide of the almyty for on lest he is at the heade of all our affares all

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1848, No. 138.

of our ledgulative (annacments) will only End in confusion iam
 ? also made them glade in Reading that Part of the address
 witch asssure to the peopel that in a leter from you (Mr mclain)
 the Bord of directors had no intention of with drawing thear aide
 from the pape of liberia Be cause they have declare themselves as
 free and independente But Reather to in crease thear efford for in
 my Gudgment if the american Colonization was to with draw their
 aide thousands of the free collour people in this country will have to
 Remain and Sufer for they have not the monie to Emigrat to liberia
 for it is to that Society and that Society a lone ande in the Blessing
 of God. the mass of free people in this country Seeks for delivernce
 fr the present Bondege an degradation they ear labering ounder and
 if Liberia Ever Became a great nation She will Ever owe her origin
 to american colonization Society may heavin Smile apound the
 Benefeshens of man kind—Dear Sir I have converse with a
 number of Respectable free men of color and thear united Sentiment
 is sind ous a vesel in April or may may is peferabell Eny how
 Sind ous in the Spring Some of them I doubt nothing in Saying
 that theay will Be yousfoull Citizin to that young Republeck Som
 of them Ear men of worth among them Ear mecinist, talors Enge-
 niers masians Black smiths, farmers and ministers &c and now as
 thear will be call apound the Society the Behalf of the people of the
 South I am Requested to say to you in this leter will you in shure
 ous a vesel at that month above if it lay in your power Sind ous
 notice in due time So that thear will be no dificulty in thear making
 Sutable arangements a disapointment in a vesel coming will be
 the ocaasion of much disipount to ous all no more—as information
 is heard to get at in this place you will obledge me very much by
 Sinding me the African Repository commencin from Guly on I
 leave this place and Eny Papers that may come from Africa on and
 Sind me word how you will get your mony—Pardin me for digressing
 from my main subject pleas Sind if you have it in your power the
 Eage of Presdnt Roberts and the State that gave him his Birth and
 his color all of witch you will a Blidge me much no more But
 Remie yours the Frind of Africa direte yours as her to for

H. B. STEWART¹

SAVANNAH August 20th 1848

Dear Sir I Receive your leter dated the the 27 Guly and was glad to
 hear from you and mad it nown to my frinds the contents that it

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1848, No. 69.

contaned witch give a Generl Satisfaction thanking you allso for your Kind atention in fording on to me the Reposortory a work witch Evry colored man in the younited State aught to poseste for By it the Reader coms in perseson of all the leading princeble that Actuaed the A m can Col ni sation Society it point him to a land of liberty and fredom whear he can Be yousfull in in Evry spear of life In Redding that work he coms in persion of all the that is going on in that country it meet the abgeteter in Evry point he may attemp to lerin him Self—you will aso confer a faver on me if you Ever Recev the African papers to Sind them to me if you have them to Spare I have Send Some leters to your care to Be bound on to liberia by the first opertunity you hav hear after you will a Blidge me By sending my leters to me throw the Post offices my name only to it I am aso Very hapy to See that all our frind a Rive Safe to Monrovia making a passeg in 55 days no more Right me Soon as you can

H. B. STEWART¹

SAVANNAH OCTO 23 1848

TO THE REV W MCLAIN

Dear Sir I Right you a few lines on on the last of August in forming you that I Had Sent 4 leters to you to Be forwid to liberia By the packet that weher weher to Saile for that place in Sept. from Baltomor—and not nowing weather I was doing Right or not I Requested you to let me now I had never Reecd and ancr from you you will con fer a faver on me By leting me now—I have Gust Reecd Sevr1 from Sinow all of wich wehr of great Satisfaction thear and from Mr. Gor Simpson he Rights that Sinow is for the most Preferred place he is my farther in low his accounts is much relied on hear and will mak a very faverable im preshion hear the minds of the pople Ear very much Sturd upt hear a faillear of a vesil will greatly disapoint ous I hope that god will bless the cause an-open the hearts of the people the thear will Be now lack of mens No more But Resp. yours

H. B. STEWART.

Di Rect my leter to me By maile²

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1848, No. 202.

² *Ibid.*, October to December, 1848, No. 86.

SAVANNAH January 11th 1849.

Revd & Dear Sir

Yours of the 20th Oct last was thankfully Reced. in 9 or 10 days after date and was very glad to See that you have Sent my leters that I have Sent to your care for Africa I have also Sent som others throu your Kindness in informing me of an opetunity of Sinding leters to Liberia on the 15 Nov. for witch kindness I Shall never for get you— Sir in takeing upt my pen to Right you I hardly now what to Say having So much to Say I hardly now whear to Begin But the moust that interest me now is my new contemplated home and what is the prosspect of things in Regard to EmBarCation I my Self apehend now Difculty from former leters that I have got from you But as the time is drawing near the Emigrant Ear geting warmer in thear inquiring for in for mation our Agent hear if & agent cant tell ous Eny thing mor then thear will Be a vesel the minds of the people the Same, as lumber is Scarce in that country please Say to me what will Be the fratedg per thousand Board & lumaber from this place You will o Blidg me By Righting me as Soon as you can

H. B. STEWART

Rev. W. McClain
Washington City.¹

SAVANNAH 17th fbry 1849.

Rev. And

Dear Sir yours of the 26th Ganry last came Safe to Hand, I have inquired into the Qubek post & I find it will Be to ous very Dear Boards, At that price it will cost 25 dollar on the frate i.e. *loade*. I think if you posoble could lore your frate to half that price & Sind ous a larger vesel that a large Quantity of lumber wold be taking ought in ancer to your ReQuest we will let you now in due time how much frate of lumber will be takein from hear as near as posoble through Rev Thoms. Bening Eagent. I wold take the liberty in Saying to you that we had a very large society Appointed By the agent on the first of the mounth Evry indecation of a large number in & a Round this vicinity for liberia and of the Emagrant the greater part will Be, children I have Recd leters from my Relation in Linoe Greanvill all well and Ear much please with thear a dopted country & Ear doing well have partly gorn throu the Accomating fever No more at preasant But Shall Ever

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 60.

ould you in greatful Remembrance for the meny favors you have Shewn me in Righting to me from tim to tim, my february number of the Repository has not as yet Ben Recd please send them to me, I think we have at least 150 for Linoe. yours truly in hast

H. B. STEWART.¹

FROM SAMUEL J. LEWIS

PETERSBURG VA September 24, 1848

REV MR MACLAIN

Dear Sir I take my pen in hand to communicate to you though a Strange Sir my mind has become Excite on the Subject of Colonization and from all that I have learnt on that Subject my mind is fully made up for to imigrate to Liberia I am a free man but has no family. I am also a member of the Baptist denomination and being aroused in my mind on the Subject of Colonization was advised by some friends to address you on the Subject being the general agent. I do hope that you will answer this immediately and give me all the nessesary information on the subject thats required for one wishing to Emigrant to that Country. you will Excuse my boldness of writing as well as disconnecting Sentences. So far as my arrangments is concern I can bi in readiness for the next vessel that Sails to liberia I wait an immediate answer from you

Your Obedient Servant

SAMUEL J. LEWIS.

To the Rev. Mr. William Maclain
Washington, City D. C.²

P. S. I was informed that you were the proper person for me to make my communication to I have not the means to convey my self to Africa and therefore if I go it must be at the Expencc of the Colony I am no trade man I may only be Considered a labourour but believing as I do that Liberia is infatically the only home of the Colored man I will risk my lot there as many has done before me taking the promise of the Almighty for my Support. I judge from my incoherent manner of writing you that you will well understand all that I wish to communicate to you on the present ocasion therefore I hope in your answer to this that you will give me all the instruction that I need upon the Subject of Colonization and by So

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 286.

² *Ibid.*, July to September, 1848, No. 320.

doing you will confer a favour on me. May it please your honour to answer immediately and you will Oblige your Servant

SAMUEL J. LEWIS
To the Rev. Mr. William Maclain

PETERSBURG VA Nov 15, 1848

Dear Mr. Mc Lain I now imbrace the Present oppotunity of wrighting you a few lines hopen you are well Sir will you Give me the right time of Sail of the Ship the Reason I want to now is because I want to be in time and whare shall I or we take our Leave how Shall I geat to Baltimore what will it cost me from Petersburg to Baltimore Sir Sence I Received your letter a good number of persons have made up their minds to Settle in Liberia as to my Part and Sheir By the as Sistance of my and your god I will go depending upon my and your god Severl of my Native People are in favour of imegranting them Selves to that fare and distant land whar a Great meney people finds fault of who neaver yet has been there please Sir Send me word how much will it Cost from Petersburg Va to Baltimore and Presisely what day of the month She will take hir the Partur and Brother Watkins Jones wishes to have Sum conversasion with you By a letter Sir you Can only Say in my letter there is one in the office for Watkins Jones I would Say more But I will Cume to a Close By Saying I am your Obt Servent

SAMUEL J. LEWIS Esq.
Petersburg Virginia

Please Excuse my mistakes if you please.

S.J. L. Esq.¹

PETERSBURG January 15th 1849.

Revd Mr. Mc lain I imbrace the Present oppotunity of writeing you a few lines hopin you at this time will Receave them with Pleasure dear Sir I have been very on well for the last 2 or 3 weeks and I am quite on well at this time Present So I would ask you to Excuse me in this Ship and also I have not any money at all So I Put my Self with a gentleman to See if I could geat Some few dollars a head in the cose of time and also Sir I have coated a woman and She have Promused me if I would waite un tell next year She would go to Africa with me Dear Mr. Mc Laine I wish you would

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1848, No. 162.

Perpose my time in leaveing for africa dear Sir I do not wish to draw back at all & I hope you do not think So these are my Reasions for So Sayin I am with out money and wishes to geat marred before I leaves and also Severl Persons Says if I waite untill the in Suing year they will go to Africa if God Pares them dear Sir I wish you would look over this and considder my Case Sir if you please and also you may Send me and answer as Soon as this Cums to hand

Nothing more at Present But remain yours

SAMUEL JAMES LEWIS, Esq.
Petersburg
Virginia.¹

FROM W. H. BURNHAM

LANESVILLE Oct 17/48

REV MR. McCLAIN

Sir

from the fact of your being the Agent of the American Colonization Society has induced me to address you for the purpose of obtaining such facts in reference to the republic of Liberia, &c as I have every reason to suppose you are in possession of here. I must say that I am about to make preparations to visit that country for the purpose of satisfying my self in reference to its facilities &c And I am thinking of going there. I have thought it would not be bad policy to take with me some \$1000 to \$3,000 Dolls. worth of goods in the event of my doing so it would be necessary for me to obtain facts in relation to the kind of goods that would be best adapted to to that country—What freights would be from Balt. N. York or Norfolk & at what time will a vessell leave either of these ports for the coast of liberia—Sir by giving me this information & any other that you may think beneficial would place the humble writer of this who is a colored Man under many obligations to you.

Yours very Respectfully
W. H. BURNHAM

P. S. What has become of Alphonso M. Sumner Did he leave for liberia

W.H.B.²

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 78.

² *Ibid.*, October to December, 1848, No. 63.

FROM DANIEL STROTHER

CARLYLE CINTON ILL. Oct the, 18 1848

Mr Mc Claine Sir after compliments I Wold wish to in form you that I am geting verry Impatianet A Bout going to liberia I have been Reddy since Early last Spring and looking every day for orders to go. But have not Recived them yet. your letter in the Spring And all so Mr Christ in formed me that I Should go Enny how By the first Days in Oct and now I See in the papers that That Experdishion is gon and we are her yet. Sir if you pleas in form me By A few lines where I May Depend on goin if ther is now chance for me to go I want to for I am not Dooing no good I cant compose myself til I now wether I am to go or not

No more But Re manes

yours trully DANIEL STROTHER ¹

CARLYLE ILL 1848

Nov 27

Dear Sir

I received your letter dated the 6th Nov. and am afraid the time is too short it would be almost impossible for me to get off, Now Sir if you thought a vessel would sail in the Spring I would rather go then my family is not very well and the whether is very cold, still if not, I will endeavour to get off if you will write immediately after receiving this for you may rely on me going you wish to know how many and names and ages

	Rebecca my wife aged 37
Children	{ Martha D 15
	{ James Madison . . D 13
	{ Louisa D 10
	{ Frances Helen . . . D 5 and Myself Danial Aged 37

Please to be certain to write word if a vessel will sail in the Spring also I want to know if Mr. Criss will bear the expences or not as he offered to do so when he was here I am not very particular how it is but if the is the rule I wished to know before I leave also whether I am to go when I am ready or whether the Agent will be on to see us off

Yours Respectfully

DANIAL STROTHER ²¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1848, No. 74.² *Ibid.*, No. 211.

January the 21, 1849.

CARLYLE ILLINOIS

Dear Sir

your favor marked December the 6 1848 has come to hand but two late for me to be in New orleans at the time it was to Start for liberia an I want you to write to me when there will be A vesel Sail from washington or baltimore your letter came one the 24 of December I want you to write I want you to let me know in time So be there I want to go whether I take my famly or not there is Some four or five here that wants to go to liberia thare is a good many more here that would go if anny one would go from here and Come back See what the prospect was in that country—

DANIEL STRAUTHER.¹

McLain

CARLYLE ILLINOIS Nov 12th 1850

My Dear Sir yours of the 30th oct is before me with the pamphlets and form of appely for which I give you my thanks and her with Enclose the foorm with Such information as you Require and Say to you that you may Depend on our going. We wish to Repoir (?) to New Orleans as it is Much more Convenient for us and will wait your order for that Purpose and wish you to Write to me in Due time in order that we may be there at the time. I wish to know what time the vesel will be there and how Long it will lay there and at what time we meust be there as we do not wish to be Desappointed and whither there is any Danger in going to New Orleans as we are unaquainted with the mater and are Some times told that Colored People will often meet with Difficulties in get on to the vesel. Pleas give us Such information as will Enable us to get Safe to the vesel and we will be very thankfull to you for it Please to Send me the amount that ti will cost for our passag. I wish you to be as Liberal as Possible we can Pay our Passage and Perhaps have one Hundred and fifty Dollars Left. there is a company of twentyfve making up that wishes us to wait for them but I will Do just as you Say I have been Some time waiting and anxuious to be off if I Should not be able to Collect all that is Due me can I have it Sent me

We can Pay and are willing to Do so for our fare when called for as to good Morall Character you can have any amount of Recommendation if Needful while I Remain yours with Respect

DANIEL STROTHER

Mr. W. McLain ²¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 127.² *Ibid.*, October to December, 1850, No. 136.

ILLINOISE CLINTEAN COUNTY CARLYE

desemder 1 the yar 1850 Dar fend

McCain i reciv you the 27 of novmber and giv me gerdt satfaction to hear that you Reddey to teak me off i want to steat as qick as i Can i Choug rethe joy in that vessel then too in new orlens vessel mi family want to steat varry Bad But a perse that i Cant git rieddey as sune as you say the vessel will Sale you would Say tell i coud get thar ief you will wait tell git thar i will Cum i want you to rit to me as qick the letter Cum or Cend it to I Chal dow what you say as Best i want you to B as easey as you Can i excpet to pay mi fare miself i will Cum to Baltimore ef you will Say tell i git thar if not i goy to obleans i though you wold let me goy Like the Rest tha say that you Let them goy at 20 dealers Let it Cost what it may i int en to goy Rit to me as qick as posable an If you Can wait i Chal Cum and If not i Chal goy to Newaleans Ser McClain

DANILL STROTHER

i rot it qick got the the letter in gert hurry excus mi hand rit ing for ant no good hand for hadant a Chanc to git no person to dough it for me i am Corlictin mi money i expect to mat git all i want to git to Senit to you or to Cend it to me no more at present ¹

FROM PETER BUTLER

PETERSBURG VIRGINIA November the 17 1848

Rev and Dear Sir I have maid up my mind and wish to in form you that I wish to Go to Liberia So as I may teach Sinners the way of Salvation and also Educate my children and ingoy the Right of a man I have tride a great meny placeis in these united state and I find that none of them is the home for the Culerd man and So I am bin Looking in my mind for a home and I find that Liberia is the onley place of injoyment for the Culerd man and their fore I wish to in form you that I the Said Peter Butler wish to be and Emigrant for that Land of my auntsestors as I wish to do them all the Good in this World I can and So I Wish to know if you can take me as a Emigrant in the nex ship or know I hope you Will answer this and also Send me the nonbers of this year Emigrants and also the Report of the Country and if I cant not Go in January Send me Word When I Can Go and I

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1850, No. 214.

Would Like to Keep up a corospondance with you about Liberia.
I Wish to Go verry much and and corry all of my familey which
we ar four in family

no more but Remaind your umble Servant

PETER BUTLER To Rev Mr. Wm McLain ¹

PETERSBURG VIRGINIA Jany. 20 1849.

Dear & Rev. Mr. William McLain I urdress you with a Letter
Nov. Last Wishing to imagrant to Liberia I was anshous to go
and had maid up my mind to Sail for that part of the globe but
Sence that time my familey is 3 in number & myself make 4 and I
must say to you that my wife is not willing to traviel that diston
in her preasant situation the time that the ship Will sail is the
time that she will be confind in chile birth namely a bot the last of
Feby or the first of March & So you can See that she is not fit to
traveal in hir preasant situation for she is under apperhenchtion
that hir Life would deturming upon the voige in hir case and so
you Can See that it would seam hard for me to leave my wife and
chidren in Virginia and seat of to go that diston from them to ingoy
my Self & they sufring hear be hind I hope you will look at this in
the asspect that it bare on my mind see the corse I Love my Wife
and children So well that I would not Like to part with them in
no way, but Death no more When she Recover and is able to
preform the jurney I will Rite you word and then We will go to
Liberia no more but Remaind your &——

PETER BUTLER.

I thought when I Roat to you that the ship would sail the firs
Decm. but you Roat me word that you Coul not tell whether I
could go or Know and So I have not maid any priperation my self
as yett.²

FROM SAML. V. MITCHELL

Nov 19 1848

CHARLESTON SO CA.

Reverend and Dear Sire.

I have taken up my pen to trouble you with
a few items of instruction i and my family have put down our
names to emigrate for Liberia in the Spring but i have seen in one

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1848, No. 174.

² *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 124.

of the northern papers that the emigration from Savannah is uncertain and if it is not so Dear Sir do tell me if the vessel will be large enough to carry any freight or not being my old Mother and children are going along i would like to carry a few pieces of furniture as freight i have seen the rates of freightage in one of the repository if not from Savannah if you please sir inform me if you know of any going from any other port in the spring i would go in January but being I have and old Mother that is feeble i would not like to carry her north for it would be too cold for her being i was so sure of going in the spring i have made some arrangement already i wants to go to Sinoe being i am related to Richard Murray i am in a situation and i have give notice that i am going i have a small piece of ground and have made arraignment even for to sell it you will oblige me Sir by answering as correct as possible you can direct it to

SAML V MITCHELL

in the care of G. & H. Cameron ¹

FROM WATKINS JONES

PETERSBURG VA Nov 21, 1848

Dear Sir your letter came safe to hand to day which I was pleased to receive Sir I am the man of which the Rev. W. B. Rowzie made mention of in connexion with George Hargrave some 4 or 5 weeks ago I take the present opportunity of informing you that I am a miller by trade and would be glad to know from you whether or not such a trade would be profitable to me in Liberia or not would wish you to inform me whether or not the Society would aid one in getting some tools provided they are not able of themselves to get tools. I am prepared for the voyage with the Exception of the above mentioned articles I shall be pleased to hear from you as soon as convenient your Obedient Servant WATKINS JONES ²

FROM ALFRED PAYNE AND MARY HIGGINS

NASHVILLE TEN Nov 23 1848

WILLIAM FORKNER

Dear Sir I write you these few lines to let you that I am very sorry that you have went off and leave me and my mother in distress I my-self is a slave man and to lend a free

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1848, No. 180.

² *Ibid.*, No. 206.

man of color \$100,00 out of kindness and to be fooled out of it is hard Flem Higgins Says that he owes you nothing and what he gives me it is for himself not for you and says he never made no contract to pay it for you As a man and as a gentleman I Appeal to your honour to leave it where I can Secure it. If you dont I will have to lose it Please send me an answer and let me know what you will do for us Mr Higgins says he thought you wanted him to make you a present of that much

I believe Sir yet that you will send it to me If you is going to let us have it please write to Mr Peter Lowery Mr. Forkner if you dont send it to us we will never get a cent.

I am Respectfully

ALFRED PAYNE

MARY HIGGINS

Remember William the burden all fell on me for letting you have it If it had not been for me you the money would have been in his pocket or where he could get it if he wanted it I hope the lord will open your heart and send that money back the citizens of Nashville what has got hold of it say you will not let us have it I hope you will deceive them I have got confidence in you until death

MARY HIGGINS

I have been abused by Higgins very bad and he says we would not lent it to him he wont make it good.

M.H.¹

FROM HENRI UNDERWOOD

BOWLING GREEN KY November the 23

Revant and honored Sir

I have oppertunaity of writing to you afew lines to you consurning the money which I borrow from you August last an which I promist to pay it over to Mr underwood for you but i have fail to it one the account of my travling So mutch I have not the meanes to spir at the presant time I will have to begging that you will indolge me little longer I have not Seen Mr Cowin yit my travels has been the gain of meany Free purson at tention for that country I wish to viset Nashville as i can mak it convenat I will Sir Send you the money by Mr underwood Nt Sprnge to which I hope will Suit you at

Yous humble Survant HENRI UNDERWOOD

My love to you and family ²

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1848, No. 194.

² *Ibid.*, No. 197.

FROM E. W. BAKER AND A. J. CRANE

RICHMOND Dec 7th 1848

My Dear Sir

I am Truly Thankfull for Information you have given me Through my friend Mr. A. J. Crane about Liberia and The Time of going Thire. I have fully made up my mind to go but would rather leave in spring or fall as I have others to take along with me, and since I have determined on going, menney of my frinds will go with me If they can be accommodated in your letter to Mr. Crane you promise to write please do and how menny can be accommodated

Yours Truly

E. W. BAKER.

Rev. Wm. McLain
Washington City

REV. MR. M LAIN:

Above you will find a letter from Edlow Baker: It is his own & I have preferred to leave it as it is: He is the same person whom I wrote you about a few weeks Since: He would be an acquisition to any one of the Colonies= He is a very good *physician* for a colored man. He was in Dr Clark's office 31 years: is of good character & quite intelligent: You will do me a favor to give him the information he seeks:

Very Respf

A. JUDSON CRANE¹

FROM N. D. ARTIST

The letters of N. D. Artist show unusual activity of the man. He wrote frequently but found it advisable to sign his name *Hatim Tai*. He was interested not only in going to Liberia himself, but he wanted to take with him a hundred or more others to establish a Missouri colony there. He desired therefore to know the climate and the economic possibilities of the country. While some of his questions seem absurd, he shows nevertheless that he had some ideas worthwhile.

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1848, No. 248.

January 1st 1849.

ST. LOUIS MISSOURI

TO THE REV. W McCLAIN.

My Dear Sir

A stranger begs leave to address you and hopes his object will be appology for his boldness—May he be alowed to say that he is a reader of the *Liberian Advocate* and have been Since the publication of its first number—The writer does not deem it necessary to State further that he is a general observer of Liberia and the Doings of the Colonization Society. But only desiring of your Honour a small favour by way of a little information respecting that Country.

The writer asks you to be pleased to do him the Kindness and inform him whither there has been established a "Colony" in any part of Western Africa, by the name of "Missouri or St. Louis or whether or not there has been any potion of the Territory of Liberia Set apart for a Colony from this State. If there has or have not you will oblige (Hatim Tai) one who has the inrest of the whole African people at heart—

Yours Truly

*(Hatim Tai) This is all way my assumed Signature)*My real name is N. D. Artist.¹

May 1st 1849.

SAINT LOUIS MO.

MR. WM. McCLAIN

Dear Sir,

I have just sent to your care 1 letter and some Books and 2 Newspapers for Mr. John H. Paxton in Monrovia Liberia Western Africa — The person whom I got to mail them—I am not certin whether he thought of setting down the name of ("*Monrovia*") If after they come to hand—and you find any mistake in the directions you will Oblige me by forwardng them with the proper direction.

If it is not to much trouble you will please Send me a few lines in answer to this and tell me when or by what vessel my package will go— Also I desire to Know from you—when the different Liberian Packets are to go from the United States this year. You will be so Kind Sir, as to send a few lines with my package of Books Papers &c. telling Mr. Paxton that they are from Hatim Tai.

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 2.

I am anxious Sir to have your Advice on a very important subject—in About 3 weeks you may expect me to trouble you Again— on the Subject here Alluded to—at which time I will lay all before you I think something of subscribing for your paper the Repository—if you can spare them send me a few back numbers— Your letter of the 26th January has been thankfully received—and I should have ecknowledged it before this but I have been waiting for an Opportunity to send a package to you care for persons of respectability living in Liberia

Yours Most Truly

N. D. ARTIST.¹

SAINT LOUIS MO June 29th 1849.

MR. McCLAIN,
Sir

I mailed to your care a letter and some books for "Mr. John H. Paxton" a distinguished citizen of the "Liberian Republic"—And I also wrote to you (all post-paid) requesting an answer, and asking Mr. Paxton's papers to be forwarded to him in Liberia, I have waited in surspence—to here from the letter and pamphlets. But up to this time I have looked in vain. I think it was about the 28th of April that I mailed those papers to your care— And not having heard or received any word from them Since that time— will venture to write to you again on the subject. By reading the "African Reposeitory, and Colonial Journal"—of the sixth instant I observe with pleasure the Sailing of the Bark Huma from Savannah Ga May 14th 1849 But tutching my letters and papers to the Hon. John H. Paxton, I desire to add that I have a great and laudable object in view. And it is my earnest desire to correspond—and communicate with intelegent Colord and White persons; in the United States And likewise, I must and will find a Channel though which I can Send letters—books & papers—As well as correspond with citizens living in Liberia Then Sir, it was for this object that I troubled you with my letters—It is for that reason that I now write to you—In conclusion I will be under many obligations to you—if you will inform me whether you received my favors or not— And if you will condescend to indulge a correspondence with me apportaning to matters connected with the people of the Liberian Republic—you will much oblige

Yours with high Estimation.

N. D. ARTIST.

To Mr. Wm. McClain

Box No. 27

Washington D. C.¹

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1849, No. 99.

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 272.

SAINT LOUIS July 18th 1849

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 7th Instant is received. Please except my heartiest thanks for the kind favor. I notice in your letter and by the National Intelligencer the arrival of the Liberia Packet at Baltimore 3 July. I was much pleased with Mr J. N. Lewis' published letter and the handsome and pleasant manner in which he speaks of the flourishing condition of his own Liberia. I long to be there. For a long time I have believed that Liberia is the country for me and all those of my cast who are not content with the mock freedom for the colored man in the United States and who have not lost all love for liberty and mental elevation. My Dear Sir. I must still beg you to indulge me from time to time with my letters And if I should tax your *distinguished attention* to much I hope you will pardon me. There is however an important subject which I desire to call your attention to and which I have up to this time withheld because I thought I would become better acquainted before I dared venture to far with you. I desire to inform you Sir that I am trying to raise a company of one hundred men and their families for the purpose emigrating to Liberia and then settling a "Colony" to be known as "Missouri". I have published several articles on the Subject, and I would add that I am greatly encouraged in the undertaking by persons here of the most respectable and highest standing I beg to say one word more as regards the plan of emigration and then close—But first I would say to you that I wish you would Please Send me the "Repository", for six months and please Send me The National Intelligencer of the 7th July, and the money for six months subscription of your paper shall be forwarded in my next letter. Health—Money—and friends—are the things most necessary for the accomplishment of a Missouri Colony in Liberia and I would say that if we had a portion of Territory Set apart for the above purpose one of the great difficulties would be over—However, I shall hope that you will speedily lay the matter before the proper authorities of the Liberian Government, November 1850 is the time proposed to Start with the "Colony" and allow me to say that the matter can be accomplished the friends of the Cause will ack promptly— Yours with high esteem—*N. D. Artist.*¹

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1849, No. 69.

ST LOUIS Jany 10th 1850

MR. McCLAIN

Sir.

Having this day Recd an interesting letter from Mr. Nugent Hicks of Liberia and it being the only one come to hand from that country I am at a loss to know why I did not get answers to the two letters which was sent out to Mrss. John N. Lewis and Jno. H. Paxton, I wrote to them both respecting the establishment of a *Missouri Colony* in some part of *Liberia* If in deed those gentlemen have failed to answer my letters or have not sent the things which I snt to them for I shall be greatly disappointed—You will please send me a few lines in answer to this and let me Know what things —Books, papers or letters have come in the Packeeet for me— If you have any things for me let me me know how I shall get them.

Yours Truly

N. D. ARTIST ¹

ST. LOUIS, Feby 1st 1850

MR. NOAH FLETCHER.

Very Dear Sir,

Yours of the 21st has been thankfully recived But your letter does not give the information that I had hoped to get from Mr McLain. Your are a totial Stranger to me and I must beg you to pardon me for my freedom of expression—And as I am in Some way like a boat that has lost her way in a fog—I shall therefore go on and explain to you my meaning—perhaps it may be in your power to assist me by information. Since Writing my letter of 10th Jany to Mr McLain, I have recived 13 Liberian Newspapers, a Coppy of Liberian National Flag, 3 letters, 1 from Gen Jno. N. Lewis 1 from Newgent M. Hicks, and the other, with all the rest of the things mentioned, are from Mr. John H. Paxton, Now, Singular as it may appear thease things letters and etc Ware Sent to my address In care of Rev Wm McLain Washington City—Since Sitting down to write I think I have discovered why Mr McLain did not See the things that was Sent to his care for me—

On examing the letters I find that all have ben taken from the Ship by the Agent or some good friend of mine and Mailed from the City of Baltimore Md to me in StLouis—And me Seeing Mr McLain name attached to the envelope of each Article thought he forwored them to me—

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1850, No. 53.

I will get you if your please Mr Fletcher *send to Baltimore and enquire of the Custom house Officer or proper Agent for Such things—whither any Books—Coffee—or heavy materials came in the last Liberian Packet.* Also please send me word who the gentleman was that forwarded those favors already came I sent to Liberia 9 months ago for the National Flag—The Federal Constitution of Liberia—some Liberia Coffee—Newspapers etc *Mr Paxton informed me in his letter that all the above things was sent to me by the Packet*

(We) The free Colored citizens of St. Louis are to hold a Grand Mass Liberian Meeting on the 11th inst in the Centenary (White) M.E. Church—and I am in a great hurry to here from you—Please answer by Telegraph as Soon as this comes to hand and I will pay all cost

I will send you the last Number of Liberia Advocate It contains an Article from (my) Hatim Tai's pen—

I shall tellegraph to you at 12 o'clock on Monday the 11th if this does not reach you nor I dont here from you before

Yours in hast

N. D. ARTIST

Mr Noah Fletcher

Washington City D C ¹

ST LOUIS Nov. 8th 1850

DR J. W. LUGENBEEL. *Sir.*

You will please excuse a Stranger for addressing you a few lines. I hope my object will plead an appology for me. I have recived lately some articles from Liberia—14 different kinds African Wood, and 4 kinds of native Iron. Thease with other things wiru (?) send to mi by Mr. John H. Paxton, of Liberia. The wood and Iron, have been examined by hundreds, all with few exception have believed the truth of their being *Native African Products.* My object however is to learn from you one important truth, and that is, does this Iron grow, or is it to be found in pure State in Liberia or any part of Western Africa. The fact of pure Iron growing in the soil of Liberia or any part of Western Africa was disputid by one of professor McDowell's students a few nights ago. and he and another gentleman pronounced my assertions about the purity of the Iron a mere fabrication. A falshood got up by Mr Paxton and others, for the purpose of deception and speculation.

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1850, No. 287.

I hope you'll give me your experience in regard to the Iron and relieve me from my difficulty Please inform me if there is not to be found among the citizens—and emigrants from this country to Liberia an equal, or general average of Black—Mulatto,—and Quadroon—persons, and do they not have generally as good health in Liberia—after acclimation (?) as they have in the United States. I ask thease question because is an impresson in the minds of the colord people here that Yellow—Mullatto—nor Quadroon—person can not posibly have health in Liberia.

Please answer as soon as convinient

Your Most obedent, and humble Servent

N. D. ARTIST

Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel

Late Colonial Physician and U. S. Agent in Liberia ¹

StLouis October 5th 1851

REV. WILLIAM McLAIN. *Sir,*

This letter is to gain information from you respecting any expedition Ship or Packet, that may be Sent by the Am. Col. Society this winter from New Orleans for Liberia Western Africa. The time has come for me to commence getting readey to go. I expect to commence the 1st November closeing up my affairs and would like to take Ship at N Orleans about the 20th Januay if this would Suit the convenience of the Society. I am very Sick at this time, hardly able to Sit up and write this letter. I commenced one to you two weeks ago and was not able to finish on accont Severe illness. I have been confind to my room ever Since, so you must really excuse this letter. Your exlent journal all ways comes to me contaning useful information about Libiria and African Colonization &c. Since I have been taking that Journal, I have got information about Liberia that I could not have got from any other Sourse. It is my intention to Lecture on Liberia in Galena Illis and St Louis before I Start. My friends here and in that town have promis to raise all the mony that I will need—Therefore I am expected and have promised them that I would go and live in Liberia as a Sort of public correspondent. It must be well Known to you how deep the prejudice of the most of our free colord people is against any thing that the Colonization Society has any thing to do with or any controle over. This being the case, I believe I can do more good by going out biassed or free from private obli-

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1850, No. 167.

gations. My doctrin is that our people must emigrate from from this land of oppression, if they would better thir condition. Canida, Jamaca, Mexico, and Liberia, are all better places for us than the United States. Indeed there seams to be at this time a general disposition on the part of Some of leading man to encourage emigration to Canida. They have alredy purchased Some thousands of acres of land for the purpose.

A Mr. Anderson from Jamaca Seames to be holding out very flattering inducements to encourage emigration thinkin If things are as this gintlemen has presented them to be in a late Newyork paper, I cant see mut what his enterprize may after a while employ the serious attention of many of our most inteligent and enterprising men of color. Of all the places, I prefer Liberia for many reasons Some of which If I had the time and Stringth I would tell. I believe that the man of color must go Seak and obtain a home a peace of earth that he can call his own. he must till that peace of earth with his own hands and water it with the sweat of his brow. he must plant the tree of liberty, and buld a temple, Sarced to Religion and Justic. Than Shall the forest blossom like a rose. Ethieopea shall stretch out her hand to God. please Send me your Bill gainst me up to Jany 1st 1852. I will thak you for any thing that would give me further information respecting emigration to Liberia for the Cost of any pamphlets please put in my Bill

I am very anxious that you would answer this letter as Soon as it comes to hand, as I Shall wate for your answer before I Start to Galena And it is very important that I should get positive word when a Ship will Sail for Liberia. I receved last Octr. from Mr. Paxton one letter and 16 Newspapers. he informed me that he also sent 14 different kinds of native wood and 4 kind of native Iron all from Liberia. I wrote to Mr. Hall, at Baltimore twist, but nevr got any answer. I will get you to inquire into it for me— I have never Seen the Constitution of Liberia. If it is in your power Send me one,

yours,

N. D. ARTIST ¹

St. Louis 7th Nov 1851

MR WILLIAM McLANE

Sir, yours of the 14th October, has been thankfully received, and I take thie first opportunity to answer it.

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1851, No. 21.

As regards any other persons going to Liberia from St.Louis I confess I am not able to say. At the time of holding the Liberia Mass Meetings by a number of the colord friends of Liberia here there was a desided inclination on the part of several families to go this fall. But Sense the passage by the Congress of the U. S. of the "fugertive Slave Law" and the no less stringent and oppressive "free negro Law" lately enacted by the States of Illinoi, Indiana and Iowa, many of them are vext at ther heard and still hearder fate and declare they will either go to Jamaica or the Canadais, in prefrence to emigrating to the Republic of Liberia. There is truly an indifference generaly manifest among the colord people here about going to Liberia, that was not to be seen before the passage of those bad Laws. As oppression, and injustice, never softens the human heart, but must tend to harass allienate the affections from the greate object in view. I can not conceive the good, or benefit the colonization cause expect to derive from the enactment of those Free negro and Mulatto Laws. I have often regreted the folly of those diceptive friends of the African race, and candidly believe that their efforts to force the colord people to Liberia by the passage of those wost than "Cuban" or Russian Laws, and must only tend to drive them to the British dominions, and must prove a fas (?) to the true Colonizationist as will as an envoy (?) to Liberia. I will add no more on This Subject and will close by thanking you for your Kindess towards me in giving me your Journal and sending the Constitution of Liberia free. Since last wrote you I have found my 14 different Kinds of African wood and 4 kinds of native Iron, Sent by Mr Paxton I shall try to be ready for the vessel in time.

Yours most truly, N. D. ARTIST.¹

Changed Nov 5'52

BURLINGTON IOWA, Oct, 26th 1852.

REV. McLANE Sir,

I expect to remove back to *St.Louis* about the 10th November. and in consequence *you will please sind my number* of your Journal to *that city*. Two months ago I came to this place and went in buisness with a very good man, but unfortunately like many others, has contracted the habit of intemperance, which makes it necessary for us to disolve— I have just receved the October No. and I can truly say that I am more and more pleased with the liberal Spirit of some of the articles which have lately appeard in

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1851, No. 163.

the Repostory more perticularly the one on Educating the colord people—The one or at least the doctrine it promulgates is in my opion, the only practical method by which the strong cords of ignorance and predgudice can be removed from the Colord mans mind in regard to his emigration to Liberia I took hold of the Liberia cause with cautious hands—for a long time looked with distrust and suspission upon all the acts and proseedings of all Colonization organizations and now thank God much of the dark colord of pridgudice against the cause has intirely left my mind. Light is what we want, Eluminate the Soul, and mind, with true princiles of Religion and mental light and the Africans Civilization and endependence is complete. I shall speak of your Articles on Education more at length in my letter to Mr. Paxton.

Yours truly N. D. ARTIST.¹

FROM ISAIAH T. WILSON

NORFOLK VA. Jany. 20/49

MR. W. MCLAIN

Dear Sir

I have taking the liberty of Writing to you to inform of My presant Efords to giet to Liberia. as I am now Trying to Raise a sufishon a mount of mony to pay for myself—after my asnwer to yours of the 28th Dec 1846—Mr A. Jarris to who I then Belong giev me an offer to purchas myself which I exseptted for the purpis of going to Liberia and after I had paid him \$150 Dollers he told me that he could not hold me. and he sold me to Mr James Gordon Jr a commission murchant in Norfolk. after that I felt as if my oppertunity of going to Liberia was over as Mr. Gordon valured me So hily as also did Every person that I have ever Lived with. on the a cour of my industry honstry and intellignce. Which is the cause of it, Beaning So hard for Me to giet of from them— But Beaning So prest in my mine which I Beleav is from god that I should go to Liberia and Spend and Be Spent in that field to Preaching the gospel to those milans who are in heathon Darkness thearfore I was ConStrand to ask my master the Liberty to Try purchase myself which after Sume time he consented and giev me a certificate to that efect Saying if I can Raise Six hundred Dollers that I am at Liberty to purchas myself. Which I am Try to Do and after I had got a certificate from the Church and from Mr Harris and from Mr Jas. R. Wilson and had Commene to Corlec. he told me that

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1852, No. 114.

if I could Raise the Six hundred Dollers By the time the Packit Sald that he Would take all plesur in fiting me up But if not I muse giev it out all to gather thearfore I now Write and ask you pleas to Releav Me as the time is So Short and I am not at Liberty to go out of this place to Corlec any and I have got but a very little at presant Not more thin 100 one hundred Dollers there will a corlecson takeing up in the methodist E. Church of which I am member on Sunday the 4th inst and I intend to call on all the Collerd Churches in this City and in the County if I Should have time But I will not have time Exsept I am Released By sum person at once. By paying the mony before the time Errive for the packit to Sale Dear Sir I ask you Will pleas advance me the Sum of five hundred Dollers that I my Be Releast and I will comtinuer to Corlec in Evry city until I giet to your or go corcordin to your Derecsion and By So doing I may Be able to get it Before the Packit Sales and if I Should not Susead in time for her this Trip I Would Be Redy for her when She Return on for the first oppertunity Before She come—Dear Sir do all you can for me—You Washed to know how much Education I had I answered you that I had a Common Education I yet certify the Same Such as to Read Write and cypher. it is very True that it is Consitterd to BE very good Education By all that know me and I can Say that I have not Seeing any person of Culler in this place have En Education Equel to Mine— I Will also Send you the certificate from Messr Gordon. Mr. Harris and Mr. Wilson if you Would like to See them. Pleas answer this as Sune as posibil and Let me know What you can Do for Me. I Do not Desier to Leav for Liberia Before I had Returned the Mony to you agan But that you Would help me at once to giet Clare So that theare Will be a Sertinta A Bout My goin which I Beleav Will Be Don if I can Be Releavd—Pleas answer me at once if you can

Your umbol Servant in hart.

ISAAC T. WILSON.¹

FROM EDWARDS SMITH

Respected

CHARLESTON Febuary 27th 1849.

Sirs to the Colonization Society

Sirs I take this apertunity of wrighting thease few lines to your praze worthy Society as it is the only source to which I can appeal, Sirs you will please excuse the liberty which I have taken, as I am

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 123.

so situated and knowing that your society Is for the purpose of addin those that are un able to assist them selves, that are desiruous to go to Africa I am one of those that wants to go there and have no means to assist my self in going there and stands grately In need of help. If it is in the power of the society which I have no doubt that there Is to releave me and I am willing from my heart to return the amount If God be my helper that is to purchase me and I am perfectly wiling to return it back if God be my helper that all that I can say but hope for the beter, the iner paper is a spece-ment of my trade, I now leaves it to your's entire aprobations and now awaite your candid decisions up on the mater

I am your Obediant servant

EDWARDS SMITH ¹

FROM MARY MOORE

NASHVILLE TENN Feb 28th 1849.

Dear Sir I drop you a few lines to let you know that I am well at present hoping this few lines may find you the Same my Respects to you and your family I am Still in Nashvill I have one of my Sisters with me I am verry anxious to Get home and I am verry Short of money Mr Toms Says that my Sister will have to pay her own passage to Liberia I do not think that is wright I paid her passage from Fayetteville to New Orleans and back to Nashville and that is curtailed my money. So I will not be able to take her with me without She can have a free passage to Liberia I had a free passage when I went out, I am verry anxious to take her with me I know it is better for her to go to that country, I have a little money and I wish to buy a few things to take with me and I will not have money to pay my passage and buy the articles that I wish to buy. and I want you to rite to me whether you can fix it So That I can get home, before I pay my passage I will pay it when I get home, I have about a hundred dollars with me, rite me whether you will be in new Orleans when the next vessel Starts, and when do you think we will get off, no more at presant.

I remain yours &c answer this in hast

MARY MOORE

A Citizen of Liberia ²

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 322.

² *Ibid.*, No. 327.

FROM ALEXANDER HARRIS

SAVANNAH March 11, 1849

REV. WM M LAIN

Dear Sir

Some of my Relatives, who left this place in May last for Liberia, left Some of their furniture in my care, such as chairs, Bedsteads &c. They have written to me to Send them if possible, as they are in great want of many comforts which they cannot procure in Liberia—Mrs Marshall, their former owner, who Emancipated them, is also desirous to contribute, to their comforts, by Sending them something, to assist them if the Vessel will take freight *free of charge*.

Mrs Marshall says she will send them Two Thousand feet of Boards, to Build Cabins, $\frac{1}{2}$ doz chairs, and probably some other articles of furniture, provided the Vessel will take it *free of charge*, but she is not willing to incur the expense of freight, I spoke to Mr Benning—the Agent here, and he told me, he did not think they could go without the freight being paid—Please write as soon as possible & let me Know on what condition the Vessel will Carry freight, I have taken the privilege of writing you on the Subject, hoping that you would be able to do something in behalf of our friends in Liberia—

Very Respectfully

Your obdt Servt.

ALEXANDER HARRIS

Please direct

To the care of

N. B. & H. Weed.

Savannah

Geo¹

FROM MARIAH FENEMUR

PITTSFIEND MASS TTS. March 19th 1849.

REVD. MR. WILLIAM McLANE

Dear Sir

This comes to inquire wither Mr. Henry J. Roberts of Liberia Monrovia West Africa, have Sent, to your care, for, me a Box containing one or more Gaires of Preserves,

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 402.

I received a letter from Him in the month of January Stating, that he had Sent a Box, as discribed a bove, If he has not Sent anything to your care for me, you will please to answer this, and If He has, Dear Sir, you will confer, a lasting favour on me to forward It Immediately, and Oblige yours,

Address

MARIAH FENEMUR
Pittsfield
Mass. tts

MARIAH FENEMUR
Pittsfield
Mass. tts

To
Revd. Wm. McLane
Washington City
D. C.¹

FROM C. L. DELAMOTTA

Journal page 252

SAVANNAH July 7 1849

MR. REV. W. McLAIN

Deare Sir

as I wish to get one of the *Constitution of the Republic of Liberia* and a map I dont know wot the price is but I Send here 50 cents and if it is more you will be plesed to let me know and I will give it to the Aghant or I will Send it, and I Send here \$2 for tow person that wish to Subscribe for the monthly Repository Namly *Abraham Bourk* and *Garson Frashar* and I wish you will Send them as Sune as you can for thare is anshus to Se them and i wish you will be plesed to let me know when thare is a opetuety to write to Liberia and you will dou me a faver and Send me oll the infermation you can and I will try to get all the Subscribes I can

Repos. etc sent July 12, '49

I remain your humel Sirvent

C. L. DELAMOTTA ²

Sent Jāny No. 1848, which contains all that i wanted
July 20, 1849, N.F.

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1849, No. 508.

² *Ibid.*, No. 24.

SAVANNAH July 16th 1849

Dear Sir

I Receve your letter with the Annual Report of 1848, witch contans the Constitution and tow maps witch I sent for but the Constitution is not Such a one as I have Sene for that which I have Sene a yeare ago it did imbrase the hold transaction of the Sela-bration of the Republic when the flag wos deliverd that wos wot I wouted to See they is Som Gentelmons that is very anktious to See it and, Dear Sir, I hav not Receve my July Nomber and for wot Reson I wold lick to know I have thre others that wish to subscribe for the African Repository but thay wos not Reddy with the monny Now but will be about the las of this weake, and I will Sen for I will use my influince among them

Respectfully yourse,
C. L. DELAMOTTA ¹

SAVANNAH August 29th 1849

MR W. McLAIN

Deare Sir. I have tow mor Subscriber for the African Repository I take the opertunity to write you a fue lins, hoping thay may find you Sir in good helth. I Sir having a grat intres in the Republic of Liberia I hold my Self as a man of coller to give enny infermation about Liberia or the Society and I wod badg you to Send me enny extry infermation that may not be in the Repository and I Shall use it for the good of the Society and I wold badg you to Send me one of the Liberia Herald. and Do let me know for Sirton wether thare will be a nother vessle go from her nex year or not for my goin depends on the nex vessel. I Send you hear \$1.50 for the Subscribers for the Repository 50 cents for *Mr A. C. Collier* Six month and when that is out dont Send mo more for he expect to go away in that time. \$1 for *Mr Daniel Virdare* for one year

no more at present but Remaine your
obedent Servent

C. L. DELAMOTTA ²

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1849, No. 60.

² *Ibid.*, No. 135.

SAVANNAH Sep 16th 1849

MR. McLAIN *Deare Sir*

I recev your letter of the third in witch you Stat that you had Recev mine of the 29 Aug and it incloce \$1.50 for Repository for *D. C. Virdare* and *A. C. Collier* and thay have not receive them. and I allso Bedgs you to Send me one of the Liberia Herial. and I hav not Receive it and I am very Sorey that thay have not receive the Reposy. and by youre Request I hav trid to find out wether thay will be Enny obgection of Sending an a nother Vesell from this place nex yar not with Standing wot has ben Sed Sence the departher of the *Huma*. I ask fore or five Gentilmen about this and Som Says that thay dont think thay will be much obgection, and if thay Shuld be eny more pepil that wonts to go that if the Society wod petition to the Councill that it wold be granted on Som turmes or other. I intended to go and See the Mayor and ask him about this as I am well acquainted with him and I know that he wold talk with me on the Subject but I cold not yet mak it convented and as I am interested about the Subscribers not Receiving the Rep.y I thort I wold writ and I heare with Send you the procedings of the Council on the Subject as I dont know wether you hav Send it or not and you Says you Shuld like to know wether thare is enny heare that will like to go. I know of fifty or Sixty that is makin peperation to go next yar expecten that a vessill will go from heare and I cold name them if it wos wonten and as I hold myself allways redy to giv enny infermation that may be ask concurring the Society or the Republic it has oftin bin ask me wether a vessill will go nex yar or nor and I tel them that I wold writ to you and find out

yours with respect

C. L. DELAMOTTA ¹

SAVANNAH Nov 19 1850

Reven and Deare Sir

I take this opertunety to writ you a fue linds for a litel infermation as I am often ask and bedgs to inquire from you. Dear Sir I had the plesur of receving a letter from my wife in Liberia informing me of hur good healt and hur injoying of hur fredom in a free land which afords me much plesur and all that She neds to mak hur hapy in this world is the present of hur affection hursban which is my wish but the condition that I am plast hendurs So I must wate on the providance of God trusten that he will provid

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1849, No. 285.

the inquiring is when will the packet Sale and ware from and whend will we have a Agant in Gorga and when will a vesel go from Savannha Deare Sir I will be thankful for these infermation and all others that you may have

Deare Sir I wold lik to Send a box of Sope to my wife and I wish to ask you a faver if I Send the mony if you will get it and Send it for me

thar is a grat complant making janruly by the Subscriber of the Repository that it is allway So late in the month before thay are receve for the last fore or five months thare is never receve befor the 19 or the 20 and this monts we just Receve them this moring I wish that you wold See to this if you plesse for thay will be anxous to See the next months expecting to here Som thing new and incuring (incurging?)

I Remaing your true freand to the Colonization Society

C. L. DELAMOTTA

to the Rev W. McLain
Washing City ¹

SAVANNAH December 10 1850

Reven and deare Sir

I wonts to ask you to do a faver for me which will be one inded my wife Sent to ask me to Send her a box of Sope by the first opertunety and Deare Sir you will oblidge me if you wil get it and Ship it in the Packet for me I heare Send you \$3 plesse to git the Serprior famley Sope mad by C. W. Smith and Send it to Greanvill Sino Couty for Mrs Martha, A, De Lamotta dow dont lete the vesel leve it and plesse to writ and let me know if Send it and if thare is eny difrance I will Surtenly Send the balance

I remane your humbl Survent

C. L. DE LAMOTTA ²

SAVANNAH Dec 30th 1850

Reven and Dearer Sir

I wrot you a letter on the 10 of this month and I inclose in it \$3 and bedg you to get Som washing Soap and Send to my wife Martha A. DeLamotta Grenvill Sino Couty and to

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1850, No. 162.

² *Ibid.*, No. 248.

Send it by the packet and I have not hard from you if it was recev
Deare Sir you wod oblidg me if you wod writ and let me know
about it

I heare inclose 50 cent to Subcribe for 6 months African Re-
pository for *A. C. Collier only for Six month*

Sir Severel pursen from Charleston and Agusta have ben to me for
information about emegranten to Liberia in Aprel and I give them
all the infirmation that I Receive

I am your humbel Sirvent

C. L. DELAMOTTA

Rev W McLain

Washington
City ¹

SAVANNAH October 14 1851

Rev and Deare Sir

I Set don to write you a fue linds in hast hoping it
may find you in beter helth than when I wrote you last I wrote
you in June last in be half of tow Society one in witch I wos Presedent
of one Sending \$10 for mishinary in Liberia in which letter the
perticlars wos wrot I recev a letter in ancer from J. W. Lugenbeel
that the mony did not go at that time will you be plesse to writ me
the perticlars about it now that it may give sattisfaction to those
that is interested about it Deare Sir I beg you to excuse this but
compose and wrot letter as it is don in hast as I jest receive my
repository and I see that a vesel will sale from Baltimor the 25 of
this month I Sene that I had now time to Spare I wrote Dr. Hall
a month a go perticler to know when thay wold be an opertunety
to writ and I got now infirmation Deare Sir in the last nomber of
letters receive I receive a fue from my wife and freands my wife sed
that she hat Som thing to Send to me but She did not know how to
Send it that I mit be surten to recev it So She wonts me to make
an arangement with Som one in Baltimor to recev it and fourd it
to me Sir I which to ask for infirmation if it cant be Sent to Dr.
Hall, care for me and when he recev it to writ me word and I will
Send the mony to pay the frate and instruct him Ship it to T. J.
Walsh Savannah Gor for me Dear Sir I am truley Sory to be so
tegest and onuneform with you on this Subject but having meny
thing to Say I pend them as they com to mine

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1850, No. 320.

Deare Sir you wold oblidge me by given me
all the instruction and infirmation that you may have as quick
as posebel

I remaine yours truley
C. L. DELAMOTTA

to the

Rev W McLain
Washington City ¹

A LETTER FROM ELIE W. STOKES

PROVIDENCE July 9, 1849

My Dear Sir

You will doubtless ere this have received my late communication, which I hope you will find satisfactory relative to the point at issue, which should have been my last. concerning present business, had I not have received a notice from you this morning apprizing me of the determination of the Packet for liberia to sail on the first of August please therefore be informed that I have this day packed my Books, which will be put on board of a Baltimore packet to morrow morning, which will sail for that port on Saturday next the Proprieters having assured me that the Packet will arrive in full time for the liberia Packet, etc I hope to set out from this city for Baltimore, on friday next and may reach there in four or five days, in order to be in time to purchase some articles necessarily needed in my future home, —please attend to my wishes noted in my last.

yours very Respectfully
ELIE W. STOKES ²

FROM H. TEAGE

BALTIMORE July 27, 1849

REV. MR. MCLAIN

I just returned from N.Y. via Philadelphia. I reached this place this morning 4 OClock. I am sorry to tell you that I have been wholly unsuccessful in collecting a cent of money either on my own or the Government's account. Some to whom I addressed circulars, answered—expressing willingness but regret that circumstances prevented them from doing any thing at present.

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1851, No. 65.

² *Ibid.*, July to September, 1849, No. 31.

The consequences is I am in an awkward predicament. I had I supposed just enough money to pay my expenses, but I have had to pay higher for every thing than I expected. I am now wholly out of money even to pay my board here. I have therefore to request that the Society will loan me One Hundred dollars for which I will give an order on the Government or my own note. Now my dear Sirs I trust I will not be disappointed. If the Society cannot or will not that you will do just as I would were we in Liberia in like circumstances—I would let you have it—Please let me hear from you at once

Yours Respectfully
H. TEAGE ¹

FROM J. B. JORDAN

This gentleman, as his letters will show, was a well-prepared man like so many others who desired to go to Liberia. Having equipped himself for business or government service he desired assurance of economic possibilities and employment in the higher pursuits of labor. Many other Negroes in this country had undergone such training and those of their number who went to Africa not only saw themselves too often disappointed but went heartbroken to untimely graves. In fact, the colonization movement tended to drain off into the jungle the talented tenth of the free Negro population and thus rendered the race much less efficient at emancipation than it would have been had these enlightened members of the group been left undisturbed.

NEW ORLEANS August 1st 1849

REV WM McLAIN
Secretary Am Colsn Society,
Washington D.C.

Dear Sir

A Servant man waiting on Genl Downs, Senator from this State, named Richard W. Barrington, Subscribed while in Washington in January last for me to the "African Repository", and left directions, as he informed me, to have it sent to me at this place, to care Wm M Beal

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1849, No. 113.

Many months having elapsed without my having received the first publication from your office, I am afraid Some mistake has been made, and therefore plead that fear as my excuse for this interruption to you.

I should be pleased to learn if you have any works relating to the Climate, Soil, products and natural resources of Liberia. If Such be for Sale, and the price at which they are held. I am anxious to acquire all the information respecting a country So advantageous for me to dwell in, and in which I could realise the value of my own abilities without being charged with presumption. I should too be pleased to know when the "Liberia Packet" is expected to depart again, and the price of a passage, as Several of my friends here *who can go* desire to meet her.

Please address me as above

Very Respectfully

J B JORDAN ¹

NEW ALEANS Augt 25th 1850

REV WM McLAIN

Washington, *Dear Sir*

I have been in receipt of your favor of the 31st July for some time, and delayed writing for so long with a hope that the African Steamers Bill would pass the House of Representatives—intending if it did to ask at what time the vessel would be put afloat, and further to know if it is at all likely that an Agent for the Steamers would be wanted at Monrovia, having an idea of offering my Services to the Company after awhile if things look favorable for the enterprise.

I have read and reread your letter, and am more pleased each time with the course you have pursued in the disposition of the open letter I sent to Mr C J Roye, through you and I now beg you to destroy the same, and to accept my thanks for the interest you have taken in my welfare. Some mistake has been made by me however with regard to——— and I think in the name, in mistaking Roye for Roitz or Royce. Though disappointed in the man, I shall not slacken in my effort to obtain a promise of a Salary before I go to Liberia, either as Clerk, Agent or Supercargo—.

You will add to the many favors conferred upon me by giving me your views as to my immigration to Liberia with remarks about the wants of the country in a commercial sense, and as to what

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1849, No. 134.

business is more profitable, upon the operation of a capital of one thousand Dollars—. I may be induced to go out very soon, probably by the vessel to leave here in the Spring with about fifteen hundred Dollars—if I have any reliable information about trade, and the articles generally imported there.

I should be pleased to know the result of the shipments of the Chesapeake & Liberia Trading Company. I have been told that the profit on Shipments usually amounts to 100 per cent. If Dr Hall can give me any information upon this subject, I shall be greatly obliged to him & to you for it—.

Several men of property, ie., 2 to \$3000, desire to go out to Liberia—Some are anxious to purchase a Saw Mill to be put up there—and have asked my opinion Will you allow me to ask yours, as I cannot answer them.

Are there any Consuls in Liberia— Is there any probability of the U.S. Government recognising the Independence of Liberia— If yes, when? Do you think any increase in Commerce between the two Countries would ensue immediately thereupon?

I understand that the Agent of the Amn. Government at Monrovia receives about Two Thousand Dollars per annum for his Agency, which post gives him many advantages. Do you know anything of it—. If a vacancy were to occur would it be worth the effort on my part to make application for the office—. Would any foreign influence be likely to carry of the Palm? I have strong claims upon Mr Conrad and Mr Crittenden, and through Judge Chinn of this State and Mr John Bell of Tennessee, might enlist Mr Clay's interest.

I have noticed of late several large consignments from Africa (Siera Leone I think) at New York, to Soule Whitney & Co and D H L M'Cracken Esq. I thought it might be that some of these gentlemen are engaged in the Liberia trade.

By reading and forwarding the enclosed letter to Mr Saml Quarles at Salem Mass. you will see my present aim. If you can further my object at all, I shall be glad to come under additional obligations to you. If I can get any business at all from this Country, I shall leave the United States in the ensuing year for Liberia, if not I shall them in the absence of a better offer to go to that Country, leave for South America, Mexico or California. If you know of any parties in this Country whose interest or philanthropy has interested them in the African trade to whom I might write as I do to Mr Quarles, you will confer a favor by opening a correspondence with them for me.

Having, as I believe I have, done everything that tends to show my desire to emigrate to Liberia, I shall close this long letter with the expression of a hope that you will at all times bear me in mind and will omit no occasion consistent with your obligations, if you have any, to your friends here and elsewhere, to press my pretensions as a business man, wherever promptitude, industry, perseverance, and integrity can be available—

With great respect

J B JORDAN ¹

NEW ORLEANS Octr 1st 1850

DR J W LUGENBEEL

Dear Sir

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your Esteemed favor of the 9th ultimo in response to mine of the 25th of August to Rev Wm McLain. I thank you for your Courtesy, and am pleased that you have written me, as it has opened the way for correspondence, that will I trust be no less pleasant to you than to myself.

For the last nine years, I have been extolling the advantages of emigration to Liberia. At first I was laughed at and rudely treated by those colored people who profiting by the good times many years ago, made money and invested it in property here. About five years ago the dislike to Colonization seems to have passed away. Some few would talk of it whilst others in their timidity would only listen. Now there are few persons who hesitate to speak of Colonization and of their intention or desire to emigrate to Liberia in a few years. Several men of property from this City and Mobile are preparing to go, and some three or four men of family, good workmen, possessing means and of intelligence, I will go out in the next vessel from this Port.

It is but very recently that I have become possessed of my own freedom. For want of a knowledge of mechanics or Agricultural pursuits, I am forced to rely for years to come upon my present avocation of Accountant for an income or support. Twelve months hence I shall be in an easy position, and unless some accident befall me, shall have about \$1300 in cash. That sum I should like to invest in such goods in this country, as would be most likely to yield a profit, or shipment to Liberia. Your remarks about the value of a Saw Mill in Liberia have caused me to reflect very much—

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1850, No. 202.

and I am now inclined to purchase a mill—and as my means are inadequate to pay for such a steam Saw Mill, as I would desire, the idea has suggested itself to me to write to you to know—

- 1st What kind of buildings—stand best the wear and tear of the African climate?
- 2nd Do not the white Ants attack wooden buildings, so much as to make them objectionable to persons whose means will allow them to build brick or Rock & Brick houses?
- 3rd What kind of Building Timber is there in Liberia—What is the size of the trees in diameter or circumference, and what is the length—? Is Timber abundant?
- 4th Where would you advise a location for a Steam Saw Mill—?
- 5th Is it difficult to procure horses or oxen to work in a Horse Power Mill? What is the general cost of either, and how far in point of strength endurance and use are they compared with those animals in this country?
- 6th Does not the cost maintenance and risk attendant upon the climate and the Insects make it objectionable to rely upon Horse power in starting a saw Mill?
- 7th Is there any scarcity of good wood for fuel to run a Steam Mill?
- 8th What think you of Sugar? Can it be raised in Liberia to advantage with the Aid of steam and the proper apparatus under the management of a man of industry skill and practice? There is such a man who has some \$2000, who has promised to join me in anything I may propose that is safe as a business in Liberia, and I have thought the engine for a Saw Mill might easily be transferred to a Sugar House if desired, and as the cost of an engine would not be short of \$1,250, I have thought it worthy of attention to know if there is any prospect of its being subservient to some business other than that of a Saw Mill. A Saw Mill and Sugar Mill could be worked alternately by one Steam Engine. And if Sugar can be easily raised I see nothing objectionable to our embarking the business and as I shall write him at once on the receipt of your answer to this, I shall be obliged to you if you give me a prompt answer, with all the information and advice you have been enabled to arrive at and to give by your long residence in that country. I apprehend no difficulty in procuring seed cane, and will be pleased to have you confirm this opinion, with remarks as to its quality and the possibility

of importing seed cane from the West Indies, which I presume to be far superior to that in Liberia.

If your response should be so far encouraging as to induce my friend to enlist in the enterprise with me, I shall engage a Steam Saw Mill of about 10 horse power of Mr Page, the Machinist of Baltimore, to be shipped from that Port, and as I shall very probably sail from that port in Such case, I shall take pleasure in calling upon you, while there in the ensuing Summer, to make acknowledgements for your kindness, and for my feelings towards you for your efforts to ameliorate the condition of my race.

Tendering my best regards to you & to Mr McLain, I am

Very Respy

J B JORDAN ¹

Please send me a copy of the
present Liberian Tariff

NEW ORLEANS April 18th 1851

REVD WM McLAIN

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir

I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you of late, although I had no right to anticipate a letter, as there was nothing left unsaid when we were corresponding so briskly, to justify the expectation.

My feelings have undergone no change since I last addressed you, upon emigration to Liberia. Although not decided as to the time of my departure, I now think I will go in the next expedition sailing from here. I will therefore be pleased to learn when that will be, and also what freight you will charge me on goods—boxes—barrels both wet and dry, and light goods by measurement, from here, as I may arrange to put about 200 barrels &c aboard, which would require a vessel with two decks, thereby giving one entire deck to the emigrants which would be more agreeable to them. If the rate of freight be low I may go far beyond the quantity named here, as some friends of mine desire to make up a consignment for me.

I should be pleased to receive the earliest advice of the departure of the Expedition hence when decided upon, and in the mean time will thank you to Send me a copy of the Liberian Tariff, with a list of articles suitable to the trade.

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1850, No. 6.

My Repositories come irregularly—please Send the numbers for Jany—feby—May—June & August 1849—and feby 1851—none of which were received. In haste—

Very Respy.

J. B. JORDAN.¹

NEW ORLEANS July 24th 1851

REVD WM McLAIN

Dear Sir

I am induced to write you, at present, to request you to send me the June & July issue of the "African Repository", which I have not received. My papers and letters are always placed in the box of my employer Mr Gwathmey, and as I have inquired at the general delivery for them without finding them I think they must have miscarried altogether.

I should like to have the missing numbers, which I never received, of the Repository named in my last respects, as I desire to have the three last volumes bound.

You will please take note that my mother, stepfather, Sister, brother & Son will leave here in the next vessel, for Liberia. My Sister is 15 and the boys 9 & 7 years old

With much respect

I am

J B JORDAN

Pray don't forget the
Liberean Tariff promised me ²

FROM W. W. FINDLAY

COVINGTON Sep 11 1849

MR McLANE

Dear Sir I wish to now from you the time that a vesile will Sale forom New Arlenes So that I ma be ready if possible to at that time I am very poor and have got a large famaly So I Should like to now as soon as possible I am not able to Say how meny tha will be that will go but I am a frade tha wont be many that will go pleas to let me now as Soon as you can and by So doing you will oblige your homble Servant

W. W. FINDLAY ³

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1851, No. 76.

² *Ibid.*, July to September, 1851, No. 119.

³ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1849, No. 273.

FROM A. H. DICKINSON

NEWBERN, 24th Nov. 1849.

Rev. and dear Sir:

Will you be pleased to accept of my unfeigned thanks for what you have done for me in using your influence in procuring the freedom of myself and family? I beg you return my unbounded thanks to Revd. Mr Pinney, Agent of the N. York Colonization Society for what he has done for my humble self and to the Editors of the Journal of Commerce. Indeed, I find him, like yourself, indefatigable in exertions and untyring in labors of benevolence. May the smiles of Heaven ever rest upon you and yours.

To speak of my kind and liberal benefactors, I am at a loss for words to express the deep gratitude of my heart.

I have cause highly to appreciate and ever to remember the kindness always manifested towards my by my affectionate master. May his last days be his best days.

In Newbern, I have Spent many years. Of her beneficent citizens I take pleasure to acknowledge the reception of unmerited attention. May kind Providence ever protect them

Yours most humbly

Rev. W. McLain ¹

A H DICKINSON

FROM E. DUGLAS TAYLOR

Aug 3, 50

Rev and deer Sir i have fer sum time past want to know if you have receved infermation that i will leve this winter fer liberia three of us in family. one A Chile three years old. we wants a passage and we want to know when the time of Starting will take plase and all So i wants to know what i must Expect from the Society after hard toiling to rech this end. plese give mee Sum directio of this in point hole matter of leveing. this Cuntra and a riveing in liberia, we are all well and in high Spirits for liberia we are Saveing Seeds to take out with us. plese recommen mee to sum frend that you are acquaned with as a regular house Carpenter i expect to be ordaine befor i leve for liberia i am one that loves our lord jesus Christ and are striven to get to heven by the hlp of god. remember mee in your prays and i all So will remember you in pray. to the lord have you a map of liberia. i wish mush to get

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1849, No. 188.

one. if you have any to Sell please Send mee one to the Care of
 mr. nall. i will pay him the mony. i am Striven to get my passage
 paid here if it Can and if i fail i mus ask it of you
 i have three in family. one Child three yeas 11 months old. thair
 is much inquire about what room will be aloud to ech one with
 his bagige.

they ask all So if they take freight out. will you Charge them
 lightly for thair freight please excuse this wrieting i never had eny
 lerning. no mre at present.

I Remain yours O Bediant Suvent

E duglas tayler. mobile. alabama

August the 3—1850¹

MOBILE Aug 22 1850

Dear Sir

I recieved yours of the 12 with much plesure and hapy to
 find that you received my letter and now take an opportunity you
 a few lines more the No that we expect to leve Mobile are 11
 Jack Garne that is now geting fix as fast as he can he move over
 to Mobile a few days ago from New Orleans where he is now liveing
 to get his business orringe in order to get of in Jan next. he came
 over to see his white friends how said they would assis him. his
 white friends Prommus to met demans at the Close of the years
 that he may Go

I am now wating to see Dr Hammiton how are now out of the City
 to see what Can be done concerning making up that Nomber or
 nere but I Can give you no more information un tel I see the Doc.
 about that afar auntil I write again We belve that the Col. take in
 the in the state alabama the free people of color is fabibile to Col

and I think sir ef you Address Mr Hammiton
 on that subjiet sum thing Can be done

Please address him sumthing for surculation and I think sir it
 will be the meins of stating a Col Society in the City of Mobile
 I have return you My thanks for ? of of a free pasage I am
 at prasant al despose which unable me to do any thing with a bone
 feln on my finger I thank you sir for the information you give me
 about frat I have not as yet received the maps that you sent me
 but Expects It you said in your letter that Expect to Cind but the
 washes to leve the family in Monrovia and Go out and see for thim

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1850, No. 146.

self. We are happy to say that Coole (Creole?) of Mobile are seeking information about the Col Society
I now remain your ob servant

E. DUGLAS TAYLOR

To Mr W McLain ¹

FROM J. THEODORE HOLLY

BURLINGTON VT Aug. 8th 1850

Rev. Sir

Yours of the 31st ult. is answer to mine under date of June 25th ult. is at hand. As you conjectured I was somewhat surprised at not receiving an answer before, but I finally supposed that your attention to the National agitation at Washington indisposed you to Reply immediately. However the receipt of your letter dispells all conjectures, and brings me to my subject.

On further reflection I have concluded to forego the desire to introduce *at present* those new experiments in Liberia; for I am forced to acknowledge the truth of the homely adage, that, "the child must *crawl* before it *walks*", and that it is sufficient for the present to introduce these, the sure, and well attested means of civilization, as the *Soil* whereon future improvements may be nourished.

My mind had already centred upon the point, which your advice indicated and I have been thinking about further qualifying myself to discharge the high mission of a teacher in my fatherland.

I have made the acquaintance of the Rev I. Converse Sec. of the O.S.C.S. since I mailed my first letter to you,—a most amiable gentleman, who has very kindly offered to assist me further in my Classical Reading, which I have been prosecuting alone, since I received some elementary lessons from a private teacher about two years ago. If I prosecute a thorough Classical and Scientific education by devoting my spare hours to private study, and relying upon the incidental instruction of such private teachers as I may come across, my progress must necessarily be slow in arriving at a completion; but I hope to make a *solid* acquirement ultimately, and consecrate it to the service of Liberia.

I am a Shoemaker by trade, and follow it for a livelihood, and contribute mutually with my brother to sustain a home for our Mother, Sister and ourselves. I learned my trade in Washington City with my Father (the late James Holly) who was well Known

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1850, No. 195.

in that city as an industrious Mechanic up to 1844, when re removed northward with his family to be releived of *some* of the disabilities free Colored men labor under in the South. He used to boast of having made the the pair of *Jefferson-Shoes* that President Madison wore on the day of his inauguration in 1809.

I would be willing to work at my trade in Liberia if the hereditary predisposition of my constitution to consumption and general debility did not admonish me that I must soon quit the seat, as a necessary precaution to preserve my health. But notwithstanding I should calculate to work at it in Liberia to supply my own demand at least, and to do more if necessity or interest required it.

Two other colored young men here, have embraced the desire to improve their education and emigrate to Liberia. I have succeeded in creating quite a spirit of inquiry in relation to Colonization amongst my associates here, since I wrote to you, by debating the following question with my brother, before several meetings, viz: "Can the colored people of the U. S. best elevate their condition by remaining in this country, or by emigrating to Liberia?" He supported the first proposition from earnest conviction, and in like manner I advocated the latter.

I am very grateful to you, for your kind offer to furnish me gratuitously with the Nos. of the Repository hereafter; I will receive them with pleasure as a great favor. I shall also be very glad to receive counsel from you, and from your proffered kindness, I shall feel at liberty to solicit your advice at any time. I have received the July & August Nos. of the Af. Rep. but the No. of the Liba Her. you informed me you had sent, I have not yet received. I expect it has been misplaced, or detained at the Washington P.O. because it was transient paper not sent from the office of its publication, I am as thankful as though I had received it, and feel deeply compensated for its loss by the Repositories you sent for which I am under many obligations to you.

Respectfully Yr. Mst. Obt. Servt.

J. THEO. HOLLY

Rev W. McLain

Washington City D.C.¹

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1850, No. 163.

BURLINGTON VT. Sept. 3rd 1850.

Rev Sir:

Yours of the 29th ult. is at hand. I have Received two copies of the Naval Committee's Report of the H of R. for which I am very thankful to you.

One copy I have given to a friend to Read and circulate, and I shall do the same with the other.

I am glad that you have Reason to be sanguine of the favorable action of Congress in Relation to the project.

As you informed me that if knew of any of my friends who would be benefitted by Reading the Repository, you would send it to them *Gratis*; I have accordingly spoke to several, and the following names persons (of this town) expressed a desire and thankfulness to Receive it: ¹*James Taylore*, ²*Augustus C. Jackson*, and ³*Andrew J. Dolby*. Those individuals admit that they do not understand the principles of Colonizationists, nor know anything of the Real condition and prospects of Liberia; but are desirous to be Rightly informed on these points: I therefore propose them for your proffered Gratuity; they will be willing to Read and circulate it amongst their friends.

I wish it was in my power to devote myself entirely to Study, for my anxiety to enter in the contemplated field of my labors is great; but I must be content with the decree of circumstances.

Perhaps to fit and prepare myself through toil and privation for such a mission will furnish my life with a prouder event than if accomplished under easier circumstances. "The love of liberty" shall make me persevere.

Respectfully Yr Mst Obt. Sevt J. Theo. Holly
Rev. Wm McLain Washington, D.C.¹

FROM BENJAMIN S. BEBEE

This writer was a student preparing himself for the serious task of the uplift of his people in Africa. As a student he seems to have made much progress. His first letters to the Colonization Society do not show as good a command of the English language as he exhibited in his correspondence some time later. He pursued a course somewhat like that of our high schools of today, but apparently took up higher branches

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1850, No. 224.

before he mastered the fundamentals. Some of his news as to the future prospect of the Negro in the light of his status at that time are at least interesting.

SPRINGFIELD MASS August 1850

REV. W. McLAIN

Friend of the colored people of America. I, being of that race, for whose welfare you have labored so diligent and successful, write you this epistle praying you that you would lend me some of your generous assistance, that I may be able to educate myself, moral and menatally, to employ it to the further advancement of my race, in whom have been most strikingly verified, the prediction of the Patriarch Noah. From no point do I think I could do it more effectual, than in that colony for whose interest you have labored so steadfast and ardently, The colony of Liberia; from that, and I think that point alone, will the African be able to show to the whole world, that he can be a man; how mch is comprehende in the word man. But upon this subject I cannot dwell. I know that if you take the subject of my being fitted by you or your Society for Liberia in hand some doubts will rest upon your minds whether I do this for the sake of obtaining my education and then deceive you in your hopes. God forbid that I should barter away my soul by such base purjury. It is my desire to go to liberia to labor there for my people The African. please let me know what you can do for me I am 16 years of age reside in Springfield Massachusetts

BENJAMEN S. BEBEE,

Springfield August 1850

Please excuse a bad pen,

N B, I thought I would let you know what branches I have been studying; I have nearly finished Geography, Arithmetic, Grammar & History of the United States. Instead of studying Arithmetic and Grammar, I shall study Algebra and Latin but whether I shall finish these studies God only knows for I am a poor young man ¹

WASHINGTON Oct 30th 1850

REV MR McLAIN

Dear Sir;

I received your letter, together with the pamphlets which you sent. I feel much obliged to you for answering my letter, you being the

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1850, No. 191.

first person of note with whom I have had the honor to correspond. You requested I believe in your last letter, to know what I expected to be; if I had my own choice I would be a professor mathematic; mathematics is my favorite study; I think it tends more to the strengthening of the mind than any one study I am acquainted with. With regard to Liberia whose situation geographical, political and moral your pamphlets gave so accurate an account; I think I should go out there provided I could carry on my studies there after having habituated myself, to the change of climate to be sure I should expect to work some of the time. Yes I repeat that I should like to go out, even if I could not pursue my studies before before a year shall have elapsed after being out there. But if I went out I should have to be sent out by one of your societies, am a poor young man.

BENJ S. BEBEE

Springfield Oct 30th 1850¹

SPRINGFIELD May 21st 1851

REV MR McLAIN.

Dear Sir: I would again introduce myself to you, as as the colored young man who had the honor of corresponding with you, 8, or 9 months ago. I have read a number of pamphlets, relative to the Colony of Liberia. I look upon the Colonization of Liberia as one of the noblest enterprises of the age in which we live. Commenced with the spirit of the gosepe and sustained and supported by men, who have devoted themselves to this noble enterprise, it cannot ultimately fail of accomplishing the great design, of causing the glorious light of the gospel, to shine upon Africa's benighted tribes. How noble and patriotic is the spirit of a nation who, rather than suffer oppression, will continue to resist until either victorious, or beyond the reach of a tyrant's power; but nobler still is that spirit, that is animated by the spirit of the gospel, and having a soul burning with pity and love for his afflicted brethren, will surmount every obstacle, braving even death itself to render his assistance. In vain may the fanatic abolitionist seek to destroy your power of doing good or scatter the seed of discord among you. I confidently believe that your society is highly favored of God, and if God be for you who can be against you? As an African, I feel solicitous for the continual progress of my people in the broad road of civilization; and I would devote my unworthy talents to its advancement and prosperity.

¹ *Ibid.*, October to December, 1850, No. 92.

In Africa, there are great mines of information unexplored; the geological formation is but partially understood, the interior of this vast continent has never been explored by many, pestilence and death meets the traveler before he has begun his researches. It remains for the native alone to bring to light the hidden knowledge of ages.

But I must close here.

Yours With Respect,
BENJMIN S. BEBEE ¹

AMHERST July 30 1852

REV. MC McLAIN

Dear Sir it affords me relaxation and pleasure To turn my mind from study to the contemplation of the present promising condition of the Liberian Republic which under your fostering care aided by Divine Providence has arisen to its present position showing by a practical demonstration the capabilities of the African race under favorable circumstances for self government. The future destiny of the African race is no longer wrapped in the cloud of obscurity. The son of prosperity shines clearly upon it revealing the rich blessings of social happiness of moral and intellectual advancement. Greatful hearts will thank you for the many sacrifices you have made and for your patient perseverance under every trial that beset your path in your attempts to build up the poor fainting Affrican. A feeling of gratitude and exultation runs through my breast as I contemplate the future destiny of my oppressed brethren. Yes upon my on native shores a republic of my countrymen is rising founded upon those high and holy pincipals that grentee to man those inestimable privileges which belong to every virtuous man. Though I may not live to behold the great blessings that are in store for my people yet I wish that those who succeed me upon the stage of action may see and rightly appreciate them. May they wipe out the remembrance of the degradation of their fathers by the cultivation every good quality which will elevate them among the nations of the of the earth. I would be in favor of African Colonization because it is for the interest of my people The white man is there superiors in intellect and civalization and in their present position it is imposible that they should overtake him or successfully compete with him. A mutual fear and prejudice exists between the two race endendering that spirit of antagonism

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1851, No. 191.

which must ultimately turminate in the entire exterpation of the weaker race. If I could cause my voice to be heard from the Atlantic's raging billows to the calm bosom of the pacific I would warn (them) my people of the disasterous fate that awaits them and their posterity. They must be absorbed and that to at no very distant period thay must be lost in the great flood of emigation that is yearly pouring into this country.

Hen fuge crudeles terras fuge litus avarun

I have sir read the speeches of The Hon Merssr Stanton Webster and Rev Philip Slaughter in the March pamphlet of 1852. The resolution and the speech offered in suport of that resolution by Mr Stanton is the most able document in point of clear logical argument that I ever read. You of course do not expect that I shall attemp to say that the Hon D. Webster made a great speech for we don't expect any thing else from such a gigantic mind. Before closing this letter I would ofer a scanty tribut of respect to the great immortal name of Henry Clay. That noble generous spirit whose bosome beat with the sentiments of the purest patriotism for his country and christian philanthropy for the whole family of suffering humanity and to whom your society is much indebted for its present prosperous condition will ever be remember in the hearts of his country and when Liberia shall shine forth in her moral and intellectual glory we shall delight to remember the name of so illustrious a man who has don so much for her prosperity. Well may a nation mourn and exhibit the emblems of sorrow for one of her bright suns has left this stage of existence to shine with ineresed splendor in a better world. Let us remember and practice his transcendent virtues Let us like him spend our lives usefully and when we shall at last lie down to slepp withe the innumerable dead that through the deep caverns of the earth the sweet insence of gratitude may be offerd upon the alters of our memory.

Yours Respectfully

BENJ S BEBEE

Amherst J 30 52¹

FROM JAMES WINN

LYNCHBURG VA Sept 6th 1850

Dear Sir I take this oppertunity to write to you in regard to Liberia, as I wish to do thare this fall (you will excuse my bad spelling as it is the best that I can do)

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1850, No. 128.

Sir I wish to know If the Colonization Society will send me and my family to Liberia free of expence on my side that is ef I can git my wife to make up her mind in time we are very poor and wold not be able to defray anything towards our expences my Self and Famely are very bright mulattois and are told by some of our wite friends that it would be imposible for us to stain the African fever, Sire I have two young children

I have seen all them books and maps an informtion about going to Liberia and I destribeted them among the free people and done geat good, but Sire a little a little while and thay recieved letters here from Liberia informing us that a geat many of the people that went threw Lynchburg from Lexington on way to Liberia was dead and some twlve or feeftwe others had fell with this African fever and that laid them all cold?

the fever the fever the acclamating fever is all that my wife, and the free people of color in this plase is fread off. P.S. we herd the death several other lately John henry and famley.

Nothing more at present but Remain
your umble servant

JAMES WINN

P. S. we informed that one third of the emergrants died with the acclamating fever soon after thay gits to Liberia. thar is a grat meny here wants to go to Liberia this fall as well as my self, you wold obidge my wife and a great many of the free people here for some information about the fever as thay contemtats going to Liberia

JAMES WINN ¹

FROM PETER H. CLARK

Sept 17 1850

MR McLAIN

Sir Having in connection with a couple of my friends resolved to emigrate to the Republic of Liberia. We have thought it best to apply to you for information on the subject as from your position you would naturally be able to afford all the information necessary. We would like to know at what time at what place we would be able to embark I at present know of no chance. this year excepting the vessel which Governor McDonogh will dispatch from N. Orleans of this we are not certain whether we can obtain a passage We think of taking a course in Book-keeping and pen-

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1850, No. 237.

manship before we go, would there be any chance for us to obtain situations as book-keepers, if so what salary. The chance for a school teacher, what amount of clothing it would be advisable to carry out with us, the price of boarding, clothing, what prices flour, pork, and other articles of western produce will command in the Liberia market. The quality of the clothing, and in fact all the information you may have at your command that would be useful to us as emigrants. My two companions Messers L. W. Minor and Wm R Carey are both students at Oberlin College one in the Senior and the other in the junior years. As for myself I have but a common school education. My address is Peter H Clark, Court St Cincinnati. If you can find time amid your pressing duties to answer my queries you will confer a great favour

Respectfully Yours PETER H CLARK

Cincinnati Sept 17th 1850 ¹

FROM AUGUSTUS WASHINGTON

HARTFORD, July 3, 1851

As the infant Republic of Liberia is now attracting the attention of the enlightened nations, and the press of both England and America, I may hope that a communication in regard to that country, and the Afric-Americans in this, may not be deemed a subject intrusive nor foreign to the public interest. And I am encouraged by the just and liberal course you have taken in favor of the proposed line of steamers to the Western Coast of Africa, and also the boldness with which you have lately urged the propriety and interest of some of the colored people emigrating from our crowded cities to less populous parts of this country, as the great West, or to Africa, or any other place where they may secure an equality of rights and liberty, with a mind unfettered and space to rise. Besides, as your paper is generally read by the progressive and more liberal portion of white Americans and some of the most intelligent of the colored, I may also hope to be confirmed in my present sentiments and measures, or driven to new and better convictions. I do not wish to be thought extravagant, when I affirm what I believe to be true, that I have seen no act in your public career as an editor, statesman and philanthropist, more noble and praiseworthy than that of turning your pen and influence to African colonization and civilization, after finding that you could not secure for the black man in America those inalienable

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1850, No. 275.

rights to which he, with other oppressed nations, is entitled, and for which you have heretofore labored. Though the colored people may not appreciate your kind efforts, and those of many other good and true men who pursue your course, we trust you will not on account of present opposition be weary in well-doing. Though dark the day, and fearful as is the tide oppression is rolling over us, we are certain that it is but the presage of a more glorious morrow. We do not despair. We thank God that notwithstanding all the powerful combinations to crush us to the earth, as long as the Bible with its religion endures, there will ever be a large number of the American people whose prayers, sympathies and influence will defend us here, and assist and encourage our brethern who have sought, or may in future seek liberty on a foreign shore. If these no other reward awaits, the time is not distant when they shall receive at least the thanks and benedictions of a grateful people, "redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled by the genius of universal emancipation." Ever since the annexation of Texas, and the success and triumph of American arms on the plains of Mexico, I have been looking in vain for some home for Afric-Americans more congenial for their feelings and prejudice than Liberia. The Canadas, the West Indies, Mexico, British Guiana, and other parts of South America, have all been brought under review. And yet I have been unable to get rid of a conviction long since entertained and often expressed, that if the colored people of this country ever find a home on earth for the development of their manhood and intellect, it will first be in Liberia or some other part of Africa. A continent larger than North America is lying waste for want of the hand of science and industry. A land whose bowels are filled with mineral and agricultural wealth, and on whose bosom reposes in exuberance and wild extravagance all the fruits and productions of a tropical climate. The providence of God will not permit a land so rich in all the elements of wealth and greatness to remain much longer without civilized inhabitants. Every one who has traced the history of missions in Africa, and watched the progress of that little Republic of Afric-Americans on the western coast, must be convinced that the colored men are more peculiarly adapted, and must eventually be the means of civilizing, redeeming, and saving that continent, if ever it is done at all. Encouraged and supported by American benevolence and philanthropy, I know no people better suited to this great work—none whose duty more it is. Our servile and degraded condition in this country, the history of the past, and

the light that is pouring in upon me from every source, fully convinces me that this is our true, our highest and happiest destiny, and the sooner we commence this glorious work, the sooner will "light spring up in darkness, and the wilderness and the solitary place be glad, and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose."

I am aware that nothing except the Fugitive Slave Law can be more startling to the free colored citizens of the Northern States, than the fact that any man among them, whom they have regarded as intelligent and sound in faith, should declare his convictions and influence in favor of African Colonization. But the novelty of the thing does not prove it false, nor that he who dare reject a bad education and break loose from long-established prejudices, may not have the most conclusive reasons for such a course.

I am aware, too, of the solemn responsibility of my present position. It must result in some good or great evil. I maintain that, clinging to long-cherished prejudices, and fostering hopes that can never be realized, the leaders of the colored people in this country have failed to discharge a great and important duty to their race. Seeing this, though a mere private business man, with a trembling pen, I come forward alone, joining with friend and foe in moving the wheel of a great enterprise, which, though unpopular with those it designs to benefit, must result eventually in the redemption and enfranchisement of the African race.

With the conviction of a purpose so noble, and an end so beneficent, I cannot notice the misrepresentations, slander, and anathemas, which I must, for a while, endure, even from those whose approbation and good will I would gladly retain. It was no difficult task to have seen, that unless they could force emancipation, and then the perfect, social, and political equality of the races, human nature, human pride and passions, would not allow the Americans to acknowledge the equality and inalienable rights of those who had been their slaves. One or the other must be dominant. For this reason: seven years ago, while a student, I advocated the plan of a separate State for colored Americans—not as a choice, but as a necessity, believing it would be better for our manhood and intellect to be freemen by ourselves, than political slaves with our oppressors. I enlisted at once the aid of a few colored young men, of superior talent and ability; and we were earnestly taking measures to negotiate for a tract of land in Mexico, when the war and its consequences blasted our hopes, and drove us from our purpose. About five years ago I told my excellent friend, George

L. Seymour, of Liberia, (who, after a residence of some years there, had returned to this city to take out his family,) that I knew only one way to develop the faculties of our people in this country, and that by their entire separation from oppression and its influences; and that if I was compelled to abandon my plan of a separate State in America, I would devote my voice, my pen, my heart, and soul, to the cause of Liberia. I have since written to him that he has my heart in Africa now, and in two or three years, if we live, I will shake hands with him on the banks of the St. John.

Ever since a lad of fifteen, it has been my constant study to learn how I might best contribute to elevate the social and political position of the oppressed and unfortunate people with whom I am identified; and while I have endeavored, in my humble way, to plead the cause of three millions of my enslaved countrymen, I have, at the same time, thought it no inconsistency to plead also for the hundred and fifty millions of the native sons of Africa. But every word uttered in her behalf subjects us to the imputation of being a Colonizationist, and covers us with the odium our people attach to such a name; as if something unjust and wicked was naturally associated with the term, when in fact that odium, if such I may call it for the sake of argument, can exist only with those who have forgotten the history of Plymouth Rock and Jamestown, or who are determined not to know the truth, in spite of facts and the evidence of the most enlightened reason. What is Colonization? For the benefit of those who treat it with contempt, and think that no good can come out of it, I may merely remark that the thirteen original States, previous to the Declaration of Independence, were called the Colonies of Great Britain, the inhabitants colonists. The companies and individuals in England that assisted in planting these colonies were called Colonizationists. These colonists came from the land of their birth, and forsook their homes, their firesides, their former altars, and the graves of their fathers, to seek civil and religious liberty among the wild beasts and Indians on a foreign, bleak, and desolate shore. Oppressed at home, they emigrated to Holland, and after remaining there twelve years, returned to England, and found not the hope of rest until they came to America. That very persecution and oppression of the mother country planted in America the purest civil and religious institutions the world had ever seen. And now this powerful Republic, by her oppression and injustice to one class of this people, will plant in Africa a religion and morality more pure, and liberty more universal, than it has

yet been the lot of my people to enjoy. I never have been of that class who repudiate everything American. While I shall never make any compromise with slavery, nor feel indifferent to its blighting, withering effects on the human intellect and human happiness, I cannot be so blind as not to see and believe that, in spite of all its corrupting influences on national character, there is yet piety, virtue, philanthropy, and disinterested benevolence among the American people; and when, by the progress of free thought and the full development of her free institutions, our country shall have removed from her national escutcheon that plague-spot of the nation, she will do more than all others in sending the light of liberty and everlasting love into every portion of the habitable globe. In our enthusiasm and devotion to any great benevolent cause, we are generally unwilling to make the best use of men as we find them, until we have wasted our energies in accomplishing nothing, or a calmer reflection convinces us of our error. It is well for those to whom this reflection comes not too late. We have been an unfortunate people. For 400 years the avarice, fraud, and oppression of Europeans and their descendants have been preying upon the children of Africa and her descendants in America. Says my eloquent correspondent, in writing upon this subject: "I know this was the soil on which I was born; but I have nothing to glorify this as my country. I have no pride of ancestry to point back to. Our forefathers did not come here as did the Pilgrim fathers, in search of a place where they could enjoy civil and religious liberty. No; they were cowardly enough to allow themselves to be brought manacled and fettered as slaves, rather than die on their native shores resisting their oppressors." In the language of Dr. Todd: "If the marks of humanity are not blotted out from this race of miserable men, it is not because oppression has not been sufficiently legalized, and avarice been allowed to pursue its victims till the grave became a sweet asylum."

During the past thirty years, two influential and respectable associations have arisen in our behalf, each claiming to be the most benevolent, and each seemingly opposed to the intentions and purposes of the other.

The American Colonization Society, on the one hand, proposed to benefit us by the indirect means of planting a colony on the western coast of Africa, as an asylum for the free colored people and manumitted slaves of the United States; and by this means also to send the blessings of civilization and religion to the benighted

sons of that continent. The principal obstacle in the way of their success has been, that the free colored people, as a body, everywhere, have denounced the whole scheme as wicked and mischievous, and resolved not to leave this country; while those who have gone to that colony, from a state of slavery, as the condition of freedom, have been least able to contribute to the knowledge and greatness of a new country, and impart civilization and the arts and sciences to its heathen inhabitants. This Society was one of the few that are popular in their very beginning. But that which made it most popular with the American public furnished the cause of the opposition of the colored people. They erected a platform so broad, that the worst enemies of the race could stand upon it with the same grace, and undistinguished from the honest and true philanthropist. It could at the same time appeal for support to the piety and benevolence of the North, and to the prejudices and sordid interest of the South. I state this simply as a fact, not for the purpose of finding fault. It is always easier to show one plan faulty than to produce a better one.

Notwithstanding the different and adverse motives that have prompted the friends of Colonization, they certainly have labored perseveringly and unitedly for the accomplishment of one great purpose. And in spite of all our former distrust, we must give them the credit at least of producing as yet the only great practical scheme for the amelioration of the condition of the free colored man and the manumitted slave. They did not profess nor promise to do more. Instead of engaging in clamorous agitations about principles and measures, they turned what men and means they had to the best purpose, and engaged industriously in founding and nurturing a colony for the free colored people, where they have an opportunity of demonstrating their equality with the white race, by seizing upon, combining, and developing all the elements of national greatness by which they are surrounded. Thus far the end is good; we need not stop now to scan their motives.

The Abolitionists, on the other hand, proposed by moral means the immediate emancipation of the slave, and the elevation of the free colored people in the land of their birth. And this they did at a time which tried men's souls. Theirs were a platform on which none dare stand who were not willing to endure scorn, reproach, disgrace, lynch law, and even death for the sake of oppressed Americans. At first, interest, reputation, office nor profit, but the reverse, were the reward of an Abolitionist. Now that Anti-

Slavery has become popular with many of the American people, it assumes another name, and is converted into political capital. Even Free-Soilism was not so much designed to make room for our liberties, as to preserve unimpaired the liberties of the whites. The Abolitionists have not yet accomplished any thing which we can see to be so definite and practical. Yet they have divested themselves of personal prejudices, aroused the nation to a sense of its injustice and wrongs toward the colored people, encouraged them in improving and obtaining education here, broken down many arbitrary and proscriptive usages in their treatment, and convinced this nation and England that they are a people capable of moral, social, and political elevation, and entitled to equal rights with any other community. Both of these benevolent societies might perhaps have accomplished more good, if they had wasted less ammunition in firing at each other. While one has formally declared a moral and intellectual inferiority of our race, with an incapacity ever to enjoy the rights and prerogatives of freemen in the land of our birth, the other has declared that hatred to the race and love of slavery were the only motives that prompted the Colonizationists to action. In taking a liberal and more comprehensive view of the whole matter, we believe that whatever may have been the faults, inconsistencies and seeming opposition of either, both have been instrumental in doing much good in their own way; and under the guidance of an allwise Providence, the labors, devotion and sacrifices of both will work together for good, and tend toward a grander and more sublime result than either association at present contemplates.

For our own part, under the existing state of things, we cannot see why any hostility should exist between those who are true Abolitionists and that class of Colonizationists who are such from just and benevolent motives. Nor can we see a reason why a man of pure and enlarged philanthropy may not be in favor of both, unless his devotion to one should cause him to neglect the other. Extremes in any case are always wrong. It is rare to find that all the members of any association, untrammelled by interest, act solely from high moral principle and disinterested benevolence. The history of the world, civil, sacred and profane, shows that some men have, in all ages, espoused popular and benevolent causes, more or less influenced by prejudice or selfishness. Human nature, with its imperfections, remains the same.

Ever since the adoption of the Constitution, the government and people of this country, as a body, have pursued but one policy

toward our race. In every contest between the great political parties we have been the losers. But this result it is reasonable to expect in a Republic whose Constitution guarantees protection alike to our peculiar and our free institutions—thus securing the rights and liberties of one class at the expense of the liberties of another. Besides this, Texas and all the States that have since come into the Union, have surrounded us with political embarrassments. Every State that has lately revised or altered her Constitution, has been more liberal in extending rights to the white and less so to the colored man. In view of these facts, I assume as a fixed principle that it is impossible for us to develop our moral and intellectual capacities as a distinct people, under our present social and political disabilities; and, judging by the past and present state of things, there is no reason to hope that we can do it in this country in future.

Let us look a moment at some of the consequences of this social and political distinction on the entire mass. They are shut out from all the offices of profit and honor, and from the most honorable and lucrative pursuits of industry, and confined as a class to the most menial and servile positions in society. And, what is worse than all, they are so educated from infancy, and become so accustomed to this degraded condition, that many of them seem to love it.

They are excluded in most of the States from all participation in the government; taxed without their consent, and compelled to submit to unrighteous laws, strong as the nation that enacts them, and cruel as the grave.

They are also excluded from every branch of mechanical industry; the work-shop, the factory, the counting-room, and every avenue to wealth and respectability, is closed against them.

Colleges and academies slowly open their doors to them, when they possess no means to avail themselves of their advantages, and when their social condition has so degraded and demoralized them as to destroy all motive or desire to do so.

They are by necessity constant consumers, while they produce comparatively nothing, nor derive profit from the production of others. Shut out from all these advantages, and trained to fill the lowest condition in society, their teachers and ministers as a class educate them only for the situation to which the American people have assigned them. And hence too many of them aspire no higher than the gratification of their passions and appetites, and

cling with deadly tenacity to a country that hates them and offers them nothing but chains, degradation and slavery.

Since things are so, it is impossible for them while in this country to prove to the world the moral and intellectual equality of the African and their descendants. Before such an experiment can be fairly tested, our colored youth from childhood must be admitted to a full participation in all the privileges of our schools, academies and colleges, and to all the immunities and rights of citizenship, free from every distinction on account of color, and the degrading influences that ignorance, prejudice and slavery have heretofore thrown around them.

The same inducements as to white Americans should engage them in agriculture, commerce, manufactures, the mechanic arts, and all the pursuits of civilized and enlightened communities. Every man of common intelligence knows this has not been done; knows, too, it cannot be done, for the first time, in the United States. In the face of these facts, we are compelled to admit that the African-Americans, in their present state, cannot compete with the superior energy and cultivated intellect of long-civilized and Christian Saxons.

And, hence, we are driven to the conclusion that the friendly and mutual separation of the two races is not only necessary to the peace, happiness and prosperity of both, but indispensable to the preservation of the one and the glory of the other. While we would thus promote the interests of two great continents, and build up another powerful Republic, as an asylum for the oppressed, we would, at the same time, gratify national prejudices. We should be the last to admit that the colored man here, by nature and birth, is inferior in intellect, but by education and circumstances he may be. We could name many moral and intelligent colored young men in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, whose talents and genius far excel our own, and those of a majority of the hundreds of Saxon students with whom we have at different times been associated; men who, if liberally educated, would operate like leaven on our whole people, waken responses in the unexplored regions of Africa, and pour new light on the republic of letters; but who, for the want of means and an unchained intellect, will probably live and die "unknown, unhonored and unsung."

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

This may appear ridiculous to those who know the colored man only as a domestic slave in the South or a political cypher in the North. But the generations living sixty years hence will regard him in a very different light. Before that time shall have arrived, American Christians, as an expiation for the past, have a great duty to discharge to a prostrate nation, pleading in silent agony to God,

"With tears more eloquent than learned tongue
Or lyre of purest note."

We too have a great work to perform. To the Anglo and African-American is committed the redemption and salvation of a numerous people, for ages sunk in the lowest depth of superstition and barbarism. Who but educated and pious colored men are to lead on the van of the "sacramental host of God's elect" to conquer by love, and bring Africa, with her tractless regions, under the dominion of our Savior; to baptize her sons at the font of science and religion, and teach them to chant the praises of liberty and God, until

"One song employs all nations; and all cry,
'Worthy the Lamb, for he was slain for us!'
The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks
Shout to each other, and the mountain tops
From distant mountains catch the flying joy,
Till, nation after nation taught the strain,
Earth rolls the rapturous hosanna round."

Whatever may have been the objections to Colonization in former times, I call upon colored people of this country to investigate the subject now under its present auspices. When I consider the kind of treatment they have received from their professed friends in America, I do not blame them in the past for exclaiming, "God deliver us from our friends, and we will take care of our enemies." I can never forget the round of applause that range through an audience when a talented colored man of New York, in an earnest harangue against Colonization, said: "Mr. President, the Colonizationists want us to go to Liberia if we will; if we won't go there, we may go to hell." It seemed to indicate that they felt there was too much truth in the remark. Their principal objection has been, that men who professed the greatest love for them in Africa, did the most to exclude them here from the means of education, improvement, and every respectable pursuit of industry. And their personal treatment was such as colored men only are made to feel, but none can describe. When the temperance men treated the inebriate as an outcast—a wretch debased and lost—they accom-

plished nothing, but repelled him from their kind influences; now, when they recognise him as a man and a brother, their efforts are crowned with great success. In keeping with other reforms, I think that colonizationists have become more liberal and kind than formerly. Whether this be true or not, if I can dispose of a single objection, I shall be confident that Afric-Americans are to be benefited more by the cause they advocate and sustain, than by any other practical scheme philanthropy has yet devised. I should have been glad if this Society, consistent with its leading purpose, had done something for the improvement and education of colored youth. And this would have been a great auxiliary to their main object. They have thought that, if they encouraged their education here, they would not go to Africa. This is a mistake! If they would aid and encourage them in obtaining such education as white men receive, they could not keep them in this country. They would entirely unfit them for the debased position they must here occupy. Give me but educated intellect to operate upon, and I can send Liberia more useful men in three months, than I can in five years' labor with society as I find it. I speak only from my own experience, when I say that, during a life of constant struggle and effort, I never have received any sympathy or encouragement in obtaining an education, nor in aspirations to usefulness, from any of the advocates of Colonization, except my noble friend, J. C. Potts, Esq., of Trenton, N. J. Yet from some little acquaintance with many others, I believe they are good and true friends, ready to do any thing for colored Americans that they would for white men in similar circumstances. I have never doubted the good motives and true benevolence of such gentlemen as Benjamin Coates, Theodore Frelinghuysen, A. G. Phelps, J. B. Pinney, John McDonogh, and a host of others, whose sentiments and efforts in our behalf I know only by reading. But slavery and its consequent degradation, together with our social position, have kept us farther apart than if separated by the waters of the Atlantic. However good the men and worthy their cause, it cannot flourish without the co-operation of Afric-Americans here. Our brethren across the Atlantic have been struggling thirty years, and in tears and joy have laid the foundations of a free Republic with civil and religious institutions. They now call on us to assist in sustaining them and participate in their blessings; to aid them to civilize its inhabitants and extend the rising glory of the Lone Star of Africa. We should examine their cause, and if it is just, we should no longer

withhold our aid; and especially when, in benefiting them, we must benefit ourselves. If, by my feeble efforts, I shall ever be able to do any thing that shall tell in future blessings on that injured country, it will be very much owing to the sympathy and encouragement received, in the course of my education, from S. H. Cox, D. D., of 1844, and Lewis Tappan, Esq., that unchanging and unflinching advocate of the slave.

But we have never been pledged to any men or set of measures. We must mark out an independent course, and become the architects of our own fortunes, when neither Colonizationists nor Abolitionists have the power or the will to admit us to any honorable or profitable means of subsistence in this country. I only regret that I come to the aid of Africa at a time when I possess less ability to speak or write in her behalf than I did five years since. Strange as it may appear, whatever may be a colored man's natural capacity and literary attainments, I believe that, as soon as he leaves the academic halls to mingle in the only society he can find in the United States, unless he be a minister or lecturer, he must and will retrograde. And for the same reason, just in proportion as he increases in knowledge, will he become the more miserable.

"If ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise."

He who would not rather live anywhere on earth in freedom than in this country in social and political degradation, has not attained half the dignity of his manhood. I hope our Government will justly recognise the independence of Liberia, establish that line of steamers, and thus give Africa a reinforcement of ten thousand men per annum instead of four hundred.

Pardon my prolixity. The subject and the occasion have compelled me to write more than I expected to. In attempting to be just to three classes, I expect to please none. While the press and our whole country is vexed and agitated on subjects pertaining to us, if I can do nothing more than provoke an inquiry among African-Americans, I shall have the satisfaction of hoping, at least, that I have contributed something to the interest and happiness of the citizens of the United States and the people of Africa.

AUGUSTUS WASHINGTON ¹

¹ *African Repository*, XXVII, 259-265.

FROM HARDY MOBLEY

GEORGIA RICHMOND COUNTY

AUGUSTA August 12/51

REV MR W MCLAIN

Dear Sir I Take this opportunity to address My Self in a letter to you Concerning of a Society Which the Coloured Methodist in this place desire to have for the purpose of Raising funds for the Support of the African Mission Which they Wish to Call the African Methodist Auxiliary the Methodist in this place Never have had a Society of this Kind. the Coloured Baptist of this place have a Society which they Call the Walker African Missionary Society Which Some of the Methodist Colod of this place are Members of. it have been Said that this Mony all Goes to the use of the Baptist all to Gather and None to the Methodist there & (?) as We Suppose that you Know Whether this Report be true or Not, I ask you for information Which you Will pleas Give in answer to this letter

Yours mosrefuley and obeent
Servant and Clerk of Colod Methodist Church Augusta

HARDY MOBLEY ¹

AUGUSTA Octr 8 1851

REV. W. MCLAIN

Dear Sir I Take this opportunity To Address My Self to you in a Letter hoping you Will answer to My Inquire With all Candour Sir Will the Colonization Society pay or pay part for a preacher and his family and Send him With his family to africa to preach to the people of that Land Sir there is one of this place that Would Like to go to that Counry for that purpose he is a Methodist preacher age forty years having a Wife and Six Small Children Sir If you Wish name and Character it Can be Given in My next Letter Sir you will pleas answer this Letter forth With nothing more Sir until I hear from you

Respectfully your &C

HARDY MOBLEY ²

¹ *Letters received by the American Colonization Society, July to September, 1851, No. 185.*

² *Ibid.*, July to September, 1851, No. 30.

AUGUSTA Oct 21 1851

MR MCLAIN

Dear Sir I recid your Letter of the 14 inst With Some other documents Whitch afford me Great Conciliation a bout africa Sir What you Wish to Know a bout persons Going to africa I Can not answer now. Sir I Was Speaking to a White Gentleman a bout our transacting Letter &c. and he advise me to Sto et as the Counry is in a Confusetion a bout things of this Sort there for you will please Send nothing more until I Write you again I am very Happy to learn that you Would pay a preachers pasage to liberia also his family it May be next Spring be for I Write again as tims is as they is Sir I do not Wish to do any thing against the rules of the Counry in Whitch I Live nothing more at Present

I remain yours truly

HARDY MOBLEY ¹

AUGUSTA GA Jany 15 1852

REV W. MCLAIN

Dear Sir I Write to inform you that I Saw Mr Hall Whom you Give me an introduction to and heard him Speak of Liberia in it blest Condition also I Saw the Rev I. Morris Pease When he vitited our City and had a talk With him Concerning that Counry it afforded me Great Consolation indeed Sir also he Consolated us a bout the Society which we have to aid the the Methodist Mission in Liberia Sir I am a Subscriber to the Africa Repository last year also this year also Henry Saxton Both years he is Sir very active a bout this work I think you would do Well to have him as an agent for the Repository in this City he have Got Some new Subscribers this year Say A. Grimage, L. Wood, J Harris, R. Kent and R Dent

yours truly in Lord

HARDY MOBLEY ²

FROM JOHN W. WEST

September the 3d 1851 rutlant Dane county Wisconcin to Mr. maclain at Washington sittty Dear Frend I agane rite to inform you that I am Well and hope that When you recd this letter that you may be injoying good Helth Sir I have bin Doing som better business this somer I made som better Wages then formly in this

¹ *Ibid.*, July to October, 1851, No. 39.

² *Ibid.*, January to March, 1852, No. 86.

Western country I have a grate cropp for a small man but grane is selling very low heare oats 10 to 12 cents Wheete 30 to 45 cents corn 15 to 20 cents Drigoods and grocereys very hi in Deed one 100 Per cent hiar then new york Preiseis Wee have a fine country heare We Wont rale roads hear and then Sir We shall have the grateist state in the united younited states I am a living in a good country the best People I ever saw thay allow my children to go to the Publick Schools I am intreeted Well With thise People but I am not satisfide I Wont to go over to liberia ef I can go this fall from millwaukey to new york Sir I allways understood that your sociaty Wold Pay the Way of everry collerd Person from the younited states to liberia I Did not no that Wee had to go 1 or 2,000 miles to git to Washington or to baltimore before we cold start to liberia ef that be the case I Dont neede youre Pamplitts rite sir ef I cannot be takeand in at shicagg or—millwaukey I Dont no that ever I shall go over to liberia for I am With good nabours but sir I am redy in mind to go ef I can betakand an from millwauky Wisconcin you will Plesd to rite me and let me no somthing about your Paying my Way from milwaukey ef I go I Want to go this fall ef I Dont start this fall I must git me a track of congres land settle not far from foort Wenebago I must no my Dependences soon I have had one Pamplit this yeare and that is all I have hade I shall be gladd for yo to send me the nuse every month yours and John W West

JOHN W. WEST¹

FROM ANTONY SHERMAN

Journal p. 100

SAVANNAH September 23 1851

MR McLAINE

Dear Sir I hope you will excuse me for the liberty I have taken to write you these few lines but Sir I feel so anxciuous to hear from Mr Pease that I conclude it would be the best to write you as I know not where to direct to him. during his Stay here I went to See him & I had a conversation with him an I told him how anxciuous I was to emmigrate to africa with my family an he told me he would try an See what he can do for me after he return home Soon after Mr John Anderson receive a letter from him to know if my Owners would Sell me and wish to know what they would take for me. My Mistress consent to Sell me no other way but to Satisfy me an her

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1851, No. 260.

price to oblige me she say she would let Me go for five hundred 50 dollars wich I know if nothing happens to prevent that I could verry well return it in 2 years time. I have 50 dollars towards it & I could borrow 50 more wich a hundred towards it would be a great help to cut of the intrust of the money an I would be More than thankful to you an Mr Pease Sir if you would do all you can for Me wherin I am paying My wages wich would be stop. My Mistress has ask me several times if I herd from Mr Pease an do Dear Sir pleas give me answer as soon as convenient to you. I was truly Sorry to here of your illness for I was quite disappointed by you not being able to come but I hope this time Sir that your health is quite restoured. I send you Sir 2 dollar for the Repository wich I beleave Sir will settle us at presnsant I have lent the Repository the 3 las months ones out a great deal wich I beleave Sir for lending them I have gaine Several warm friends to Africa I shall try and do all I can in lending them. Sir I will thank you kindly to answer this as it is convenient to you

I am your humble Servant

ANTONY SHERMAN ¹

SAVANNAH March 25 1853

Reved Dear Sir

yours of 12 came to hand on the 2d and I shall let all my friends Know and it has done a great deal of good among many who appear anxciuous to know if the emmagrants where come in the Ship, you want to know if any of the folks has backout I can Say now Sir firmly No Sir Many that was wondering about the vessel bringing emmagrants Says now they will positivly go in june the 4 you Spoke of that Barlon and Currier Sent you I am certain they will go Now but I have been trying My best to git the 200 hundred and it is hard work Now Sir they are a great Many who wants to go but Say they Cannot go before the fall and that time I know you can get the Number you Mention or more than I have Never Seen Such a Stir about Liberia as Now that I am certain you will be call on for another vessel, for there is a great many who is trying to purchase themselves and cannot remaine after they have finish payed please Sir dont forgot what I ask you about the log Cabin if it is convenient as My family is large and I have Another one added to My family one Rachel Hover her Master has given her her freedom to go to her Husband who lives in Sinou County and her

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1851, No. 352.

Master name is Mr John Hover. we are dayly looking for the Rev Mr Gurly we all will be happy to See him I wish you would Send me some More of the Sketch of Liberia and the information I would be glad to give to Some who wants to See some of them in My Saying a vessel Chatter in this place I ment just what you wrote one coming empty we are delighted to have you mention about Such a lovly vessel I only wish when Mr Gurly comes he may get the Number

I am your humble Servant
ANTHONY SHERMAN ¹

FROM HENRY SAXTON

AUGUSTA Feby 10 the 1852

REV. W. MCLAIN

Sir I Write to acknowledg the Recept of five Repositorys one for Lairay Wood one for Alexander Greimage one for James Harris one for Rodrick Dent also one for Robert Kent When I Expected one for Bro: H. Mobly and one for My Self Henry Saxton as Bro Mobly and My Self Both are old Subscribers to the Repository Sir you Will pleas Send one for Hardy Mobly and one for Henry Saxton my Self also I have Some more new Subscribers Say Samuel Drayton Edward Purdy Benjamin Lampkins all making Ten Names which you Will please Send to Me in the Care of J. F. Turpin Esq as I wish to Keep up My Carespondence betwen Me and you by Mr. J. F. Turpin Whin he have Sent Six dollars and have recd nery one Sir I did not intend any of them direced to Me But did not think to Mention it in My other letter Sir the Nombres for the five first names Both last month and this have Come So you Will pleas Send last months and this for the five last Names all to the Care of J F Turpin as he have Sent the monney for them all you Will pleas Continue accoring to this in Struction for this year your truly

Henry Saxton
per H Mobley ²

FROM CHS. DEPUTIE

HOLLIDAYSBURG July 5th 1852

Dear Sir your favour was Receivd and there is but one of the boys in this place the other is in Pittsburg

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1853, No. 503.

² *Ibid.*, January to March, 1852, No. 200.

this one has not made up his mind altogether what he will do there is many annameys to the Colonization Caus hear the have went so far as to Say that I am trying to a Sist his master in getting him and have taken much abuse by the Colord People but I Consider that I have only don my Duty to the Boys and the Cause any thing that I can do will be don and Should he make up his mind to go to Liberia I will inform you the have bean trying to get him to go to Canady there has bean men hear that has bean to Liberia and Lecterd to the People and gave Such a bad a Count of the place that it is hard to do much a preasant the Say that there is nether Horse hog Cow nor nothing Can Live there that the Natives ware no Close and there is no Houses but the Govement House Evary thing that had a tendency to bare on the minds of the Enamys of the Place was Said, but for my own part I Still feel willing to go if I Can make the Arrangement in getting the means to go with. I know that the Society is imposed upon and for the Sake of my friends is (?) wish to go and are Prepard to Recommend my Self from the Best men in this Country I was brought up by the Famly of the Hon. Dr Joseph Henderson of Mifflin Co well known by Hon James Irvin has known me from my youth Rev Mr Linn is also maried in the Henderson Famly knowing that the all have a deep interest in the Cause makes me more desire to go and Rebut those Slanders, I have written to Mr Cop-pinger in Phila. but have not Receivd an answer

pleas drop a Lin in the Corse of the preasant month what you think would be sufficient to take me out and Bring me Back all the assistance I Expect to get will be from my White Friends I had to get a friend to atend to hunting the Boys up as it was un Safe for me to do any thing the Excitement was so great among the Colord People but Still I am not discouraged in the least but intend to do all I Can for the Cause

Mr W. M. Lain

yours truly

CHS. DEPUTIE ¹

HOLLIDAYSBURG Aug 15th 1852

Dear Friend

yours of the 9 July was Received with pleasur you Say that you will give me a Free passage that is to go and Return for My Famly and Report to my Frineds I am getting Reddy as fast as I Can the Friends will asist me as I must provide for my

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1852, No. 21.

Famly So that the may not want in my abcence Should I be Suckses-
full I want to provide my Self well as I will have the best ac-
comdation that any man Should be proud of
Should the Law be in my favour it would put me in posession of
five hundred Dollars which would be me a Start but I must waite
the Result of the Law. I will not Set any time to Return Should
the Society have Sumething to do teaching or any thing I would
Remain Sume time and at the Same time prepair for my Famly
pleas Say what I mus take a Long if it is nessesary to take Bedding
Mr Williams from Johnstown is well known to me and is a Gentle-
man

I intend visiting Huntingdon Bellefonte and Jamestown before I
go in order to See the People of Collar

Enter my Name on your List for Nov 1st the Lord willing I will
be on pleas Say what number of Persons will go out all the oppo-
sition that I have met with makes me more Stronger in the Cause

With Respect I Remain yours in Cause of God and Liberty

Mr W McLain

CHS. DEPUTIE ¹

pleas Answer

FROM JOHN BARLON

SAVNH Jan 11th 1853

MR McLAIN

Sir I send you seven numbers of the repository which
you enquired of & if you should want any other number that I have
I shall be happy to send them on at any time

I am requested by those that are Desirous of emigrating to enquire
of your Particularly what time there will be a vessel here for Africa
there are many here & in the up country & in a few day we will
have a full list They think they could be ready in May I wish
you to write me that I may write to the up country for myself I
wish to know in time that I may have an opportunity to dispose
of my little Property in time and also that I may get you to Purchase
such goods for me in Baltimore as I would want Please to answer
this and accept my

Best respects

JOHN BARLON ²

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1852, No. 187.

² *Ibid.*, January to March, 1853, No. 77.

FROM CHARLES MOORE

Jan 14, 1853

Rev and Dear Sir: i trust you will not be one to disdane this note that i now hand you. pirhaps you will tirme it imprudent though i wish to oppining request request you to relate to the cesiety if you please to do so being you are ingaged in that greate bisness and are indeverin to do all you Can in the cause i am thankful to god that he has blest me with the oppirtunity of making my first effirt to lurn whither the friends of the cause will ade me in my strong zeld or no this has been a birden on on my mind evir sence i was A boy of foreteen years old in hearing my mothir tell a Bought hir grandfathir being kidnaped and brought from His mothir country i studded a bought him and thought how His country had ben berefed of him and at lenth a suddent thought struck my mind that by the helpe of god That i might be planted som time in his room so i am Now intermingild with the beggirs though i dont Wish tha cesiety to firnish me with money have none—Tiru (?) because i beleve that in a few years in libery according to infirmithion that i can rase money to repay Back in full and sir whither tha can be money raseed or no please sir send me a lettir and let me know A bought the hole mattir and i will then let you in My nex the hole of my vues. so sir. i will close

Mr Wm McClain
your sirvant Etc

Shooting creeke po——
N Carolina chirokee
County CHARLES MOORE
Sirvant of John Moore ¹

FROM A NEGRO IN BALTIMORE

BALTIMORE,

January 19, 1853.

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE A. C. S.

Sir: I percieve that this Society is progressing very rapidly, and that many are being sent to that country to which every colored man looks forward, as being his or his children's future home; and I think from observation, that there should be more active measures taken in this country to instruct my people in the mechanical arts, that when they arrive in the land of promise, they may be able to impart every useful pursuit to the rising generations. If these things are rightly conducted, I feel satisfied

¹ *Ibid.*, January to March, 1853, No. 410.

that my people may yet be redeemed. I hope that the day is not far distant when we may claim a name among the nations of the earth.

Which request I hope will be kindly received as coming from one of the down-trodden of the African race.

Yours very respectfully,

L. W.¹

FROM GEO. SAMPLE

Journal p. 254

FRED'G March 3rd 1853

MR McLAIN

Rev Sir—enclosed you will find *one year's Subscription* for the *African Repository*.

Address Henry Frazar, Fred'g. Va.

Your humble Servant

GEO, SAMPLE.

P.S.

African Colonization is gaining ground down this way very rapidly. The colored people is beginning to think, and to See for themselves that Liberia is the only home for them. Notwithstanding, Some of the Sable Gentlemen about here are very much opposed to African Colonization, and I am very to See that some of them are opposed to emigrating to Liberia, as I would not like to See the Republic of Liberia disgraced by Such a trivial Set of people as those who are opposed to African Colonization.

Some of our most intelligent, and enterprising people of color, about here are very much in favor of emigrating to Liberia. I would write you more, but the bearer of this will leave in a few minutes for Washington, so I will have to close.

The Rev. Mr McLain, will plase to Send a few of the pamphlets containing Messrs Fuller & Janifer report of Liberia, or anything pertaining to Liberia, will be thankfully received. C. H. Brook. the bearer of this will bring anything you are pleased to Send.

Your Obedient humble

Servant

GEO, SAMPLE ²

¹ *African Repository*, Vol. XXIX, p. 99.

² *Letters received by the American Colonization Society*, January to March, 1853, No. 385.

FROM NATHANIEL BOWEN

Letter from a young colored man in New York

ROME N.Y. Aprile 26th 1853

Dear Sir:

I take a favourable opportunity to write few lines, to ask a favour which I hope you will grant me, and that is, to favour me with the African Repository within the last few years. I have taken the opportunity offered me to read the accounts of the doings of Liberia. I have always given the subject of colonization but little consideration till within the last two years. I have been a listener to the arguments of men who I thought were more competent judges of the subject than myself; but I now perceive that it has been a blind prejudice that has caused the colored people to be blinded to their best interesets. In this place, where I now live, I find that the people are much opposed to colonization, but the family with whom I am a part does hold sentiments favourable to colonization, that is to a certain extent; and I feel confident that they will think, in a little while, as I do, that colonization is the only means and the only thing calculated to raise us from our present debased condition. A great many has talked of emigrating to Canada, but I think if they had the welfare of their children in view, as they say they have, they would emigrate to Africa. I am quite young myself, yet I think I can do more good for myself and others in Liberia than I can by living in a country where I am not acknowledged as a citizen, for we possess only partial freedom this side of the broad Atlantic. My Uncle, with whom I now live has a family of small children that has showed great aptness to learn and I think Liberia the best place for them and my self also. And think with the aid of the Repository, I can convince them of their error, for when I get to talking to them on the subject, they pay very strict attention to what I have to say, and will admit that it is the best for us all. Now I hope you will not fail to let me have any thing by which I can gain information on the subject. You may be somewhat acquainted with the family with whom I am connected; Anthony Bowen, who has been a messenger at the Patent Office for quite a number of years, is my uncle. I think I have heard him speak of you before I left Washington. I have been away from home some four or five years, and have travelled over the Northern States pretty well, and have found but a slight difference; if any thing, the prejudice is greater

in the north than it is in the south. I hope you will pardon my boldness but I feel to be speaking the candid truth. I must now bring my letter to a close. I hope you will excuse blunders and mistakes, for it is from the pen of a laborer that works hard for his living. With much respect, I am, Dear Sir,

Your humble and obedient Servant

Nathaniel Bowen,

Rome Oneida County

N Y

I shall try and send you the money for the Repository by the first of May or shortly after please do what is in your persude the folk in Washington to do what is in their power encourage them

N B ¹

FROM JOHN W. JONES

May, 24the 1853. SHELBY COUNTY OHIO

JOHN W. JONES, TO THE REV. W. MCLAIN. *Dear Sir*, Some good frind a few years past sent me the African repository but it discontinued, in the year, 1850 June I rote to Mr D. Crista to have it sent to me and write to me and I would send him the money I got no anser from him. Last winter I herd that ther was some pamples in the post office for me, and I went and got two numbers, befour January 1853. And they have come monthly ever since. I wated for a letter from Mr D. Crista to know if he had paid for the year, I got no letter from him, so I throught he had not paid for them. I now Sir send you two dollars, on the State bank of Ohio. I ented (?) for the post master to put it in and back this letter to you. And you can rite to me when to send you some more money. I wish for you to write my name, Dr J. W. Jones, it is the name I am known by. I am indian doctor, or botinast

Dear Sir I have ben takinge some notice of the American Colonization Society ever since its formation, and think it riseinge and importance, and one of the greatest blessings for the colored people in the united States of America, if they did but think so but the most of them have and are blinded to their best intrust to the present day. By lislinge to a socitey of people, that is not their true frinds, but it is dyinge away very fast. Our people is very ignent abought Liberia and the goodness of the county, So I make a great allowance for them. For a very few of them can read or take

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1853, No. 175.

news papers or the repository, to inform them selves. Very few of them are aware that the goverment is amakinge, any priperation to send them to Liberia, for they are astonuous, to hear that the different states are pasinge sich strenous laws as to prohibit them from going into any of the free states and settle. I do believe that the two races of people cannot ?dell to greather much longer, apon one soil, agreable to the bible. For the gosple must be prached to all, the nations of the earth befour the end of time. And who is bether calculated to bear the glad tidings of the gosple to Africa then the colored people of the united states of Ameraca, With their own concent. All they want I think is infermation on the subject and let each state tell them planly to make a priperation for moving some where out of this country

May 24, 1853

Dear Sir I will now give you some infermation, abought my self and family. I am a colored man with one fourth of african blood, and my wife is a bout the same. I move from the state of tenessee, in the year 1824. to the City of Cincinnati and live there ten years and move one hundred milds north in mercer county fuour years, since then I move to Shlaby county wher I now reside at present we have six children four sons and two daughters my children lives most of them in Cincinnati and are opose to goinge to liberia and I am sorry for it. I have ben in the notion of going to Liberia for afew years past but I have ben in debt so I could not go. If I, could sell my little farm and pay my debts, my children will come and see me this Summer if they can, and we will try to come on soum understading, abought it. Please send me the pamphlet containing abought going to Liberia and a few of the Liberia news papers if you can. If I can sell my land and git some of my children to go with with me I want to do some time next year or the year, after. If the Lord is willen. Please to anser this letter, as soon as you can. I am a doinge great deale of good and have done, with the pamphlets.

DR. J. W. JONES

Please to excuse my orthographey ¹

¹ *Ibid.*, April to June, 1853, No. 312.

FROM THE MEMBERS OF THE MOBILE COLORED
MISSIONARY SOCIETY

MOBILE Sept 11th/54

To the

Rev W McLain

Dear Sir

some time last spring, We the undersign, Members of the Mobile Colored Missionary Society, forwarded through *Dr W T Hamilton* Seventy five, 75 Dollars to be appropriate to the cause of Mission on Coast of *Africa* for which we have no receipt. will you take the Trouble to acknowledge the above *amt* to Mr D. Chandler of this city. by So doing you will much encorarg the Members of the Society

S. A. TURNER
PHILLIP WILSON
JAMES SOMERVILLE
SIMON ASHE
A SAXON

F. H. SMITH,
ELIJAH VAUGHON
GODFREY TAYLOR
DAVID WILSON
AND 100 OTHERS

*Members of the Goverment Street church Missionary
Society*¹

FROM TERRY MCHENRY FARLAN

Journal p. 202

Petersburg va Aug 19th 1856

Dear Sir

Seeing that my time has expired for the Respository for 1. year, I here enclose to you one dollar to continue my subscription, & Sir I would say to you that I have a burning desire to go to Africa, to preach the word of God to the native, & yet I am a Slave, but my trust is in the Lord upon this matter, but I would like to get some advice from you, on this subject, my master is plenty able to let me go, & not to feel any want therefrom, for he do worth thousands of dollars, his name is Robt B. Bolling he used to take great delight in the Colonization Cause at one time, but I dont know how it is now, & I never have said anything to him about going to Africa for I have often felt that I want a entercessor in this matter, for I can assure you Sir that I am willing to do anything

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1854, No. 326.

for the advancement of Christ Kingdom upon Earth, 'tis true that my chance is slender in accumulating any money, placed as I am, I have a wife & one child belonging to Some one else, I am about 26 years old & if I were a free man as some I see here, I would take the next ship that goes, to Africa, & go there My dear I would not like to worry your patience in Reading my long story, for this is not half I could say of my feelings about going to Africa, if I never reach that Shore. please to send me a copy of information & sketches, of Liberia I shall look for an anser soon

your most humble and obedt Servt

Terry McHenry Farler

to Rev Wm McLain Washington City D.C.

this is my own hand writing for I had to study very hard to get to this height in writing, not having much instruction given to me.

T McH Fr.¹

¹ *Ibid.*, July to September, 1856, No. 200.

BOOK REVIEWS

Labor and Politics, the Attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward Legislation and Politics. By MOLLIE RAY CARROLL, Professor of Economics and Sociology, Goucher College, Formerly Staff Lecturer in Industrial Service, the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923. Pp. 206. Price \$2.00.)

This book is one of a series owing its existence to the generosity of Messrs. Hart, Schaffner and Marx, of Chicago, who have shown a special interest in trying to attract the attention of American youth to the study of economic and commercial subjects. For this purpose they have delegated to a committee the task of selecting or approving of topics, making announcements, and awarding prizes annually to those entering the competition. This is one of the prize essays.

The first problem taken up by the author is how to determine which of the many more or less authoritative pronouncements by members of the Federation of Labor are to be taken as fairly representing the attitude of the Federation, and how far the Federation represents the attitudes of different working groups in the country as a whole. The author finds a legislative and political policy of the American Federation of Labor neither entirely consistent nor unanimous. This diversity may be accounted for in the fact that while the organization is primarily economic, disregarding religious and political affiliations, there might be developed factors leading to considerable divergence of policy from the failure to overcome the racial, environmental and temperamental strains in the membership. Complex, varied, and often diametrically opposed doctrines have been expressed by members of the Federation of Labor. It is, therefore, difficult to arrive at any set of beliefs sufficiently coherent or continuous to justify acceptance of them as constituting a social program. Yet, the author considers the actions taken at annual conventions and expressions by duly constituted leaders as representing the attitudes of the Federation, especially when they have been retained in office for consecutive years. Finally, however, the author, taking into consideration that there is always a strong minority arrayed against those shaping the policy of the Federation, concedes that only a dominant opinion of the Federation can thereby be obtained.

The book includes the treatment of the function of trade unions, the program of the American Federation of Labor, collective bargaining, legislation for special groups, social legislation, the attitude of the Federation toward the law, and its attitude toward political party action. The book on the whole is rather brief. Not enough attention is given to the historic background and it is doubtful that any of these topics, under which the question has been considered, have been adequately developed.

The attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the Negro is only briefly mentioned on pages 23 and 66, for there is no special reference to this class of labor. The Negro is merely mentioned among women and immigrants at a point where the author tries to show that, as regards admission to membership, the policy of the Federation appears to be somewhat restrictive and negative, although there are numerous professions to the contrary. Referring to the proceedings of the convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1914, the author points out the liberal assertion: "The working people must unite, irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality, or politics." The Federation, however, has been slow in organizing the unskilled worker, the Negro, and the woman.

My Children of the Forest. By ANDREW F. HENSEY, Member of the Belgium Royal Commission for the Protection of the Natives. With an Introduction by President Charles T. Paul of the College of Missions. (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1924. Pp. 221.)

The author of this book served sixteen years as a missionary of the Disciples of Christ, among the Bantus of Belgian Africa, with headquarters at Bolenge, nearly a thousand miles up the Congo River. He has also been Professor of African Missions and Lunkundo at the College of Missions in Indianapolis. He served as chairman of the committee of four who translated the New Testament into Lunkundo-Lomongo, allied languages of four Congo districts. He has traveled widely in Africa, penetrating far up the Ubangi, and into remote parts beyond the Juapa, in the Bantu territory. In this book, therefore, appears the experience of a man who has come into close contact with the people whom he describes.

This work, however, is not a scientific production, for little is said about anthropology or ethnology. The reader does not even find many quotations except a few extracts from the Lunkundo, which more aptly expresses the thought of the natives than the

words of the more modern tongue. The work is, then, a narrative in the simplicity and directness of the spoken form. The writer of the introduction characterizes it as "a tale of the primitive told from the heart—with the same unembellished spontaneity that has fascinated alike the dusky Congolese squatting around a jungle fire, and the Cultured Christians of America." "It has," says he, "the ring of reality and the fascination of romance. *My Children of the Forest* will take its place with Donald Fraser's *Winning a Primitive People* and Jean MacKenzie's *Black Sheep*. Better Still it is another ivory box of Andrew F. Hensey's *Opals from Africa*."

The book opens with a chapter entitled "A Square Deal with Africa." The thought is here impressed by an account of the reaction of a chief who came to visit the author's Mission station, where this African so convincingly demonstrated the need of a better civilization. There follow some very interesting descriptions and discussions of this equatorial region, the villages in the forest, the customs of the people, outstanding personages among them, and evil tendencies which are uprooted with unusual difficulty.

The author, however, does not find Africa without merit. He does not think of it as "The White Man's Burden." To him it is a field of an unusual music as is evidenced by the American Negro folk song. It is promising, also, with respect to making a contribution in oratory. In the folklore of the African, Mr. Hensey finds valuable treasures which give evidence of the development of the African mind. However, the author fails to emphasize the valuable contribution of the African to art and his unusual gift to the world in first teaching the smelting of iron and its application to manufacturing. The book, therefore, is chiefly valuable as the impressions of one who has had much experience among the persons whose character he depicts.

Race Problems in the New Africa. By the REVEREND W. C. WILLOUGHBY, F.R.A.I., F.R.G.S., Professor of Missions in Africa in the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Conn., U. S. A., lately Principal of the L. M. S. Native Institution, Tiger Kloof, South Africa. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923. Pp. 296. Price \$4.50.)

Differing from *My Children of the Forest*, this work is a more serious study. It treats of the relation of Bantu and Britons in those parts of Bantu Africa which are under British control. The author gives facts which can be learned not by the casual observer but by one who has actually endeavored to approach these problems

in a scholarly way. In fact, the keynote of the work is that there should be a better understanding of the natives to secure the just treatment which European nations are now beginning to believe that the Africans deserve. It is not sufficient, then, that the new policy to apply to Africa tutelage, trusteeship, and just treatment, should be committed to the hands of persons who have formerly administered African affairs. These may not have understood their pupils; or, like trustees who have never studied their wards, they have made mistakes which may have to be paid for in the blood and tears of their followers. The author believes that spiritual oneness counts for more than legislative shackles, and that the security of European control consists in the mutual sympathy and faith of its varied communities. All groups and organizations are now clamoring for justice in world affairs; but justice depends upon intelligence. Men must, therefore, understand world movements to form judgments as to what their duty is in this readjustment of world politics.

To understand the natives, according to the judgment of this author, requires more than long residence in Africa, for "men do not become geologists by merely living among rocks; and inability to interpret rocks means inability to see what is most significant in their structure and relations." "Until we see what Bantu life really is," says the author, "we cannot know how greatly it needs the aid that can be given by the best elements in British civilization and Christianity, still less can we discover how to render such service. The straight clean life of a good man is of value to any Bantu tribe in which he happens to dwell; but earnest and good men have also wrought mischief through failing to understand the life of the people around them."

This book is, therefore, designed to give busy people an interpretative glimpse of the inner life of people who have come under British control, and to consider questions of race-contact in the light of that vision. It is hoped that this work will help the student to explore the soul of the Bantu people, seeing things as they are and seeing "the real inwardness of the foreign life that Britain has to handle, in order that they may form sound judgments and shape their course accordingly."

The book begins with a chapter showing the relation of the Bantu to other African races. It then gives the important geographic and ethnographic features of the continent. The more serious part of the work begins with the chapter on "Spirits of Things." Here we see assumptions of Bantu thought, the taboo,

magic, medicine men, riches and the like. The author next discusses the Bantu conception of life after death, the cult of ancestral spirits, the Supreme Being, the influence of Bantu religion upon character, and points of contact with Christianity. Under the caption of "Tribal Law and Politics" there appears interesting information about Bantu political institutions, the family, patriarchal power, the clan, the tribe, land tenure, law, the judiciary, civil assembly, the army, politics, and ethics. The various forms of marriage in all of their relationships are treated in extenso. Attention is also directed to polygamy and concubinage. The education of the Bantu youth in the home is well outlined. What may be done to pick up knowledge by contact and in the public ceremonies is also treated.

The chapter entitled "Discovery of the Bantu" contains valuable facts of early African history. Beginning with the contact of the African with the nations of the Mediterranean world, the author gives a résumé of the important achievements. The record of Africa during the mediaeval period he closely connects with the invasion of that country by Portugal. In the same manner he sketches the European and American slave trade, the exploration of Africa, the advent of the missionary, the coming of the Europeans, the consequent scramble for territory and the conflicting evils which have thereby resulted. The author takes up such delicate questions as the ownership of land, the spectre of black supremacy, the native liquor question, and the color bar. An effort is made to estimate the worth of native labor. The task of the church in this effort toward readjustment is finally emphasized.

And Who Is My Neighbor? By "The Inquiry," the National Conference on the Christian Way of Life. (New York: Association Press, 1924. Pp. 231. Price \$1.00.)

This volume, according to its authors, aims to serve as a widespread inquiry into the meaning of Christianity for human relationships in the world order of today. This work is written in the belief that the spiritual forces which have taken form in the Christian experience of the past must find new ways to embody themselves in the experience of the future. The crucial problems of the present, therefore, ought everywhere to be opened for study and discussion by people who, while sharing the Christian heritage, yet bring all diversities of interest and faith to bear upon right relationships among men.

The authors, however, do not claim to say the last word on this

question, for they recognize that in the complex situations of today such problems involve matters that are scientific and technical, and require the authority of experts as well as the testimony of everyday experience. The authors, moreover, disclaim even the aim to make this a new agency either for fact finding or for promoting religion. This work is rather the result of an effort to bring into more fertile contact existing agencies of research and religious agencies. In this way it is hoped to stimulate and assist group-inquiry by making facts accessible and by presenting these and questions for conduct arising from them in a form likely to stimulate orderly discussion.

The volume opens with an introduction which by quotations from persons from various walks of life shows how the majority of people have drifted into the position of treating their fellow men as persons undeserving of rights and privileges which they themselves enjoy, and how finally they have become so estranged the one from the other as to know very little of what one another may be doing and, therefore, have finally learned to hate those who are not exactly like themselves. The book next takes up understandings and misunderstandings, both ethnological and sociological, and inveighs against misrepresentation, another cause of race hate. Traditional attitudes are then presented as reactions to physical appearance, to political and religious backgrounds, to foreign languages, to cultural standards, and to social status. The exploitation of race prejudice is carefully presented.

Taking up civic handicaps, the book deals with the injustice encountered in the courts, in the execution of the law, in the enjoyment of citizenship, in national defense, and in public service. Handicaps of an economic nature are found in employment, in conditions of work, in business, and in the professions. How these appear also in the policies of employers and the relation between fellow workers is also explained. Economic exploitation is exposed as a source of unusual injustice. There follows, too, a treatment of handicaps with respect to school facilities.

Under social handicaps the authors consider the questions of housing, public conveyance, places of entertainment and amusement, recreation, social service, and religious activities. The non-adjustment and mal-adjustment between the old and new is given a concrete treatment by reference to the experiences of various racial groups which have been brought into contact with one another by immigration and the internal movements of population within the United States.

NOTES

Referring to the necessity for teaching the leading facts of Negro History in the public schools, the Research Department of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America says the following in its *Information Service* of March 28, 1925:

In this connection there is much interest in the report made to the Kentucky State Interracial Commission last December by a committee of which Mrs. George Madden Martin of Louisville, Kentucky, was chairman, and Dr. George E. Haynes of the Federal Council of the Churches was adviser. The committee was instructed to inquire into the question of getting into the school histories a just and fair presentation of the Negro and his part through 400 years in the development of America. It is the idea of the Commission that a great deal can be done in this way, first, to overcome prejudice in the mind of the white pupil, and secondly, to instill self respect and pride in his race in the colored pupil. The committee reported improvement in some of the texts over those in use twenty years ago, but the fairest text found presented the Negro in America through the institution of slavery and mass labor only, and these only as they relate to and have affected white America and white America's institutions. The report stated that in no text-books that the committee examined is the American Negro shown to pupils, white or colored, in a creditable sense, as a people, a race group, with a past and authenticated history of their own in Africa. "Again, no text-book that we have examined tells the pupil that practically every people in the world have been enslaved by some other people, at some period of their history; no text-book that we have examined explains to the pupil, white and colored, that slavery is a condition imposed, endured, not necessarily merited." The report stressed some of the data that should be included in the history texts, and discussed the practical problem of getting the material to the pupils, such as the necessity for revision of existing text-books, involving cooperation on the part of writer and publisher, and the need for securing the adoption of the revised books by school authorities of the several states.

The Spring Conference of the Association was held in Durham, North Carolina, on the first and second of April. An account of the meeting will appear in the July number of *The Journal of Negro History*.

"Liberia after the World War" by Professor Frederick Starr will be reprinted and made available as a brochure.

"The Letters of Negroes addressed to the American Colonization Society" will be followed by others of Negroes written between 1800

and 1860. These will be reprinted and bound in a volume entitled *The Negro Mind as reflected in Letters written during the Crisis*.

America of the Fifties: Letters of Frederika Bremer (*Scandinavian Classics*, vol. XXIII), edited by Adolph B. Benson, has appeared as a publication of the American-Scandinavian Foundation. Frederika Bremer was decidedly anti-slavery in her views.

The Smith-Grievies Company of Kansas City has published *The Aftermath of the Civil War: based on Investigation of War Claims*, by Wiley Britton.

In the series of Columbia University *Studies in English and Comparative Literature* appears *The Southern Plantation: a Study in the Development and Accuracy of Tradition*, by Frances Pendleton Gaines.

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LE CODE NOIR

In the study of the condition of the Negro Slave, the French possessions in America are of great importance. At first, the French West India Islands were alone provided for: but Louisiana later called for consideration, and to a limited extent also, Canada.¹ The laws specially passed concerning the slave trade and the Negro slave were generically known as *Le Code Noir*, the Black Code, although some of the laws affect other objects than the Blacks. A 12mo volume of 446 pages was published in Paris, 1770, containing all the laws and regulations of importance in that regard: *Le Code Noir ou Recueil des Reglements rendus jusqu'à présent. . . . A Paris. . . . MDCCLXX, Avec Privilege du Roi*. This paper contains the substance of it, so far as it concerns the Negro.

¹ The application of the *Code Noir* to Canada has been doubted, but on no sufficient ground. Perhaps here should be mentioned an *arrêt* of July 23, 1745, registered at Quebec, July 19, 1748. This recites that three Negro Slaves, two male and one female, had escaped from the English island Antigua to the French island Guadeloupe, and there were seized and sold. Disputes having arisen as to the person entitled to the proceeds the question was determined in favor of the King of France by the courts of Guadeloupe. The *arrêt* was passed to prevent any doubt in future, declaring (*inter alia*) that all Negroes who escaped from an enemy colony should belong to His Majesty. *Edits, Ordonnances Royaux et Arrêts du Conseil d'État du Roi, Concernant le Canada*, Quebec, 1803, Vol. 1, p. 553.

The Compagnie du Sénégal claimed under Royal Charter the exclusive right to trade on the Coast of Africa, not only in Senegal, Gambia and Goree but from Cape Blanc to the Cape of Good Hope, in all kinds of commerce including Negroes "although it was not in a position to carry to the French Islands of America the number of Negroes necessary for the plantations and the cultivation required for the subsistence of Our Subjects in the said Islands."

A company called La Compagnie de Guinée was formed by *arrêt* of January, 1685, with the exclusive right of the trade in Negroes and all other merchandise on the Coast of Africa from the river of Sierra Leone to the Cape of Good Hope. This company was given the exclusive privilege of transporting Negroes to the French Islands of America, except that the Compagnie du Sénégal could take those they obtained in Sénégal, Cape Verde and the neighboring country, as far as the River Sierra Leone exclusively.

The Guinea Company might construct forts and make treaties with the Negro Kings, but must send Missionaries to teach the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion to the natives. It was bound to transport a thousand Negroes every year to the islands, receiving from the Royal Treasury thirty livres per head (*pour chacune tête de Nègre de Guinée*).

In the month of March of the same year, 1685, an *édit* was passed touching the police of the French islands in America. These regulations concerned the slaves, and constitute the first actual *Code Noir*.

All slaves in the islands were to be baptized and instructed in the Catholic religion. The purchaser of every newly arrived Negro must within a week notify the Governor and Intendant who would give proper orders for his instruction and baptism. No other religion was to be tolerated, the prohibition of the "pretended Reformed religion" being included. Sundays and saints' days were to be observed, no slave was to be made to work on these days, "midnight to midnight"; nor were any to be sold.

If a free man have children by a slave concubine, he, as well as the master of the woman permitting it, is to be fined two thousand pounds of sugar. If the woman be his own slave, concubine and children are to be confiscated to the use of the Hospital and to remain perpetual slaves. If, however, the offender, being unmarried during the liaison, marries the woman with the rites of the Church, she and her offspring will become free and the children legitimate.

Curés are forbidden to marry slaves without consent of the master: and masters are forbidden to use any constraint upon their slaves to have them married against their will.

Children of marriages of slaves are slaves of the master of the woman. The child *sequitur ventrem*,² follows the status of the mother. A child male or female of the marriage of a free man and slave woman is a slave; of a slave man and free woman, free. Baptized slaves are to be buried in consecrated ground: those unbaptized, by night in a place adjoining their death place.

Slaves are forbidden to carry arms except those who are employed by their master in hunting. Slaves of different masters are not to gather together, by day or night, under pretence of weddings or otherwise, either at the place of one of the masters or in the highway or distant places, on penalty of corporal punishment, the lash and the brand.³ On repetition of the offence, death may be awarded at the discretion of the judges. Masters convicted of permitting such meetings must compensate their neighbors for all damage suffered and pay a fine of ten crowns,⁴ the fine to be doubled for a second offence.

² This is one of the points in which the common law of England differed from the civil law of Rome and its daughter, the modern civil law of most of the European countries. By the common law the child of a free man by a *neif* or female villein was free following the status of the father: in the civil law, the child was not free but followed the status of the mother.

³ The brand was in the shape of a fleur de lis or Bourbon lily.

⁴ This crown, *écu*, was the crown of three livres, say intrinsically worth 75 cents, not the *écu de la couronne* worth considerably more. A fine of 10 crowns would be equivalent to \$7.50, about \$75.00 or more at the present time, a very substantial fine.

Slaves are forbidden on pain of the lash to sell sugar cane even with the consent of the master, a consenting master and the purchaser to be fined ten livres. The same prohibition applied to the sale of all kinds of provisions, firewood, etc. Masters must each week supply every slave of ten years and over, two and a half pots of *Magnoe* flour or the equivalent, with two pounds of salt beef, or three of fish or the equivalent. Children under ten are to receive half the amount.

And cane brandy is not to be given in place of the above, nor may the master compound for these supplies by allowing the slave to work on his own behalf a certain day of the week. The master is to supply every slave yearly two linen suits or four ells of linen. In case of default of furnishing provisions or clothes, the Royal Solicitor is to prosecute as in all cases of cruelty to Slaves.⁵ Slaves infirm from age, sickness or otherwise are to be cared for. Surviving relations of a deceased slave have no right to any property he may have had by the liberality of his master or otherwise.

Slaves cannot fill any office or agency. They cannot sue or be sued. Their evidence in court can only be used to enable the judge to understand that of others. It cannot afford presumption, conjecture or adminiculum of proof. They can, however, be prosecuted criminally as in the case of freemen.

A slave who strikes his master, his master's wife or children in the face or with effusion of blood is to be punished with death. Crimes of violence against free persons are to be severely punished, even with death. So, too, thefts by slaves or freedmen of horses, mules, cows, etc., may be punished in the same way, while thefts of less valu-

⁵ "Les Maîtres feront poursovois . . . sans frais, ce que Nous voulons être observé pour les crieries et tractemens barbares et inhumains des Maîtres envers leurs esclaves"—"the Masters will be prosecuted . . . without expense to the complainant—which We direct to be observed in the case of abusive wrangling and barbarous and inhuman treatment by masters toward their slaves." "Crieries" here means unfounded and abusive faultfinding. The word is rather uncommon.

able things, as sheep, pigs, sugar cane, etc., are to be punished as the case may require by personal chastisement and branding on the shoulder. The masters are to be responsible for thefts by slaves.

A fugitive slave in flight for one month will have his ears cut off and be branded on the shoulder, the second time on the other shoulder, for the third offence the punishment is death.

When a slave is denounced by his master and punished with death, the master is to be paid his value determined before the execution by two inhabitants named by the judge.

Masters are forbidden to shackle their slaves or have them beaten, tortured or mutilated, on pain of forfeiture and criminal prosecution.

Slaves are declared to be moveables, *i.e.*, personal property,⁶ and not subject to feudal or seigniorial rights. When seized in execution for debt, etc., the same proceedings are to be had as in other personal property with the following exceptions. Husband and wife and infant children belonging to the same master are not to be sold separately, nor are slaves working in sugar or indigo works or plantations aged from 40 to 60 to be sold except for their own purchase price or unless the works or plantations have been taken in execution, and no such works or plantations are to be subjected to execution unless the workmen from 40 to 60 are included.⁷

Children born during such seizure belong to the debtor,

⁶ It will be remembered that at the common law "villeins" were real estate, not personal estate; and that when in the British West India Islands, slaves were made exigible in execution on a judgment by the Act (1732), George II, c. 7. Negroes were classed with "Houses, Lands . . . and other Hereditaments and Real Estates." See my *The Slave in Canada*. 5 Journal of Negro History (July, 1920), p. 13, n. (12). The extraordinary statute of (1547), Edward VI, c. 3, which subjected "sturdy beggars and vagabonds" to be made slaves if they did not work, also made them moveable goods and chattels or personal property. See my article *The Slave in England*. 18 Illinois Law Review (February, 1924).

⁷ Freedmen were forbidden to give refuge to fugitive slaves on penalty of 300 pounds of sugar for each day.

not to the creditor. Guardians of property to which slaves are attached are to use them as good fathers.⁸

Masters of twenty years of age may enfranchise their slaves by act *inter viros*, by *donatio mortis causa*, or by will; but until 25 they are to have the advice of relatives. Slaves enfranchised in the islands are to be considered there born and to enjoy all the rights of natural born and free subjects. Freedmen, however, are to pay due respect to their former master, his widow and children.

Several other companies were formed from time to time having for their purpose among other things the transportation of Negroes to the American Isles "so necessary for the cultivation of sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo and other articles brought from those parts to France and so advantageous to our subjects." In 1716, however, trade to the Guinea Coast was made free for all, as well "le Commerce des Nègres" as other trade, on condition that the ships should be fitted out at Rouen, Rochelle, Bordeaux or Nantes, and 20 livres paid into the Royal Treasury for every Negro landed on the islands.

In this year, 1716, a new *édit* was passed confirming the former and containing additional instructions. Masters in the colonies were allowed to bring or send their slaves to France for education in religion or in a trade. The slaves did not thereby become free and all persons were forbidden to take them from their masters. They were not to marry without their master's consent, their earnings to be the master's, he to support them. On the death of the master in France, the slave passed to the *heritiers* unless the master freed them by will or otherwise.

The master could not sell or exchange the slaves in France, but must send them to the colony; and slaves could not be seized by a creditor in France. Slaves escaping to France could be retaken by their masters.

December 14, 1716, a *déclaration* was made allowing the slave traders to pay only two thirds as much for a "Negril-

⁸ "De gouverner lesdits esclaves comme bons pères de familles."

lon'' and half as much for a "Negritte" as for a Negro—that being the relative value in Guinea and the Isles.⁹

April 3, 1718, an *ordonnance* was passed forbidding the captains of vessels carrying Negroes to the isles from landing without permission. This was to avoid contagion.¹⁰

On September 27, 1720, the Compagnie des Indes received the monopoly of the Guinea trade for Negroes and other merchandise, including the sole right to carry Negroes to the Isles—and this without paying the 20 livres or any other sum, but on the contrary being paid 30 livres per head by the Royal Treasury.

New regulations were made September 2, 1721, for this company for the advantage of the new colony, Louisiana.¹¹ Negroes were to be sold to Louisianians at 660 livres each, secured by promissory notes payable in three equal parts in three years in tobacco or rice. On default in the first payment the Negro might be sold for the benefit of the company. The other regulations do not affect Negroes.

December 15, 1721, a *déclaration* was made forbidding masters under 25, disposing of the slaves who work on the estate, by emancipation or otherwise.

In March, 1724, a new *Code Noir* was issued for the province and colony of Louisiana. All slaves were to be baptized and educated in the Roman Catholic faith. They were to observe Sundays and Fête-days. Whites of either sex were not to intermarry with blacks, or priests to marry

⁹ "Négrillon" was and is good French for "a Negro boy"; a Negro girl was and is "Négrillonne," "Négresse" being the generic name for female Negro. "Negritte" is wholly unknown to the dictionaries. Even Littré's ponderous tomes know it not. "Nigrita" is mediaeval Latin for a Negro of either sex. Du Cange, *sub voc.*, "Niger"; here "Negritte" is used for "a Negro girl."

¹⁰ Permission was to be granted if there were no contagious diseases on board. If there were, a place was to be assigned to land the sick for treatment. So long as the sickness lasted, communication with the inhabitants was forbidden.

¹¹ La Salle took possession, *sub modo*, of this territory for France in 1684; but it was not until Iberville built the Fort Maurepas near the present Biloxi in 1699 that anything like effective possession was taken for France. At the time of these regulations (and from 1712 to 1717) Louisiana was held by Antoine Crozat by private grant from the French King.

them. Whites or freeborn or freed blacks were not to live in concubinage with slaves. The white master, father of a child by his own slave, lost slave and child. But a freeborn or freed black might marry the woman and so make her and her child free and the child legitimate. Practically the same provisions appear in this as in the first *Code Noir*.

On July 25, 1724, an *ordonnance* was passed, supplementary to that of April 3, 1718, preventing landing from slave-ships before the visit of the health officer.

A fraudulent and prejudicial commerce having sprung up whereby "the just measures which we take for supplying France and our Colonies with Negroes" were hampered, in October, 1727, an *édit* was passed forbidding the traffic of Negroes, etc., to foreign countries or colonies, confiscating Negroes and other goods found in French ships engaged in such traffic or in foreign ships.¹² An *ordonnance* of October 24, 1713, forbade all persons in the French American Isles from freeing their slaves without permission of the governor; this had been frequently disregarded and June 15, 1736, a new *ordonnance* issued to put an end to the abuse.

A *déclaration* was given at Versailles, December 15, 1738, permitting masters to bring slaves to France for education in religion or a trade without thereby losing them as slaves: but they were not to be kept more than three years, after which time they would be confiscated to the king. Masters bringing slaves into France to live there had them confiscated. Masters having Negro slaves in France must within one year after the *déclaration* send them to their colony.

The charters of all the African trading companies having expired, a new company, La Compagnie Royale d'Afrique, was established by *édit*, February, 1741, with like privileges, and bonused for five years with 40,000 livres per annum.

¹² This *édit* was registered at Quebec, November 17, 1728; *Édits, Ordonnances*, etc., pp. 464-476. "Des chairs salées d'Irlande, qui feront portées par des Navires François"—salt meats from Ireland carried in French bottoms—were excepted from the prohibition.

An *ordonnance* of March 31, 1742, made regulations for slave ships trading with the Isles. Another of July, 1759, suppressed the tax of two per cent on Negroes introduced into the Windward Isles (Isles sous le Vent), one per cent to the governor and one per cent divided between the intendant and an inferior officer. Others of March 31 and April 5, 1762, are not of importance here.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

OSGOODE HALL, TORONTO,
April 20, 1925

THE KIDNAPPING OF DR. RUFUS BRATTON

In the *Journal of Negro History* for January, 1925, Mr. Louis F. Post makes reference to the kidnapping in 1872, at London, Ont., of Dr. Rufus Bratton, a South Carolinian, by United States secret service officers. The story of the kidnapping and its consequences, which has not hitherto been told, substantiates that opinion of Canadian regard for justice which Mr. Post expresses in his article. The incident itself is but one of many which related Canada to the issue of slavery in the United States and it may be noted that in this case the protection and justice accorded a white Southerner charged with crime was neither less nor more than the protection and justice accorded in earlier days to the black man who escaped from slavery and made his way to Canada.

Dr. Rufus Bratton, a fugitive from the justice of the reconstruction government in his state, came to London, Ontario, from York in May of 1872, probably choosing this inland city for his place of retreat because of the presence there of some people from his own state. They, with many others, had come north at the outbreak of the Civil War and some had remained when the collapse of the Confederacy ruined their prospects in the South. It was to a South Carolina man, Gabriel Manigault, that Bratton came asking aid in finding retired lodgings. He was then going under the name of James Simpson and called on Mr. Manigault several times during the next two weeks. The latter showed him a letter from the Canadian department of justice giving full legal directions for a political refugee to follow in case of arrest in Canada. Manigault was probably guarding his own safety in having such a letter. In court later Manigault stated that he had refused to take the oath of allegiance in South Carolina and thought Bratton had probably also refused.

On the afternoon of June 10, 1872, while strolling near his lodgings, Dr. Bratton was suddenly attacked, handcuffed and placed in a hack which conveyed him to the railroad depot. Here he was placed aboard a train for Detroit. There was a wait of an hour or more for the train, but the man does not seem to have made any attempt to attract attention or secure aid, the inference being that he was drugged. Very few people saw any part of the episode and the only witness of the actual assault was an eight-year-old girl, Mary Overholt by name. She called to a Mrs. Dixon who saw the handcuffed man being placed in the hack.

The Manigaults quickly learned what had taken place and notified the police. Charles Hutchinson, clerk of the peace, was astonished to find that his deputy, J. B. Cornwall, was mixed up in the affair and had actually assisted the American secret service men in securing Dr. Bratton. This Cornwall eventually admitted, but said that he assisted in securing Bratton thinking that he was a Major Avery for whom a warrant had been issued by the Canadian authorities on a demand from the United States, the charge being murder. He further stated that it was not until the train had left London that the mistake was discovered, but that on arrival in Detroit Bratton was recognized as one also wanted and was accordingly sent under arrest to South Carolina.

The kidnapping excited widespread interest in Canada. The Manigaults and others indignantly repudiated the idea that Dr. Bratton was guilty of crime and held that his offences in South Carolina were entirely political. In the Canadian press there was a demand that the government act at once, require the immediate return of the missing man, and make certain that no further molestation of this kind could occur.

The incident was brought up in the House of Commons at Ottawa on June 11th, when Hon. Edward Blake asked if the government had anything to communicate on the matter and "whether the Atlantic cable had been used in order that speedy justice might be done in the matter."

The prime minister, Sir John Macdonald, answered that he had asked for particulars of the outrage, that these had been received and that communications had gone to the British ambassador at Washington, and to London, England.

Prompt action was taken in dealing with the offence of Cornwall. He was arrested and lodged in jail. His plea was that he had acted on the supposition that the warrants shown him were sufficient authority for an arrest and for extradition without the formality of examination before a magistrate. This plea was not accepted and there was sufficient evidence presented to commit him for trial.

Meanwhile the *Toronto Globe* published a despatch from Washington stating that Bratton had been discovered to be in custody of a United States Marshal in South Carolina, having been delivered up, so it was stated, in mistake for one Avery. The latter was said to be wanted for violation of a Ku Klux Act but Bratton was also charged with having committed murder in the state. "Our government will send him back to Canada without delay," the despatch said, "and will indemnify him for the arrest."

Cornwall appeared before Judge William Elliot on July 16th, and his counsel was prepared to fight the evidence that might be presented against him. The defence fell flat, however, when there appeared suddenly and dramatically in court no less a person than Dr. Bratton himself, who promptly took the stand and told his story. The further proceedings were brief and Cornwall was at once sentenced to serve three years in the provincial prison.

Dr. Bratton remained in London for a year or two afterward, bringing his family to London and practicing his profession. He is described as being a man of about five feet, ten inches in height, erect in bearing, of spare frame, his complexion dark and hair and beard black. A London newspaper spoke of him as genteel in appearance, though giving the impression of a country dweller rather than a city man.

In none of the press comment on the case was there any

mention of the actual events in South Carolina which caused Dr. Bratton to take refuge in Canada. The explanation given by the Manigaults, that he was a political offender, was accepted and he and his family enjoyed the friendship of many people in London. A family that was thus intimate recently placed in the hands of the writer of this article photographs of both Dr. and Mrs. Bratton taken while they were living in London more than half a century ago.

FRED LANDON

APHRA BEHN'S "OROONOKO"

Mrs. Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*, or *The Royal Slave*, represents a distinct genre in the evolution of the English novel. Up to the appearance of *Oroonoko* heavy historical romances were enjoying a great vogue. The characters in these productions were mainly allegorical and the setting was usually in some distinctly imaginative country. *Oroonoko*, however, has local color, and frequent touches of realism; the hero dominates the whole story and has a marked personality. These qualities in the English novel were almost unknown until Mrs. Behn's novel appeared.

Aphra Behn was born in Canterbury in Kent in the year 1640. Her father, whose name was Johnson, through relationship with Lord Willoughby received an appointment as Governor of Surinam. This was an English possession in the northeast portion of South America, and is known today as Dutch Guiana. Johnson died at sea in a hurricane, but the rest of the family, which included the daughter, proceeded to the new country; and it was in Surinam on a nearby plantation that Mrs. Behn met Oroonoko, a handsome slave who she says had a "kindly air." She learned from his own lips of the life he had lived in Africa, and saw with her own eyes the horrors of the hateful slave system to which he was subjected. Over the possession of Surinam the English and Dutch were often at war. After the Dutch attack in 1667 and the subsequent surrender of Surinam by the English Lieutenant-Governor in 1668, it is probable that Mrs. Behn left immediately for England, Surinam being no longer under British influence.

When she returned to England the young woman attracted the attention of Charles II. She was sent by him as a spy to Antwerp to gain information concerning the movements of the Dutch. Although she was not success-

ful in this, she gained great favor at the Court. Being close to the monarch, she related her story of Oroonoko to him. He was deeply impressed with the fate of "this great man," and requested the narrator to put her charming as well as touching story into the form of a novel.

In *Oroonoko*, which appeared in novel form in 1688, Mrs. Behn did pioneer service, actually blazing the trail for the eighteenth century realistic novelists, and the humanitarian writers that followed some years later. Here was a woman, who had the courage, at a time when the historical romances were enjoying a great vogue, to write a novel whose characters were real and whose setting was not in an imaginative country, but a real one. About this time on the Continent the great French masters were leading a revolt against the historical romances. Charles Sorel's *Le Berger Extravagant*, Moliere's *Le Précieuses Ridicules*, and Boileau's *Lucian Dialogue* all contributed to the death of the romantic element in the novel as practiced by the litterateurs of that day.¹ Mrs. Behn possibly did not wish to be considered the river-head of English realism, or to be considered a revolter against the spirit of the novel of her day. Her life proves quite the contrary. She, like a great many of her contemporaries, was a time-server, and fell quite harmoniously in with the spirit of the age. But whether knowingly or unknowingly, she produced a work in which she made frequent use of realistic touches which gave her an important place in the development of the English novel.

Mrs. Behn in an attempt to be realistic sometimes startles one in her geographical descriptions. She writes of Surinam:

'Tis a continent, whose vast Extent was never yet known, and may contain more noble Earth than all the Universe besides; for, they say, it reaches from East to West one way as far as China, and another to Peru.²

¹ Cross, *The Development of English Novel*, 7.

² *Oroonoko*, 153.

Local color in the novel at that time was almost an unknown attribute. *Oroonoko* reflects life in the tropics. The descriptions are almost photographic.

'Tis there eternal Spring, always the very months of April, May, and June. The trees appearing all like nosegays, adorn'd with flowers; some are all white, some purple, some scarlet, some blue, some yellow.³

She concludes:

Not all the Gardens of boasted Italy can produce a Shade to outvie this which Nature has join'd with art to render so exceeding fine.⁴

Mrs. Behn speaks frequently of certain animals that infested Surinam, such as the torpedo or numb eel, tigers, armadillos, cusharees, marmosets, some peculiar flies and the buffaloes. That these animals actually lived there is affirmed by Wallace in a book published in 1667 entitled *An Impartial Description of Surinam*. Mrs. Behn, not being entirely free from the influence of the French heroic romances, added a dash of the fantastic in describing these animals. She writes in describing the tiger, which Oroonoko delights to hunt:

We wondered at his daring, and the Bigness of the Beast, which was about the Height of an Heifer.⁵

Of the armadillo she says:

A little Beast call'd an Armadillo a Thing which I can liken to nothing so well as a Rhinoceros.⁶

Mrs. Behn's making use of the local color in her visit to Surinam which gave her novel an indisputable place in English realism undoubtedly gave to Defoe, Richardson and the other eighteenth century realists the great vogue that their works enjoyed. *Oroonoko* appeared thirty-one years before Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, and fifty-two years

³ *Ibid.*, 153.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 154.

before Richardson's *Pamela*. The last two works named are considered as a warning that a flood of realism was about to descend upon a waiting world. Although Mrs. Behn is not accurate in some of her descriptions, as Professor Bernbaun has noted, yet, as Professor Canby says, "I can only believe after many readings, she wished to set forth with a reasonable degree of truth."

The novel is intensely dramatic. The element of suspense is well handled. Nothing had been done so admirably in plot developing as this until Fielding wrote *Joseph Andrews*. Cæsar, a black man, the hero in Mrs. Behn's *Oroonoko*, was the first distinctly drawn character in English fiction.⁷

Oroonoko has all the tone of being a true biography of this noble slave. On the title page Mrs. Behn writes:

I do not pretend in giving you the History of this Royal Slave, to entertain my Readers with the Adventures of a feign'd Hero, whose Life and Fortunes Fancy may manage at the Poet's pleasure; nor in relating the Truth, design to adorn it with accidents, but such as arrived in earnest to him and it shall come simply into the world, recommended by its own proper Merits and Natural Intrigues; there being enough of Reality to support it, and to render it diverting, without the addition of Invention. I was myself an Eye-Witness of a great part of what you will find here set down.⁸

As to Oroonoko's life in Africa Mrs. Behn says:

and what I could not witness of I received it from the mouth of the Chief Actor in this History, the Hero himself.⁹

Oroonoko, a grandson of the old king of Coramantien, was made general of his grandfather's army at the age of seventeen. As to how our lost hero looked I can not do better than to quote Mrs. Behn's exact words:

He was pretty tall, but of a Shape the most exact that can be fancy'd: The most famous Statuary could not form the Figure of a Man more admirably turn'd from Head to Foot. His face was

⁷ Whitmore, *Woman's Work in English Fiction*, 16.

⁸ *Oroonoko*, 76.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 76.

not of that brown rusty Black which most of that Nation are, but a perfect Ebony, or polished Jet.¹⁰

She was no less enthusiastic of his mental qualities:

His discourse was admirable upon almost any subject; and whoever had heard him speak, would have been convinced of their Errors, that all fine Wit is confined to the white men, especially to those of Christendom.¹¹

The late general whom Oroonoko succeeded had a beautiful daughter, "a black Venus," with whom Oroonoko became passionately in love. He wooed and married the beautiful Imoinda. Oroonoko's grandfather, hearing of this famed beauty, sent the "Veil" for her, which was a royal command that the king desired her as a wife, from which desire she could not shrink. She was placed in the king's "otan." Imoinda continued to love Oroonoko. The king suspected Imoinda's love for Oroonoko, and sent her lover back to the field. Before Oroonoko made his departure for the campaign against the enemy, he paid his last secret visit to Imoinda in the "otan." Here he was captured by the king's spies.

Whoever, ye are that the boldness to approach this apartment thus rudely; know, that I, Prince Oroonoko, will revenge it with the certain death of him that first enters: Therefore stand back, and know, this Place is sacred to Love and Me this Night; Tomorrow 'tis the king's.¹²

This outrage of the "Veil" was reported to the king. After a fierce denunciation of Imoinda, he sold her into slavery. Oroonoko was exhorted to take the field against an enemy of his grandfather's kingdom. He returned to the court victorious, and feted "not only like a young victor but like a belov'd Deity."

An English ship appeared in port immediately after this. The captain was known to Oroonoko. He visited the prince, and invited him to dinner on his ship. Oroo-

¹⁰ *Oroonoko*, 87.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹² *Ibid.*, 114.

noko with his royal retinue accepted the invitation. After much merry-making and feasting the royal guest was seized and placed into chains, and the boat put to sea.

Oroonoko now became Cæsar upon a plantation in Surinam. His coming had been widely heralded. He was kindly received. He was told of a slave girl lately arrived from his country with the "fame of Clemene." By chance he saw the beautiful lost Imoinda chasing a pet dog. In very dramatic scenes they were united. Having found the lost Imoinda, Cæsar became very anxious for freedom. He requested his and Imoinda's liberty from Trefrey, the governor of Parkham Manor. He was constantly put off, and requested to wait until the Lord Governor should come. When Oroonoko realized that there was no way of escape, he decided to lead a revolt of the slaves.

On Sunday when the native whites had given themselves over to their customary Sabbath brawl, Cæsar cried:

And why, my dear Friends and Fellow-sufferers, should we be slaves to an unknown People? Have they won us in Honourable Battle, and are we by chance of War become slaves? This would not anger a noble Heart; this would not animate a soldier's Soul. No, but we are bought and sold like Apes or Monkeys, to be the sport of women, Fools and Cowards; and the Support of Rogues and Renagades, that have abandoned their own countries for Rapine, Murders, Theft and Villanies. Do you not hear every day how they upbraid each other with infamy of Life, below the wildest savages? And shall we render obedience to such a degenerate Race, who have no human Virtue left, to distinguish them from the vilest creatures?¹³

The slaves agreed to follow him.

They bow'd and kiss'd his Feet and with one accord vow'd to follow him to death.¹⁴

The Deputy-Governor, who "was a fellow whose character is not fit to be mentioned with the vilest slaves," was called upon to quell the uprising. The slaves were overpowered; and Oroonoko promised protection if he should yield alive.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 173.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 176.

But they were no sooner arrived at the place where all the slaves receive their punishments of whipping but they laid hands on Cæsar and whipped (him) in a most inhuman manner—and then rubb'd his wounds, to complete their cruelty with Indian Pepper, which had like to have made him raving mad.¹⁵

Oroonoko “vowed” revenge. He decided to seek his revenge, and then to kill himself. He did not wish to leave the beautiful Imoinda, and decided to kill her first. He took her into the woods and told her his plans. Since there was no escape, Imoinda concurred in her husband’s belief that it was better to die. After a long passionate embrace he struck dead the beautiful Imoinda. A man hunt for Cæsar and Imoinda was started by the colonists. He was found weeping over the dead body of Imoinda. As the party approached, he said:

You may go back and tell the Faithless Governor, he may thank Fortune that I am breathing my last: Look ye, ye Faithless Crew, ’tis not Life I seek, nor am I afraid of dying (and at that word, cut a piece of Flesh from his own Throat and threw it at em) yet still I would live if I could, ’till I had perfected my revenge.¹⁶

After Cæsar had become very weak from a lack of food and several self-inflicted wounds, he was again captured and taken to the whipping post.

“My Friends, am I to die or to be whipt?” “Whipt,” they cried, “No, you shall not escape so well.” “A blessing on thee!”¹⁷

Cæsar assured his captors that they need not tie him, that he would “stand like a rock and endure death.” At his request he was given a lighted pipe.

The Executioner came, and first cut off his members, and threw them into the Fire; after that they cut off his ears and nose, and burn’d them; he still smoked on; then they hack’d off one of his arms; and at the cutting of the other arm his Head sunk and his pipe dropt, and he gave up the ghost without a groan, or a Reproach.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 184.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 196.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 199.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 200.

This novel was at once the rage of the day. Southerne, an Englishman, dramatized the novel for the stage in England. It was also adapted for the stage in Germany, and translated into French. *Oroonoko* was the first humanitarian novel in the English language. Its vogue was almost as great as that of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which appeared two hundred years later. Like *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the book had a very strong moral influence, being a serious indictment of the inhuman practice of the white man's traffic in human lives. Algernon Charles Swinburne said:

Oroonoko was one ardent and continuous appeal for sympathy and pity, one fervent and impassioned protest against cruelty and tyranny.¹⁹

Wilbur Cross spoke thus enthusiastically of *Oroonoko*:

Oroonoko is the most humanitarian novel in English. Though its spirit can not for a moment be compared in moral earnestness, with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, yet its purpose was to awaken Christendom to the horror of slavery. The time being not yet ripe for it, the romance was for the public merely an interesting story to be dramatized.²⁰

George Saintsbury added:

Her prose has much merit, and she ranks early and high in the list of English novelists.²¹

Edmund Gosse said:

She deserves our sympathy as a warmhearted, gifted and industrious woman, who was forced by circumstances and temperament to win her livelihood in a profession where scandalous writing was at that time obligatory. She was the George Sand of the Restoration, the Chère Maître to such men as Dryden, Otway, and Southerne who honored her with their friendship.²²

Mrs. Behn's treatment of *Oroonoko* shows us the possibilities of the Negro as a tragic character. The Negro

¹⁹ Swinburne, *Studies in Prose and Poetry*, 95.

²⁰ Cross, *The Development of English Novel*, 20.

²¹ Saintsbury, *Specimens of English Prose Style*.

²² Gosse, *Dictionary of National Biography*.

has been a fit subject for tragedy. Shakespeare showed this in his *Othello*. *Oroonoko* has all the fine tragic qualities of *Cæsar*, and the oratory of *Henry V*. He has the relentless passion for Imoinda that Romeo had for Juliet. Unfortunately, since the presentation of the *Padlock* in London in 1768 at Drury Lane Theater, starring a very prominent character, Mungo, a slave of a West Indian planter, the Negro has been shown in an unfavorable light.²³

EDWIN D. JOHNSON

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²³ Brawley, *Social History of the American Negro*, 214.

DOCUMENTS

LETTERS TO ANTISLAVERY WORKERS AND AGENCIES

To expect the abolitionists to tell the truth about slavery is now considered by historians as most preposterous. Abolitionists are generally branded as unusually excited persons abandoning themselves to their emotions, while portraying the slave as a persecuted saint and his owner as the devil incarnate. On the other hand, the colonizationists boasting of the most "respectable" membership, doing and saying every thing possible to deport the free Negro to safeguard the institution of slavery, are regarded as persons disposed to tell the truth about the situation at that time.

To a candid thinker, however, there cannot seem to be any more truth in the declarations of the colonizationists who were trying to carry out one program than there was in those of the abolitionists who endeavored to solve the problem of Negro uplift in a different way. The protagonists of both sides said and did those things which espoused the particular cause in which they were interested. They belonged to the same race, lived in the same country, and had developed under the same influences. That one group should be especially truthful and the other the contrary is a conclusion which can be supported only by bias and prejudice.

It has been said, moreover, that the contributions of Negroes to the abolition organs were revised by the editors in keeping with the thought that they desired to weave into the production of the Negro writers. As a matter of fact, however, the evidence is to the effect that communications addressed by Negroes to newspapers underwent less change in the case of the abolitionists than in that of the colonizationists. Most of those addressed to the latter usually came from Negroes of the South once held as slaves or expecting to be freed in the near future. Having had little

opportunity for education, they could not easily express themselves. They, therefore, often called upon white friends to write letters for them and when they submitted their own, the editors of colonization organs often published them with notes to the effect that the language had been changed to improve the style of the letters.

In the case of the abolitionists this was generally unnecessary for the reason that Negroes exercising such freedom of speech as to express themselves on the issues of the day usually lived in the North where they had better facilities of education. The Negro spokesmen through abolition agencies, moreover, were very often learned men who had undergone sufficient mental development to compare favorably with reformers thus functioning among the whites. There was, therefore, little necessity for a change in the letters of Negroes addressed to antislavery men and agencies.

These antislavery letters of the Negroes are of unusual significance for the reason that although many of these persons herein reported were editors and orators of consequence during the crisis, they failed to keep complete files of their newspapers or to record their orations for the benefit of generations unborn. In these letters, therefore, the investigator will find the only valuable source to determine what the free Negro was actually thinking and feeling during this period.

I. JOHN B. RUSSWURM, NATHANIEL PAUL, JAMES FORTEN,
ROBERT PURVIS, AND OTHERS

The following letters do not show a charitable disposition toward John B. Russwurm, who had at one time been popular as the editor of *Freedom's Journal*, published in New York during the 'thirties. At first, he refused to connect himself with the colonizationists, but finding their later proposals more flattering, he joined their ranks, going to Liberia where he served as an editor and public functionary. In advocating rather strongly the cause of colonization, he incurred the displeasure of some of his former friends, as these letters show.

To the Editor of the Liberator.

SIR—Notwithstanding the many preposterous arguments of colonizationists, and their wild and incoherent freaks, in support of their imaginary scheme of civilizing Africa, by draining the people of color from this their original and only home; notwithstanding the many hyperbolical accounts, which they so assiduously and conscientiously circulate about that pestiferous clime;—I never felt so indignant at any of their manœuvres (for every step they take to facilitate their plans, tends but to expose their inconsistency) as at a piece of composition which appeared in the twelfth number of the ‘*Liberia Herald*,’ written by its editor John B. Russworm. This John B. Russworm is known, I presume, to every one of us; his ingratitude is but too deeply stamped on the minds of many, who have been requited in a manner, which neither time nor space will ever obliterate. After he subverted the pledge he made to his colored brethren, he left, to our satisfaction, his country—suffused with shame—and branded with the stigma of disgrace—to dwell in that land for which the temptor MONEY caused him to avow his preferment. He has resided there more than a year, publishing doubtless to the satisfaction of his supporters, their many glorious schemes, and eulogizing to the very skies the prosperity of his goodly LIBERIA. Not contented with lauding the retreat in which and about which he may flame with impunity, he has the audacity to reprove those with whom he played the traitor. Out of much he said, let this suffice as an example:

‘Before God, we know of no other home for the man of color, of republican principles, than Africa. Has he no ambition? Is he dead to everything noble? Is he contented with his condition? Let him remain in America.’

To this we reply, that before God, we know of no surer burial place than Africa, for men of any color; that we will never envy John B. Russworm his ambition; and that we will pray God, that his notions of nobleness may never enter our hearts, and that we will not be contented with our condition, but will make it better in this our native home.

R.¹

Philadelphia, April 8th, 1831.

To the Editor of the Liberator.

SIR—I have read from the U. S. Gazette of Philadelphia, a paragraph published by Mr Russworm at Liberia, which I pre-

¹ *Liberator*, April 16, 1831.

sume was intended for the perusal of the colored people of this country—viz:

‘It is with much pleasure that we have witnessed the daily spread of the cause of colonization. Our brethren of color are beginning to view it in a more favorable light. And though a few of them, misled themselves, have endeavored to mislead the more ignorant to Canada, how have they succeeded? Do not the resolutions of Upper Canada speak volumes? Are they not viewed as intruders? Will not the arbitrary laws, or rather prejudices, which have been raised in Ohio, be planted and matured in Canada? It requires no prophetic eye to foresee, that to them and their posterity there is no abiding place on the other side of the Atlantic. Canada will hardly afford them a temporary shelter, against the bleak winds of winter. Before God, we know no other home for the man of color, of republican principles, than Africa.’

Read for yourselves, my colored brethren, the language of Mr Russwurm, and then you will be able to judge of the change which this world’s goods are calculated to make in the principles of man.

When Mr Russwurm was employed in the editorial department of the Freedom’s Journal, and paid for services which were not rendered, he was as much opposed to the colonizing of the free people of color in Africa as I am; but when his patrons failed to support the Journal, he, not being able to live without other subscribers, converted the people’s paper to the use of the Colonization Society, by which change he worked himself into their employ; and you now have evidence of his faithful performance to his worthy employers.

I have nothing to say against the very laudable efforts [?] of the Society. It has done, and continues to do, much good [?] for our enslaved brethren; and the Colony at Liberia is well adapted to the bettering of their unhappy condition. I am glad to see they have friends, who will aid in moving them to that highly respected country. But we who have a right to free suffrages, have no disposition to emigrate either to Africa or Canada. If left to our choice, we would much rather stay at home. It is here we have received our birth, and here we wish to remain.

Mr Russwurm tells us, he knows no other home for us than Africa. If he were in Philadelphia, and would make this assertion to me, I would tell him it was a palpable falsehood, and would prove it by his former editorial documents. I would ask whether Mr R. would have gone to Africa even on a visit, had he been in flourishing circumstances? I answer, no. I am too sensible of

this fact, that he would as reluctantly fall a victim to the lion, the tiger, the serpent, or the climate, as any one of us: it was real necessity that drove him to seek in Africa an abiding home, as he terms it; and as his usefulness is entirely lost to the people, I sincerely pray that he may have the honor to live and also die there.

C. D. T. *a Philadelphian*.²

The following ideas from the Rev. Nathaniel Paul become more interesting when we think of him as one of the first to join the antislavery ranks. He was denouncing slavery years before Garrison, Phillips, and Sumner appeared upon the scene.

It will doubtless be gratifying to the numerous friends of this highly respectable individual in this country, as well as to his colored brethren in Upper Canada, to be apprised of his welfare and success in England. Mr Paul sailed from New-York on the 31st of December, as the agent and representative of the colonists in Wilberforce to the British Court, for the purpose of procuring the protection and patronage of the Crown, and exciting the sympathies of the people of England in behalf of the colonists. We have received a letter from him, dated London, July 3d, a portion of which we have extracted below. Mr Paul informs us that the apostate Quaker Elliot Cresson, the agent of the Colonization Society, was making rapid progress in deceiving the English philanthropists, until Mr P. clogged his chariot wheels. 'He had represented the Society,' says Mr P. 'as engaged merely *to break down slavery*; but I have boldly contradicted his statement, and shown to the people that its obvious tendency is to promote and perpetuate that odious system.' It is fortunate for the cause of truth and benevolence that Mr Paul happens to be in England at this time; and we sincerely hope that he will spare no efforts to expose the base imposition which Cresson is palming upon the generous-hearted Britons. Let them but fairly understand the principles and operations of the Colonization Society, and he will no longer dare to solicit their charities in its behalf. Cresson's assertion, that the Society is engaged to overthrow slavery, is a gross misrepresentation. The Society, through a thousand responsible organs, has protested *ab origine* that its object is not the emancipation of the slaves, but the expulsion of the free people of color. It is not hostile to

² *Liberator*, April 30, 1831.

slavery in any sense of the term, but gives it protection and nourishment. Mr Paul's account of the enthusiasm which pervades the minds of the British people on the subject of abolition is indeed most cheering.

LONDON, July 3d, 1832.

MY DEAR FRIEND GARRISON—It is with pleasure that I improve this opportunity in writing you a few lines from this far distant country. I know that it is a matter of satisfaction to you to hear of any thing that is of importance in relation to the interest of the colored people, in whose cause you have been and still are so ardently engaged. Allow me then to say, sir, that the people of this country are alive to the cause of abolition. The zeal of many, who are members of the Anti-Slavery Society, is without a parallel, except in the apostles and martyrs of the cross of Christ. What would you think, sir, of seeing a petition *a half a mile long*, and containing more than ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY THOUSAND NAMES, sent to the Congress of the United States? Surely you would think that, ere long, slavery must be abolished in this country. Shame on your republicans! No such sight has ever been seen in America. But, thank God! we have seen it here. This was but one petition. Several others have been sent, and more than THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND NAMES have gone to the House of Commons, praying that this accursed system may be abolished. Indeed, the recent outrages committed in Jamaica will have a powerful tendency to hasten on the glorious event.

It may be probably interesting to you to hear how I am getting along, in regard to the object for which I came to this country. I would therefore say that, at the time I came, it was a time of peculiar oppression in this city. The Cholera had just broken out, and this, in connexion with the political state of the kingdom, threw every thing into such a state of agitation, that it was impossible for me to prosecute my business with any degree of success. But things are now more settled than when I arrived. The Reform Bill having passed, and received the royal sanction, the political peace of the kingdom is restored, and the Cholera, although it has not entirely subsided, nevertheless it is not so fatal or general as it hitherto has been. I feel, therefore, in hopes that I shall be able to prosecute the object of my mission with greater success. I will only say, that I have not met with a single objection to the object, but with much encouragement from ministers

and gentlemen of the first standing, such as Wilberforce, Clarkson, &c.

* * * * *

God bless you!

NATH'L PAUL.³

Bristol, (England,) April 10, 1833.

MY DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

Having an opportunity of sending to America, I improve it in writing you a few lines. I have much to say, and I hardly know what to say first; but I will begin with that subject which, next to the salvation of the soul, I know lies nearest your heart—viz. the liberation of the helpless slave, and the elevation of the people of color from that state of degradation that they have so long been in.

Let me say, then, sir, that the voice of this nation is loud and incessant against the system of slavery. Its death warrant is sealed, so far as it relates to the British West Indies. The advocates of slavery are trembling, for the signs of the times proclaim that the end of their oppression draweth near. The tune of the planters is changed. They formerly threatened, but they now begin to supplicate pity for themselves and their children. But how shall those who have felt no pity for others, think of exciting pity for themselves? Their entreaties come too late. The course of the people is determined, and by the help of God they will continue it until slavery shall cease. And let it rejoice your heart, sir, that no half way measures are to be taken. Tired of that delusive song of gradual emancipation, they have resolved to be satisfied with nothing short of total, absolute, and immediate emancipation. A bill will be introduced by his Majesty's government in a few days to this effect; and as soon as this is done, the tables in both Houses of Parliament will groan beneath the weight of the Petitions that will be sent in. Men, women and children stand ready, with pen in hand, to act their part when called for. As well might the slaveholders try to stop the sun in his course, as to think of impeding the cause of liberty. The cause is God's and must prevail. And I believe that those bright luminaries, CLARKSON and WILBERFORCE will yet live to witness its triumph.

Your 'Thoughts on Colonization' are the thoughts of the people here. I only regret that your book had not come sooner. Cresson

³ *Liberator*, August 25, 1832.

is now somewhere, I believe, in this country; but the people have their eyes open, and I have met with but one gentleman who did not regret that they ever countenanced his cause. Extracts from your book are published in several of the most respectable periodical publications. It has done much good.

I have been engaged, for several months past, in travelling through the country and delivering lectures upon the system of slavery as it exists in the United States, the condition of the free people of color in that country, and the importance of promoting the cause of education and religion generally among the colored people. My lectures have been numerously attended by from two to three thousand people, the Halls and Chapels have been overflowed, and hundreds have not been able to obtain admittance. I have not failed to give Uncle Sam due credit for his 2,000,000 slaves; nor to expose the cruel prejudices of the Americans to our colored race; nor to fairly exhibit the hypocrisy of the Colonization Society, to the astonishment of the people here. And is this, say they, republican liberty? God deliver us from it.

And now, to contrast the difference in the treatment that a colored man receives in this country, with that which he receives in America, my soul is filled with sorrow and indignation. I could weep over the land of my nativity! I would ask those hypocritical pretenders to humanity and religion, who are continually crying out, 'What shall we do with our black and colored people?' Why do ye not do them justice? What! are you better than Englishmen? Admit them to equal rights with yourselves; this is all that they ask; this is all that is needful to be done. What hinders you from doing this? Is it any thing but the pride of your hearts? Here, if I go to church, I am not pointed to the 'negro seat' in the gallery; but any gentleman opens his pew door for my reception. If I wish for a passage in a stage, the only question that is asked me is, 'Which do you choose, sir, an inside or an outside seat?' If I stop at a public inn, no one would ever think here of setting a separate table for me; I am conducted to the same table with other gentlemen. The only difference that I have ever discovered is this, I am generally taken for a stranger, and they therefore seem anxious to pay me the greater respect.

I have had the pleasure of breakfasting twice with the venerable WILBERFORCE, and have now a letter in my pocket that I received from him, a few weeks since, which I would not take pounds for.

Once I have been in the company of the patriotic CLARKSON. I must say I viewed them both as Angels of liberty. God bless and reward them.

In regard to the object that brought me to this country, I would say, that, considering the peculiar state of the country, I have been quite as successful as I could expect. The object has met with the most decided approbation from all classes of people. I do not hold out the delusive idea that the whole of the colored people are going to Canada; but have invariably said, that in spite of all that will ever remove there, or to any other part of the world they will continue to increase in America. It is only to open the door for all such as choose to go, or that prefer Canada to the United States.

When I shall return, I cannot at present say; but I think that it will not be under several months.

Farewell, in the name of the Lord. Let us trust and persevere to the end.

NATHANIEL PAUL.*

LONDON, (Eng.) August 29, 1833.

TO ANDREW T. JUDSON, ESQ.

Of the Town of Canterbury, State of Connecticut.

SIR—Through the medium of the American newspapers, I have seen your name, and the names of your worthy coadjutors, and have read your noble and praiseworthy deeds, in regard to the establishment of a school in your town, conducted by one Miss Prudence Crandall, for the instruction of young ladies of color! And believing that acts so patriotic, so republican, so Christian-like in their nature, as yours, against the unpardonable attempts of this fanatical woman, should not be confined to one nation or continent, but that the WORLD should know them, and learn and profit thereby;—I have thought proper to do all in my power to spread your fame, that your works may be known at least throughout this country. Nor will you marvel at my magnanimity when I inform you that I am, myself, a native of New-England, and consequently *proud* of whatever may emanate from her sons, calculated to exalt them in the eyes of the world.

And as I have been for some months past and still am engaged in travelling and delivering lectures upon the state of slavery as it

* *Liberator*, June 22, 1833.

exists in the United States, and the condition of the free people of color there, it will afford me an excellent opportunity of making this whole affair known; nor shall I fail to improve it. Yes, sir, Britons shall know that there are men in America, and whole towns of them, too, who are not so destitute of true heroism but that they can assail a helpless woman, surround her house by night, break her windows, and drag her to prison, for the treasonable act of teaching females of color to read!!!

Already is the State of Connecticut indebted to me for my gratuitous services since I have been in this country, in her behalf; especially the city of *New-Haven*, and its worthy Mayor. Their magnanimous conduct in regard to the establishment of a college for colored youth in that place, I have spread from 'Dan to Beersheba;'—and Dennis Kimberly may rest assured that the name of Benedict Arnold does not stand higher in the estimation of the American people than *his* does in England! It is my intention, sir, to give you an equal elevation.

I shall make no charge for the service I may render you. Nevertheless, if you think I am truly deserving, and ought to have a compensation, whatever you may feel it your duty to give, you will please to hand it over to the Treasurer of the 'American Colonization Society,' of which, I understand, you are a member and an advocate.

Respectfully yours,

NATHANIEL PAUL,⁵

Representative of the Wilberforce Settlement, Upper Canada.

13, *Scarsdale Terrace, Kensington, near London*, 22d Jan., 1834.

MY DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

Your letter of Nov. 5th I received a few days ago. I was engaged at that time in writing an answer to a *new philippic* of that devoted friend of Elliott Cresson and the Colonization Society, Dr. HODGKIN. I had got about half through the work when I ascertained that Capt. Stuart and the Rev. John Scoble had anticipated me—therefore, of course, I gave it up. Dr. HODGKIN seems to be almost the only friend that Cresson has left. I think, however, that *he* will soon be glad to keep quiet, after the castigation he has received from the above named gentlemen.

⁵ *Liberator*, Nov. 23, 1833.

I am happy to hear of your safe arrival at the scene of your former labors; nor was I surprised or disappointed that the colonization and slaveholding persecutors should have assailed you in the manner that they have done. Pitiful creatures! Will they never be satisfied or tired of their brutal and fiend-like atrocities? Have they not already sunk themselves low enough in the estimation of all liberal and enlightened men? I pity them from my soul! and pray God to give them repentance ere they die; for, if there be a corner in hell where the anger of a righteous God burns the most fierce, that place must be theirs.

And so they throw out their threats against me! and I, too, may expect to be marked a victim of satanic fury on my return to my native country!! If they have not drunk sufficiently of the blood of my fathers and brethren to quench their insatiable thirst, they are welcome to mine! They may take my life, if they wish to take it; but, let not the base tyrants insult me with their threats, supposing that they can thereby prevent me from pursuing my work, or hinder my exposing their conduct to the censure of the British public.

The pledge that I gave to ANDREW T. JUDSON and his worthy coadjutors, in the letter addressed to him a few months since, I have steadily kept in view; and, so far as I have gone, I have most sacredly redeemed.

I must tell you of a meeting I held in the city of Norwich, but a few weeks since. The meeting was convened, under the sanction of the Mayor, in a spacious room known by the name of S. Andrew's Hall. At the hour appointed, the hall, which will contain from three to four thousand people, was literally filled. Dr. ASH, a leading and highly respectable member of the Society of Friends, was called to the chair, who opened the meeting with a short and appropriate speech, and introduced me to the audience. I then rose and spoke for an hour and a half. I was followed by W. B. Youngman, Esq., the Rev. John Scoble, the Rev. Mr. Alexander, and Capt. G. Pilkington. I wish that that whited wall, Judge Daggett, Dennis Kimberly, Andrew T. Judson, and the rest of the persecutors of Miss Prudence Crandall, and of the colored people, had been near by, to have their names and their conduct exposed, and to have witnessed the utter contempt and indignation which a recital of their deeds elicited from the meeting; they would ever after have sought to hide their 'diminished heads' in some obscure corner of the earth, remote from human observation.

It is, however, almost beyond endurance, to hear these men talk of your having slandered your country while in England. To slander America, with regard to her treatment of her slaves and free colored people, would be tantamount to slandering his satanic majesty, by calling him wicked! Her nakedness is already discovered, and her shame cannot be hid! If she would wish to redeem her character as a nation, it must be by other means than by that of *tarring and feathering abolitionists*. She must effect it by driving such men as Daggett from the bench, and Judson from office, and consign their associates in wickedness to that oblivion which their conduct has merited, by abandoning their Colonization crusade, and annihilating slavery, and their cruel prejudice against the colored people. She may then raise her flag of liberty, and spread it out unstained and uncontaminated, for the world to look upon and admire.

My dear brother, I am aware you need no stimulus from me in pursuing your noble and philanthropic career. Still, justice to you demands the assurance from my pen, that you *do indeed* possess the confidence, the esteem, and share in the prayers of the abolitionists, and friends of religion, humanity and liberty, in England. Miss CRANDALL also shares the admiration and sympathy of the friends of religion; and is, and will be supported by the prayers of the christians in Britain, while they heartily bid her God-speed in her heroic and praise-worthy undertaking.

Pray be particular in forwarding the Liberator. I have only obtained four since you left, and for those I paid *half a crown a piece*. I am getting on pretty well in my business. Tell my friends to be patient—I shall return as soon as I can get through with my mission, but cannot at present specify any probable time.

I have received from my friends in New-York, a few copies of the excellent Eulogy on the Life and Character of the late Wm. Wilberforce, Esq. pronounced by Mr. Benjamin F. Hughes. It is a splendid production.

My wife joins me in love to you, to my dear sister and children, and to all the friends who hold me in affectionate remembrance.

Farewell, dear brother—fear not! God is on your side, and victory is sure.

Most affectionately yours,

NATHANIEL PAUL.⁶

⁶ *Liberator*, April 12, 1834.

THOMAS COLE

The first of these letters from Thomas Cole gives information about the Negro in general and the second mentions his interest in politics.

NEWPORT, R. I., Aug. 7, 1840.

BRO. JOHNSON :

Presuming that some of my friends would like to hear from me occasionally during my absence from the city, I take the liberty to request the insertion of a few words in the *Liberator*.

Saturday afternoon, Aug. 1, I took the cars at Boston for Providence, and arrived at the latter place in less than two and a half hours. The accommodations upon this route for persons of color are tolerably good—much better than they formerly were. The proprietors have appropriated seats for colored people in the first class of cars. The accommodations, in themselves, are good enough—for the seats are as well cushioned as any in the whole train; but my objection lies against the exclusive principle which prevails—the principle which colonizes us without our consent, as if we were not fit to ride in company with others on terms of equality. This is not as it should be. The day is coming, I trust, when these paltry distinctions will be done away. The wrongs which we as a people suffer, are enough to make even the angels bow their heads and weep. We are hunted and despised, and like the Son of Man, have not where to lay our heads. Our condition reminds me of the exiled Israelites, who sat and wept on the banks of their lovely streams. The iron heel of oppression is crushing the hearts of many colored Americans to the earth. Our spirits, however, can never be subdued, if we are only united and true to our interests. Our souls, like the mountain's crest, will yet tower high above surrounding difficulties.

The first of August, the anniversary of British emancipation, was observed in Providence in a very appropriate manner. An address was delivered at Masonic Hall by James Richardson, Jr., a young man of fine talents. I had the pleasure of hearing part of his discourse. He depicted the horrors of American slavery in glowing colors. I hope his address will be published, for it would prove one of the choicest specimens of anti-slavery literature. An address was also delivered by a young man of color in one of the churches of the colored people. Of this address, also, I heard only a part; but what I did hear was deeply interesting.

August 2d, I left Providence for Newport at 8 o'clock, A. M. This is one of the most beautiful places in the whole Union. It has a noble harbor studded with beautiful islands and lined with shipping. A whale ship arrived on Wednesday last, which brought 2,500 bbls. of oil—a cargo valued at \$80,000. What is called the old town of Newport is situated on a gentle acclivity sloping down to the water in the form of a semi-circle. The population is 8000. The colored inhabitants number about 350 or 400. They have a very neat little church, where the great body of them worship. A few, however, have seceded and set up worship by themselves. The people of both sexes to whom I have been introduced are very intelligent and affable, and display a becoming taste in their dress.

On Sunday I had the pleasure of listening to two sermons from Rev. Peter Williams of New York. He preached in the church where the colored people mostly worship. He, as well as myself, is staying at the house of friend Remond, the father of C. L. Remond, now in England. Friend Remond has a very pleasant location, and an interesting family.

Your readers are doubtless aware that Newport was settled in 1639 by William Coddington, a Quaker, and seventeen others. Mr. Coddington was afterwards governor. It has been the scene of many a bloody war. The British held possession of the island during three years of the Revolution. The remains of *old* forts and entrenchments are yet to be seen. Fort Adams has been seventeen years in building, and will not be completed in less than five more. It is a stupendous work. There are several places here of fashionable resort—among them a 'Purgatory,' a 'Paradise,' and the 'Spouting Rock.' Many strangers resort here to spend the summer in a quiet and healthy retreat.

Excuse me for spinning out such a 'long yarn,' and allow me to subscribe myself.

Yours, in behalf of the oppressed,

THOMAS COLE.⁷

BOSTON, November, 1840.

DEAR SIR:—Knowing the deep interest you have always manifested in whatever relates to the welfare of the colored man, I take the liberty to communicate a few thoughts.

⁷ *Liberator*, Aug. 21, 1840.

Since President Van Buren has met his Waterloo defeat, I have been led to contemplate the political aspect of society.

What is a political life? I think it may be regarded as a good school for the development of the intellectual faculties, but not for the cultivation of moral sensibility. I speak of course of political life, as it now exists, and has existed.

I can conceive of a state of society, so elevated and so moral, as to render politics a school for the exercise and attainment of moral and Christian virtues. But such is not the state of society now.

Political parties of the present day give no encouragement to the cause of emancipation, morality and religion; political honesty at the present day, is an anomaly. In separating the church from the state, politicians have separated the state from heaven.

Political parties, as they now exist, are undoubtedly hostile to the interest of the slaves and the nominally free. Our present rulers have been great sinners. Van Buren was an original sinner. I rejoice that he is soon to be released from the cares of office, and return to Kinderhook, for his servility to the slaveholding interest of the South.

Consider the temptations to which a political man is exposed. You will not wonder that his moral delicacy is blinded, and should be assailed. Office is generally the gift of party, for some party services rendered. Is it not so? Is not a politician, then, under an implied obligation to consult the wishes of his party?

We, as a people, I apprehend, have erred greatly in the advocacy of our rights to freedom and equality. How many of the privileges that we now enjoy, would have been secured to us without the aid of the friends of freedom? Our rights are secured by constitutional law. We have yet a host of friends who have not 'bowed the knee to Baal'—men who are worthy the name—whose characters and principles show the elevated stand they are taking to attain for us 'liberty and equality.' Let our watchword be, liberty and equality, as it is our birth-right. I do not despair of triumph as our cause is founded upon the rock of eternal truth.

We must take a more comprehensive view of our condition, and every thing that relates to our highest and best good. We must study politics for ourselves, and place ourselves in a condition where our influence will be felt wherever we have the right to exercise the political franchise. Then, and then only, will equal justice be meted out to us. What have we and the friends of

liberty to expect from the party who are soon to go into power, and legislate in the councils of this nation? Absolutely nothing. The policy of the South is the maintenance, at all hazards, of the institution of slavery. A metallic currency has been their only rallying cry! No vested rights, is the motto of those whose principal property is nothing but vested rights in slaves. Where has slavery its sanction, except from the decrees of the statute book?

Do the whig party, as such, possess more moral courage than the democrats, which will lead them to act conscientiously in defiance of a corrupt public sentiment, or of their constituents? I do not say that individuals among them may not possess this moral courage of thought and action: I only ask, is it not more probable that, as a party, they will oppose all measures for our enfranchisement and elevation, which are unpopular with the majority, rather than incur odium and loss of station, by supporting them? 'And where is the man,' says an eminent writer, 'who, for his own advancement, will not willingly injure the whole human race?' I firmly believe, that the majority of politicians would sacrifice their principles rather than their popularity.

Ever yours, for the suffering slave,

THOMAS COLE.⁸

JAMES FORTEN AND ROBERT PURVIS

James Forten, one of the most influential men of his time, and probably the most distinguished Negro to develop in Philadelphia prior to the Civil War, was the moving spirit of the convention movement among Negroes, beginning with the first meeting in Philadelphia in 1830. He was not sufficiently young and energetic to take a leading part in the intense abolition agitation of the 'thirties, but this comment and letter show that he was giving the cause his moral support.

Among the colored citizens of the republic, there is not one who is held in higher estimation than the venerable JAMES FORTEN, of Philadelphia; not merely because, by his industry, skill and prudence, he has risen to affluence, but mainly on account of his gentlemanly qualities, shining virtues, and intellectual and moral char-

⁸ *Liberator*, Dec. 18, 1840.

acteristics. He suffered many hardships in the revolutionary war, and was captured by the British while endeavoring to save his country from a foreign yoke. Ungrateful country! The following letter from his pen, written by himself almost in *copper-plate* style, illustrates the spirit of this noble man:

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 31, 1841.

MR. WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I am very happy to have the opportunity, which the visit of a young lady, a friend of my family, to Boston, presents, to forward the enclosed, my subscription to the *Liberator*. It gives me great pleasure, in reading it from week to week, to hear of the successful progress of our cause; and I never lay down the *Liberator* without feeling my faith in its final, and I trust speedy triumph, renewed and invigorated. I regret to say that my health is not improved since I saw you in the Spring; for, although I have been occasionally relieved, yet the complaint is not renewed, and I am at present suffering from a more than usually severe attack of it. Although unable to participate actively in anti-slavery labors, my interest in it is undiminished, and as ardent as ever. That you may long be spared to carry on the warfare against all oppression, is the sincere and heartfelt wish of

Your true friend,

JAMES FORTEN.⁹

Robert Purvis, the distinguished coworker of James Forten in Philadelphia, much younger than the latter, lived to see abolition enjoy some of the fruits of its labor. This letter shows his attitude toward the movement and what he was doing to promote the cause.

LONDON, July 13, 1834.

MY DEAR GARRISON:

This pleasure I expected to have had soon after my arrival in this country; but such were the demonstrations of friendship which I received from my friends here, that I could never find the time to send you an epistle; and even at this moment, I am forced to write hastily and briefly.

You must know, my dear friend, that I am regarded in this country as 'Abolition property'—and you must also know, that

⁹ *Liberator*, Sept. 17, 1841.

there is a very '*particular price*' set upon such property, especially too, when the coloring of the building happens to fall below the inconstant and wavering shade of white, to the more substantial black or brown.

Our dear friend GEORGE THOMPSON has not yet left this country, but will embark on the 24th inst. You and all our friends may expect him in August.

The Abolition friends, in this country, hear with astonishment and indignation the *slandorous* assertion, that the departed WILBERFORCE affixed his signature to the Protest against the American Colonization Society when his mind was enfeebled by disease. 'No,' say they, 'WILBERFORCE was in the full possession of his mental faculties.' In fact, notwithstanding the artifices of a *certain one*, [Elliott Cresson,] he had mistrusted both Society and Agent long before he signed the Protest.

I had, at the House of Commons, an introduction to the Hon. DANIEL O'CONNELL. On my being presented to the Irish Patriot as an *American Gentleman*, he declined taking my hand; but when he understood that I was not only identified with the Abolitionists, but with the proscribed and oppressed colored class in the United States, he grasped my hand, and warmly shaking it, remarked—'*Sir, I will never take the hand of an American, nor should any honest man in this country do so, without first knowing his principles in reference to American Slavery, and its ally, the American Colonization Society.*' In reply I remarked, that it was asserted in America, that he had caused his name to be stricken off the Protest against the American Colonization Society. Mark his answer! 'He who asserted that, Sir, asserted a *lie*, to the full extent and meaning of the term. I have heard,' he continued, 'that much was made of what I said, in relation to the Americans—their Slavery, and their Colonization; but'—(turning to my friend, Rev. Mr. Scoble, to whom I was indebted for an introduction,) 'I shall express myself more fully and decidedly, in relation to these matters. Get you up a meeting for that purpose, and I will subscribe £5, or more, to defray the expenses.' Such, verbatim, was the language of that fearless advocate for universal freedom. Now, will Cresson dare again to say, that DANIEL O'CONNELL erased his name from the British Protest?

Yours, most truly,

ROBERT PURVIS.^{9a}

^{9a} *Liberator*, Aug. 23, 1834.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 8th, 1841.

MR. GEO. L. CLARKE:

Dear Sir—Circumstances prevented, until this time, the acknowledgment of your letter, over date of 28th ult. I regret that I shall be unable to be with you at the approaching anniversary, of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society, but hope that those now threatened with political disfranchisement, as well as the true friends of man and liberty, will use their best and mightiest efforts, to disappoint those pseudo republicans, whose vile proscriptive propositions, in regard to the “colored people,” will blacken their names with the deepest infamy.

How cowardly, mean, and despicable the movers of this unrighteous proposition must appear, in the eyes of an enlightened world! Nay, the pettiest despot at the South, spurns the venality of such “dough-faces;” for it is but the vassal spirit of the North, adapting itself to the dirtiest work, which the great charnel-house of slavery *can* afford, for those base spirits who seem to “live, move, and have their being,” upon southern patronage and generosity.

There is a wickedness and meanness in the contemplated measure, that at once excites my indignation and pity—indignation, at the impudent and sacrilegious invasion upon human rights; pity, for the miserable creatures who are either catering to the South, or, under the influence of “Yankee” prejudice against *caste*, more virulent and fiendish than any where else felt or known.

But I hope the result of this matter will be to show that the inhabitants of your State have been properly and rightfully influenced, conformable to the spirit of its great and good founder; and that nothing was done incompatible with freedom, sound policy, the rights of man, and the laws of God.

Yours, for God and liberty,

ROBERT PURVIS,

270 Lombard-street.^{9b}

MANLY PROTEST AGAINST WRONG.

The *Liberator* of December 16, 1853 said:

The following manly Protest (which we find in a late number of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*) is made by one of the most intelligent, estimable and gentlemanly colored citizens of Pennsylvania, the latchet of whose shoes not one of the thousands of those who

^{9b} *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Dec. 2, 1841.

assume to look down with scorn upon the colored race are worthy to unloose.

BYBERRY, Pa., Nov. 5th, 1853.

FRIEND BURLEIGH: Amid the animating and encouraging signs of the times, occurrences there are which seem to dash our hopes, and drive us into the very darkness of despair. The recent outrage upon Misses Remond and Wood, and my son, at the Franklin Exhibition—Alderman Mitchell's decision in the case, when, too, he had, previously to the suit being brought before him, properly characterized it as most brutal and infamous—the continued high-handed exclusion of my children from the Public School in this Township, against law, justice and decency, perplexes and excites a spirit of belligerency, at war with the peace of my soul and body. It seemed impossible to bear any longer this robbery of my rights and property, by those miserable serviles to the slave power, the Directors of the Public Schools for this Township, and feeling it impossible, I wrote the following letter to the collector of taxes, which you may publish in the *Freeman*, should you deem proper.

Yours, very truly,

ROBERT PURVIS.^{9c}

BYBERRY, Nov. 4th, 1853.

MR. JOS. J. BUTCHER—*Dear Sir:* You called yesterday for the tax upon my property in this Township, which I shall pay, excepting the 'School Tax.' I object to the payment of this tax, on the ground that my rights as a citizen, and my feelings as a man and a parent, have been grossly outraged in depriving me, in violation of law and justice, of the benefits of the school system which this tax was designed to sustain. I am perfectly aware that all that makes up the character and worth of the citizens of this township look upon the proscription and exclusion of my children from the Public School as illegal, and an unjustifiable usurpation of my right. I have borne this outrage ever since the innovation upon the usual practice of admitting *all* the children of the Township into the Public Schools, and at considerable expense, have been obliged to obtain the services of private teachers to instruct my children, while my school tax is greater, with a single exception, than that of any other citizen of the township. It is true, (and the outrage is made but the more glaring and insulting,) I was in-

^{9c} *Liberator*, Sept. 16, 1853.

formed by a *pious Quaker* director, with a sanctifying grace, imparting, doubtless, an unctuous glow to his *saintly* prejudices, that a school in the village of Mechanicsville was appropriated for '*thine*.' The miserable shanty, with all its appurtenances, on the very line of the township, to which this *benighted* follower of George Fox alluded, is, as you know, the most flimsy and ridiculous sham which any tool of a skin-hating aristocracy could have resorted to, to cover or protect his servility. To submit by voluntary payment of the demand is too great an outrage upon nature, and, with a spirit, thank God, unshackled by this, or any other wanton and cowardly act, I shall resist this tax, which, before the unjust exclusion, had always afforded me the highest gratification in paying. With no other than the best feeling towards yourself, I am forced to this unpleasant position, in vindication of my rights and personal dignity against an encroachment upon them as contemptibly mean as it is infamously despotic.

Yours, very respectfully,

ROBERT PURVIS.^{9d}

II. CONTROVERSIAL CORRESPONDENCE

The following letters show how difficult it was not only for the white abolitionists to work in harmony but even for the Negro leaders to do so. Whether with reason or without, the one often did much to destroy the other. The most striking case here is taken from Canada. At first things seemed to be going along nicely.

COLONY IN UPPER CANADA.

The Rev. Nathaniel Paul, agent of the Wilberforce settlement in Canada, and formerly pastor of the African Baptist Church in this city, arrived here on Wednesday, the 10th Aug. bringing with him letters of instruction and other credentials, authorizing him to visit Great Britain, to solicit such aid as may be conducive to the prosperity and future welfare of that infant settlement. Mr. Paul's papers were signed by his Excellency the Lieut. Governor. The information received from the above gentleman was truly gratifying, and it is to be hoped that the friends to that and every other good cause, will assist him in his philanthropic exertions, so

^{9d} *Liberator*, Dec. 16, 1853.

requisite to the immediate prosecution of his mission abroad. The state of affairs in the settlement may be seen from the communication in this number from the above place. Editors friendly to the above-mentioned settlement, will please give the communication an insertion in their papers.—*Albany African Sentinel*.

WILBERFORCE SETTLEMENT, U. C.

Mr Editor—It will no doubt be gratifying to our friends who in different parts of the state of New-York and elsewhere, have taken an interest in our welfare, and have aided us in effecting this infant settlement, to hear from us, to know how we are getting along; we therefore beg the favor of communicating to them, through the medium of your very useful paper, a short account of our affairs: Through the blessing of God, we have all enjoyed our usual degree of health. We have erected for our accommodations comfortable log buildings, and have a portion of our land in a state of cultivation; our crops at present continue to smile upon the labor of our hands; we shall raise the present year nearly enough to supply the present number of settlers. The people are industrious, and well pleased with their present location; and it is believed that none of them could be hired to go back to the states. Two religious societies have been organized, one of the Baptist, under the pastoral care of Elder Nathaniel Paul, and the other of the Methodist, under the care of Elder Enos Adams; and we are happy to add, that the utmost degree of harmony exists between the two churches. A sabbath school, under the superintendence of Mr Austin Steward, late of Rochester, is in successful operation; and a day school for the instruction of the children, is taught by a daughter of Elder Benjamin Paul, late of the city of New-York; and in addition to which, a temperance society has been formed, consisting of about thirty in number; and the voice of the people is decidedly against ardent spirits ever being introduced as an article of merchandise among us. There are, however, a number of families who have emigrated from the states, whose pecuniary circumstances will not admit of their coming at present to join us, but are compelled to take lands in the neighboring settlements upon shares, and hundreds more in the states are longing to join us, but on account of their limited means are not able to carry their designs into effect. We feel grateful for past favors, but will not the eye of the Philanthropist be turned toward their condition, and

his hand opened to supply their wants, that they may thereby be enabled to join their brethren, to help forward one of the most noble enterprises that ever was started, to elevate the too long degraded African, this side the Atlantic?

The annual election of the board of Managers, whose duty it is to appoint agents, and to take the oversight of the general concerns of the settlement, took place July 11th, when the following persons were duly elected:—Austin Steward, Benjamin Paul, Enos Adams, William Bell, Philip Harris, Abraham Dangerfield, Simon Wyatt. The newly elected board, considering the limited means of the colored people generally, and the absolute necessity of pecuniary aid, and in order to carry so desirable an object into effect, and to secure its permanent character, have re-appointed Mr Israel Lewis their agent to obtain collections in the states, and the Rev. Nathaniel Paul, late of Albany, whose standing as a minister of the gospel, and whose devotedness to the cause of his colored brethren, are too well known to need any recommendation from us, to embark for England, for the same purpose. He will probably sail as soon as the necessary means shall be obtained to defray the expense of his voyage—and should a kind Providence smile upon the exertions of our agents, we have no doubt but in the course of a few years, that this settlement will present to the public such a state of things as will cheer the heart of every well wisher of the African race, and put to silence the clamor of their violent enemies.

By order and in behalf of the Board.

AUSTIN STEWARD, *Chairman*.¹⁰

BENJAMIN PAUL, *Secretary*.

Cazenovia, Jan. 26, 1833.

TO THE PUBLIC.

I have just seen an article in the Rochester Anti-Masonic Inquirer of the 22d inst. signed by Austin Steward, and others, of the Wilberforce Colony, declaring themselves to be the Board of Managers of the legitimate affairs of that colony. This is not the first article that has been published by that undiscerning band of wicked men. I would have said something to confute the wickedness of that party before now; but knowing that a controversy

¹⁰ *Liberator*, Sept. 7, 1831.

among ourselves would go to retard our progress, I have heretofore refrained from saying any thing in public print, in a party way. But in justice to the Wilberforce Colony, which I had the honor to plant, I will make a few remarks on the causes which have induced Austin Steward and his unprincipled band to pursue the course that he has. To be sure, it is painful for me to state acts of the kind about my own color; but necessity compels me to do so.

One year after I had planted the Wilberforce Colony, and commenced travelling for the purpose of getting aid for the Colony, I went to Rochester where this Austin Steward lived. He was recommended to me as a man of color supporting a fair character. I induced him to go to Wilberforce, and there got him in as one of the Board of Managers—took him into my house to live with me until he could get a home, knowing that he supported a good name where he came from. Some time in the course of the season, I lost a twenty dollar note of hand out of my house, which I found some the article which appeared in the Rochester paper, it is stated that I have refused to submit monies collected by me, to him and others to distribute. This I do not deny, having the right to do so, guaranteed to me by the original board of managers. I feel myself quite responsible for all my acts, so far as they relate to that Colony. I will add by saying, there is no man of color living in the Wilberforce Colony by the name of *Sharpe*, which the article seemed to say was an agent for the Colony. Nor neither do I recognize any board of managers but the one I belong to. I would say more; but knowing that all we say, not tending to unite, is so much wrong in most instances. There is one thing that gives me some satisfaction; that is, discerning men know that in all great undertakings like this, those engaged in them must be more or less persecuted; more especially when they stand in the midst of an ignorant people, coming from different sections of the country, under different views, and with different habits. A tight rein is the best to manage the affairs of such a people, under such circumstances.

ISRAEL LEWIS,

President and Agent of
Wilberforce Colonization Company.

SCHENECTADY, Feb. 11th, 1833.

FRIEND GARRISON:—In reading your paper of the 9th inst. I was much surprised to find that you had copied an article in your

useful paper, touching that which, to me, is dearer than life, my public and moral character—sent forth from a few disaffected and ungenerous men of our colony. When any thing and every thing which may be fabricated against me, and all who are connected with efforts tending to the meliorating the condition of my injured brethren, is published by those who are not professedly engaged in pleading the cause of the colored man, I am not at all astonished. But knowing that you must be aware of the difficulties connected with founding, sustaining and managing a settlement like that of Wilberforce, and that great diversity of views must be expected—knowing that you profess to be, and, as I hope, are our friend—I was shocked and grieved to find that you had so prematurely given publicity to the article to which I have alluded, *without first having examined the facts in the case*. It appears to me that you could not have forgotten that more than six months since, I resigned that agency, which I prosecuted in connection with the Board of Managers, who then had the oversight of our affairs. If I mistake not, you published it in your paper, on the 11th of July last, on the day of General Election by a majority of the settlers, the former course of proceeding and Board of Managers were voted down, and a new organization was formed, known by the name of the 'Wilberforce Colonization Company,' and also a new Board of Managers were appointed, with whom I am connected, and for whom I now act as Agent. A small minority were dissatisfied, as might be expected; and among other means employed by them to counteract our influence, they have brought me before the public as a base impostor, unworthy of confidence. As you have unhappily contributed the influence of the Liberator in spreading these slanderous reports, particularly among my colored brethren, I hope you will do me the justice to copy from the Republican Monitor, of Cazenovia, certain articles touching this subject. The above named paper I send to you.

Yours respectfully,

ISRAEL LEWIS.

The Monitor also publishes the following Certificate:

Wilberforce, Nov. 10, 1832.

'This certifies to all whom it may concern—that I have known the bearer hereof, Mr Israel Lewis, for about one year, and from the best information that I can obtain, he is the founder of this colony—and may the good Lord prosper him in all his undertakings.

BENJAMIN PAUL,

¹¹ *Liberator*, Feb. 23, 1833. Pastor of the First Baptist Church.¹¹

WILBERFORCE, March 12, 1833.

MESSRS GARRISON AND KNAPP—I saw in your Journal of the Times a communication to the public, signed by one Israel Lewis, and first published by the Republican Monitor of Cazenovia. Were the true character of that Israel Lewis well known by all who may chance to read his false representations, I should never have taken up the pen to answer them, much less have troubled you with these few lines—you who are advocating the most holy cause that falls to the lot of man. I say your excellent paper may be more profitably employed in pleading the cause of thousands who cannot, who dare not speak for themselves. But the very cause which you are advocating requires me to answer those base falsehoods. It is a duty that I owe my numerous friends—it is a duty I owe the friends of this Colony—and last, but not least, it is a duty I owe my family and myself.

Some time in the spring of 1830, I received several communications from Mr James C. Brown and others, relative to a settlement for colored people in Canada. I resolved to visit the place of the contemplated settlement. While I was preparing for the journey, who should arrive in Rochester but Israel Lewis. He introduced himself to me as Agent for the colored people in Ohio. I always being willing to accommodate my colored friends, took this Lewis to my house, and treated him with the urbanity of a colored man. He then made known to me his want of money, and by my influence he got up a subscription both among the white and colored friends, which amounted to something like \$100. While we were preparing to start to Canada, Messrs Hickman and Ross arrived, bound for the same place. We made the necessary preparation, and started for Canada. We arrived at London, about twelve miles from the Huron tract. We fell in with Mr James C. Brown and Mr Stephen Dutton. Said Brown was the President of the Ohio Board. The greatest difficulty arose between Brown and Lewis—Brown could not get Lewis to account for monies that he had received, and L. borrowed a pistol and declared that he would shoot Brown, but we persuaded him from doing so. We all met on the ground that is now called Wilberforce. We organized a meeting and proceeded to business; and among other things, the question came up, what the name of the Settlement should be. I being sensible of the great exertions that Mr Wilberforce had made in behalf of our colored brethren, moved the Settlement be called after him, and it was car-

ried without a dissenting voice. I then returned home to arrange my business, and prepare to move to Wilberforce. During this year, there came on a number of emigrants from the city of Boston, which are the bone and sinew of the Settlement. In May, 1831, I set out for Wilberforce; and on my arrival, I found things in the most unsettled state—the inhabitants, I believe, to a man, were opposed to Lewis. I had made a partial bargain for a house with a Mr Charles Jackson, which was about two miles from where Lewis then lived. Lewis entreated me to go and live in his house. I took a lease of it at one dollar per week, but did not live in it more than a year; for I found that I had got into bad company, and I was glad to get away as soon as I could. When I first took the house, I took Lewis and a woman that I then supposed to be his wife, to board with me. The house that Lewis had possession of, is built on lands owned by Mr Wm. Bell, for Lewis does not own one foot of land in the Colony, to my knowledge. As I have above stated, the settlers were arrayed against Lewis, with the Rev. Nathaniel Paul at their head, trying to get a settlement with Lewis, but they could not. He could not or would not exhibit a fair account. If books were shown, some of the leaves would be missing. Common report says of his subscription books, he burnt them, for fear we would know the amount of money collected. What to do in this dilemma, we knew not. We had come to this place to build an asylum for our oppressed brethren; and should what money Lewis had collected defeat the grand object? I folded my arms and surveyed North America from the gulf of St. Lawrence to the gulf of Mexico. I saw no resting place for the *black man*, where he could have all the *political* and *religious liberty* that rational intelligent creatures are entitled to. Prejudice, insatiable prejudice, had sunk deep into the hearts of the American people. I saw the operations of the American Colonization Society—it was taking off a few hundred of my oppressed countrymen, and transplanting them on the inhospitable shores of Africa! where before the earth had performed her annual circuit, they would be consigned to an untimely grave. I turned my mind from the heart-sickening scene again to the affairs of Wilberforce, resolving to overlook the imperfections of the past as respects Israel Lewis, and see if we could not show a settlement worthy of the liberal patronage that it had received from the state of New-York. Lewis at the same time promised that he would do the best that he could for the Colony.

About this time there appeared a publication in the papers, cautioning the public against the impositions of Lewis, from the Ohio Board who had appointed him, and a notice of his removal. Frederick Storer, a man who belongs to the much respected Society of Friends, had been looking on and saw that the ways of Lewis were perverse and wicked. He, F. Storer, gave publicity to the above publication. L. then commenced a suit against F. S. for defamation, and he, L. agreed to discontinue the suit before I would consent to his appointment. The conduct of L. towards Friend F. S. must be mortifying to *every colored man*.

I then went to work establishing schools—one Sunday school—one day school—one temperance society. L. after his appointment went to the States and borrowed of our friends \$700, expressly as Agent, and for the immediate use of the Colony. When he returned home, did he pay over the money as he was in duty bound to do? No, not one dollar did he pay over to the Board. I then made known to L. my disapprobation of the course he was pursuing, and told him if he adhered to it, I must oppose him as Agent.

Here is the commencement of the difficulty between L. and myself in Oct. 1831.

When L. was about starting to the States, a man by the name of Cole held a note of hand against L. for twenty dollars, which he told L. must be paid, or he would stop him. L. came to me with said Cole, and requested me to take up said note, and he would pay me the money for the same. That satisfied said Cole. L. went off to the States on the 13th day of Oct. I paid Mr. Cole the twenty dollars for the note, and took it into my possession as my property, of course, and kept it until May last. Some time in March, 1832, when our much respected friend, B. Lundy, visited our settlement, the people called a general meeting of the inhabitants in order to pay their respects to that truly philanthropic individual. After the meeting was organized, they reviewed the conduct of L.—, passed resolutions against him, declared his agency of no benefit to the Colony, and directed the Board of Managers to discharge him. L. returned home in a great rage, and declared that he would cut the throats of the Board of Managers. Mr. B. Paul took me aside and told me that I had better let the Board of Managers go down, and assigned as a reason, that L. was so enraged, that he did not know what he, (L.) might be led to do. I answered that I was placed there to guard the public interest, and I should do so, let

the consequences be what they might. We tried to get a settlement with L., but to no purpose. L. refused to give up the papers that he received from the Board, and they directed me, as chairman of the Board, to publish him as no longer Agent. Then it was that L. was determined to ruin me, because he knew that I was favorably known, and what I wrote was likely to be believed. He resolved to destroy my character, even if he had to resort to false swearing to do it. He was apprised of my intended journey to Rochester, where his true conduct would be known. As I have before stated, I tried to get a settlement with him before I left home, and I put off my intended journey a week or two longer for that purpose; but to no effect. I at last started for Rochester. I got sixteen miles on my journey, where I had some business to transact for the Colony, such as giving the Rev. James Sharpe, our newly appointed Agent, his credentials. L. was there. As soon as he saw his successor clothed with the necessary power to prosecute the object of his mission, he (L.) made oath that I was indebted to him in the sum of one hundred and sixty dollars, and had me arrested as an absconding debtor, thinking that my short acquaintance would prevent my giving sufficient bail; but in that he was disappointed. I declared the oath that L. took, wherein he swore that I owed him \$160, to be a falsehood. It has been since tried by twelve men as Jurors of the country, and I got judgment against him. He (L.) then swore that I owed him \$70—\$50, for rent and \$20 for that note, which, it will be recollected, I got from Mr. Cole. The reason why he sued me for the note was, to make his conduct appear consistent. After he sued me for \$160, I then gave the \$20 note against L. that I got of Mr. Cole, to A. Talbot, Esq. for collection; and I hold his receipt for the same. Then I went on my intended journey, done my business, and returned to Wilberforce. Ever since my return, L. has been trying to blast my reputation, so that he can go out with his falsehoods and collect money in the name of the poor, and put it in his own pocket. He (L.) found that he had got himself in a trap by false swearing in two instances above named. In order to make things appear in his favor, he went before the Grand Jury, who are bound to hear but one side of the case, and swore that the note was feloniously taken from his house; which I pronounce as base a perjury as ever was committed by any wretch that ever disgraced the walls of a State Prison.

AUSTIN STEWARD.

I certify that I have read the foregoing letter, and believe it to be a fair statement of facts. As far as regards the note obtained from Cole, I feel confident that Mr. Steward came by it in a proper manner. I have taken cognizance of the matter as a Magistrate. I believe Steward to be an honest, well conducted man.

A. TALBOT, J. P.

London, 13th March, 1833.

WILBERFORCE, March, 1833.

FRIEND GARRISON—We saw in your paper a publication signed by the notorious Israel Lewis, in which he calls the lawfully constituted Board of Managers of this Colony, ‘a few disaffected men of the Colony.’ Sir, if you knew one half of the baseness of character of that Israel Lewis, you never would have admitted into your paper, which may emphatically be called the guardian of the black man, his libellous publication. In order that you may judge of the correctness of his statement, we shall send herewith the proceedings of a public meeting. It is at all times painful to us as a people, poor and despised as we are, and struggling for existence, to be called upon to record acts of unfaithfulness in those of our own color. But we have no other alternative left; we are compelled to go forward and publish Lewis’ conduct to the world; and this we do out of no personal enmity, but as a duty we owe to this infant settlement, and also to our numerous friends every where, and, in so doing, we believe we have taken the only safe and sure path. The inhabitants of Wilberforce are peaceable, industrious and happy, with a few exceptions; and they say by their votes that Israel Lewis should be removed from the Agency of this Colony, and that for good cause.

1. Israel Lewis never has rendered a satisfactory account for the money that he has received to relieve the wants of our poor, but has spent it in the most prodigal manner at the taverns and other public houses.

2. He has run into debt wherever he could, without, in our opinion, any reasonable probability of paying, and thereby brought a reproach upon us as a people.

3. Israel Lewis, who ought to be the guardian and protector of his colored brethren, is the first to cheat them in order that he may live in idleness; and to effect this, he will stop at nothing, no matter how base! how ungenerous! how unrighteous!

Israel Lewis would be glad to make the public believe that he is doing every thing in his power for the benefit of his colored brethren. Indeed, friend Garrison, to hear Lewis talk about exerting himself for an injured people, reminds us of the Devil chiding sin.

Let us review the ground, and see what this mighty man Lewis has done for his much oppressed colored brethren. Has he bought any land in Wilberforce? We answer, no—not one foot. Has Israel Lewis founded any schools at Wilberforce with the thousands of dollars he has drawn out of a generous public in the States? We answer, no. What then has he done of such great importance for the colored people? We answer, he has collected money and basely squandered it away; and shut the door where good might have been done for our colored friends.

Resolved, That the conduct of Israel Lewis is disgraceful in the extreme, in pretending that there is no Board of Managers at Wilberforce.

Resolved, That we know that all that Lewis has published is so completely void of truth, that it needs no refutation where he is known.

Resolved, That the foregoing, together with these resolutions, be sent on to Messrs Garrison and Knapp, to be inserted in the *Liberator*.

AUSTIN STEWARD, *Chairman*,

JOSEPH TAYLOR, *Secretary*.

PHILLIP HARRIS, JNO. WHITEHEAD, WM. BELL, PETER BUTLER,
SAMUEL PETERSON.

WILBERFORCE, March 12, 1833.

At a large and respectable meeting of the inhabitants of Wilberforce, to take into consideration certain libellous publications signed by the notorious Israel Lewis and published in the *Liberator*, Mr Lisbon Wine was called to the chair, and Mr Joseph Murry was appointed Secretary.

Whereas, the recent conduct of Israel Lewis, more especially since his removal from the Agency of this Colony, is ridiculous in the highest degree; and whereas, his scandalous conduct in attacking the character of one of our most respectable fellow-citizens, calls for the animadversion of every honest man—

Resolved, That we must have other testimony than that of Is-

rael Lewis, a man who has been dealing in falsehoods by wholesale ever since he has been known in this country, before we can for a moment believe him even upon his oath.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the course pursued by the Board, in standing for the rights of the settlement. We are satisfied they have not lost sight of the great object for which they came to Wilberforce, viz. the melioration of our colored brethren.

Resolved, That no man, who has the good of our colored brethren at heart, can, after residing at Wilberforce, and reviewing with an impartial eye the conduct of Lewis, give him his support.

Resolved, That we have an unshaken confidence in the fidelity of the Rev. James Sharpe.

Resolved, That the African Canadian Colonization Company is a sheer fabrication, got up to gull the public out of money for individual purposes, by Israel Lewis.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and sent to Messrs Garrison & Knapp, to be published in the Liberator.

LISBON WINE, *Chairman*,

JOSEPH MURRY, *Secretary*.

Whereas, a Settlement has recently been formed in the District of London, in the province of Upper Canada, called the Wilberforce Settlement, which Settlement is intended as an asylum for persons of color, who may be enabled to emigrate from the United States of America—

And whereas, the said Settlement now consists of nearly 200 persons who, in the month of July last, elected a Board for the management of its affairs, and the adoption of such measures as might be deemed expedient for the support, maintenance and respectability of the said Settlement—

And whereas, the said Board, having full power so to do, did nominate, constitute and appoint Israel Lewis as Agent to the Settlement, with power and authority to solicit subscriptions and contributions for the said Settlement, from all persons desirous of promoting the cause of universal emancipation—

And whereas, the said Board, having good cause to suppose that the said Israel Lewis hath not faithfully discharged the trust reposed in him by the said Board, have now dismissed him from the Agency aforesaid, and have in his stead appointed the Rev. James

Sharpe to do and perform all duties which by virtue of the appointment aforesaid, did appertain to the office of Agent in the person of the aforesaid Lewis—

Now know all men by these presents, that I, Austin Steward, Chairman of the said Board of Management, having power and authority so to do, do nominate, constitute and appoint the said Rev. James Sharp to fill the office of Agent for the said Settlement, with full power and authority to solicit from the humane and benevolent such contributions as they may feel disposed to make, in order to enable the said Settlement to build a place of worship, erect and endow schools, and relieve the needy and destitute among them. And whatever this my said Agent shall do in the premises, (the settlement having full faith and confidence in him,) shall have the same force and effect in law and equity as if I, as chairman of the said Board, were personally present.

In testimony whereof, I do hereunto set my hand, and affix my seal, at London, in the District of London, and Province of Upper Canada, in presence of the undersigned witnesses.

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of Edward Allen Talbot and Ross Robertson, at London aforesaid, this twenty-ninth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two.

A. STEWARD.¹²

E. A. TALBOT, J. P.

ROSS ROBERTSON.

London District, U. C.

TO THE COLORED CITIZENS OF BOSTON.

Gentlemen and Brethren:

At a public meeting held by you on the 11th of Sept. to express your sentiments relative to the late 'Clerical Appeal,' you authorized your Chairman and Secretary to sign its doings, and to forward a copy to the *Liberator*, N. E. Spectator, and the *Colored American* at New York, with a request to have them published. No time was lost, on our part, in conformity to the orders of that meeting; and we state with much satisfaction, that both the *Liberator* and Spectator gave publicity to those proceedings agreeably to request. But, alas! the *Colored American*, to our great mortifi-

¹² *Liberator*, April 13, 1833.

cation, has excluded them from its columns, though it is the professed organ of the colored population of this country, as set forth in its prospectus. No one could have persuaded you into the belief, that such would have been the conduct of that paper, especially as it receives, at your hands, such liberal patronage. We leave it to your own sense of duty and of self-respect to say, how you will regard this extraordinary procedure. For ourselves, we do not conceive that the editor of the *American* has the slightest grounds for objecting to the insertion of your proceedings; for if he did not entirely approve of them, he might have accompanied them with his objections; and, moreover, we deny that any responsibility attaches to an editor, where official signatures are appended to a document. He is as free from blame in that case, as though it were a mere advertisement.

What has been assigned as a reason for suppressing your doings, is worse than none; and the editor himself must be conscious of this fact. But the refusal is serviceable to you, since it has plainly disclosed the policy of that paper. You have now tested it.

The prospectus of the *American* sets forth, that it would be the organ, through which the colored man should freely and fearlessly utter his sentiments—'Its columns will always be the organ of your wishes and feelings, and the proper medium for laying your claims before the public.' Thus much for the promise. But a few months have elapsed, and, behold! it is recreant to its pledge. The editor says, he wishes not to take sides in the little differences upon the non-essentials of abolitionism among our 'dear friends,' as he would have it. How doctors disagree! He treats it as a small matter; but the 'clerical five' deemed it of sufficient importance to sever the cord which bound them and Garrison together.

Again—he refuses to publish the very proceedings upon which he has commented. How unmanly! He goes further still, and tells us to withdraw any communication we may have sent to the *Liberator*. Nay, more—he requests its editor to advise us on these points; as though Mr. GARRISON would advise us to join those who are treacherous to our cause! This is adding insult to injury. In smothering our doings from the public gaze, he shows that a spirit of jealousy or of fear reigns somewhere. A servile spirit ought to be despised. By this very policy, do the South shut out abolition publications from their cities. This is what might be justly termed 'furnishing food for the devil;' a better proof of which we need not,

than the rejoicing of our enemies at the act. Had we been desirous of receiving the instructions suggested by the editor of the *American*, (and we believe we are yet sane men,) we certainly should have sought it prior to the passage of our resolutions. We desired none but those dictated by our own judgment.

We are mistaken in your character as Bostonians, if you do not regard that paper as being no longer a free organ of the colored man, and frown with disapprobation upon its illiberal treatment. As to WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, we of all others know best how to appreciate his labors. Every day brings with it fresh proofs of his exalted worth. Here he first promulgated his principles, from which there has been no deviation. Here his voice of thunder was first lifted up for God and Liberty. We have been at his side in the dark hour of trial. We have seen his patience tested, and witnessed his manly fortitude and untiring zeal. We feel that his and our interests are one—that we must rise or fall together. His sufferings, which have been many, are yet fresh in our recollections; and to forsake him when our friendship is most needed, is an insult to our understandings to demand it. But, thanks be to God, brethren, he has all your confidence, and the best affections of your hearts; and no human efforts can wrest them from him. In his honesty, courage and fidelity, do you glory, and in his presence your hearts leap for joy. And now, in conclusion—may the God upon whom he relies for support and success render both you and him mutually prosperous and happy, is the prayer of ¹³

Your obt. fellow serv'ts.

J. B. CUTLER, *Chairman*.

J. T. HILTON, *Sec'y*.^{13a}

This letter of H. H. Garnett shows how the fugitive slave, taught to think of his former condition as deplorable and encouraged to struggle for the emancipation of his fellowmen in bondage, often differed from the abolitionist,

¹³ The newspaper here under criticism was owned and edited by Negroes. In January, 1837, it appeared as the *Weekly Advocate*, the second newspaper in the United States edited by a Negro, *Freedom's Journal* being the first. On March 4, 1837, the name of the *Weekly Advocate* was changed to the *Colored American*. Mr. Phillip A. Bell was the proprietor, and Charles Bennett Ray was the editor. It was against these gentlemen that this complaint was lodged.

^{13a} *Liberator*, Oct. 6, 1837.

who, after all, never took kindly to the idea of allowing Negroes to figure conspicuously in devising the ways and means to promote the antislavery cause. The address referred to was so revolutionary and radical, however, that the Negro convention called upon to consider it refused to give it sanction.

To Mrs. Maria W. Chapman.

NOVEMBER 17th, 1843.

RESPECTED MADAM :

Some time ago you wrote an article in the *Liberator*, condemnatory of the National Convention of colored people, which was held in the city of Buffalo, in the month of August last. I should have sent a reply, ere this time, had I not been engaged so much in the cause of freedom, since the appearance of your article. I must confess that I was exceedingly amazed to find that I was doomed to share so much of your severity, to call it nothing else. And, up to this moment, I have not been able to understand the motives which led you to attack my character as you have in the paper referred to. I am a stranger to you, comparatively, and whatever of my public life has come to your notice, you have seen nothing impeachable. I was born in slavery, and have escaped, to tell you, and others, what the monster has done, and is still doing. It, therefore, astonished me to think that you should desire to sink me again to the condition of a *slave*, by forcing me to think just as you do. My crime is, that I have dared to think, and act, contrary to your opinion. I am a Liberty party man—you are opposed to that party—far be it from me to attempt to injure your character because you cannot pronounce my shibboleth. While you think as you do, we must differ. If it has come to this, that I must think and act as you do, because you are an abolitionist, or be exterminated by your thunder, then I do not hesitate to say that your abolitionism is abject slavery. Were I a slave of the Hon. George McDuffie, or John C. Calhoun, I would not be required to do anything more than to think and act as I might be commanded. I will not be the slave of any person or party. I am a Liberty party man from choice. No man ever asked me to join that party; I was the first colored man that ever attached his name to that party, and you may rely upon my word, when I tell you I mean 'to stand.'

You likewise adopt all that E. M. Marsh, of Buffalo, has said of the Convention and myself. I shall not attempt to say anything more than this, in regard to him. My friend, Mr. March, is a man of a very unstable mind. He is one thing to-day, and another thing to-morrow. He was once a Liberty man, but he is now a no-church and no-government man. I never saw such an unfair statement penned by a man calling himself a Christian. Every thing that he has written, is either false, or exaggerated. I have no more to say of him—I leave him alone in his glory. But I am sorry that you have echoed his false allegations. I am sorry that all the old organization journals have likewise echoed that libellous report.

But the address to the slaves you seem to doom to the most fiery trials. And yet, madam, you have not seen that address—you have merely *heard* of it; nevertheless, you criticised it very severely. You speak, at length, of myself, the author of the paper. You say that I ‘have received bad counsel.’ You are not the only person who has told your humble servant that his humble productions have been produced by the ‘*counsel*’ of some anglo-saxon. I have expected no more from ignorant slaveholders and their apologists, but I really looked for better things from Mrs. Maria W. Chapman, an anti-slavery poetess, and editor *pro tem.* of the Boston Liberator. I can think on the subject of human rights without ‘counsel,’ either from the men of the West, or the women of the East. My address was read to but two persons, previous to its presentation at Buffalo. One was a colored brother, who did not give me a single word of counsel, and the other was my wife; and if she did counsel me, it is no matter, for ‘we twain are one flesh.’ In a few days I hope to publish the address, then you can judge how much treason there is in it. In the mean time, be assured that there is one black American who dares to speak boldly on the subject of universal liberty.

I am, very respectfully,

Your servant,

HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET.

25, Liberty-street, Troy, N. Y.¹⁴

FROM ROBERT PURVIS, ESQ.

BYBERRY, Philadelphia Co., }
August 22, 1853. }

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON—I see by ‘Frederick Douglass’s Paper’ of the 12th instant, that I am most maliciously referred to by its

¹⁴ *Liberator*, Dec. 3, 1843.

editor. Now you were present at the meeting in Boston where I made a few remarks, by way of explanation of something our friend Remond had said, in which I made no allusion whatever to Douglass, as you can testify; nor did I, as you can bear witness, exhibit any 'gall' in relation to the 'National Council.' Whatever opinion I expressed,—and the right to express an opinion I presume is still left me,—was properly and becomingly done, as I supposed, without offending any one present or absent from the meeting. I beg you would say so much for me through your paper. As touching the matter of the '*blood-stained riches*' to which this shameless ingrate and base slanderer alludes, I have but to say, that my father (from whom I inherited my property) was never a slaveholder—that he made his money as a merchant, by honest mercantile pursuits—and was known while living as a friend and benefactor of the free and enslaved colored man, (as there are now living witnesses to testify.) My own early detestation of slavery was owing, doubtless, to the seeds implanted in my bosom by my revered parent, by furnishing me with Dr. Torrey's Portraiture of Slavery, and the work entitled 'Sandford and Merton.' But why pursue this matter? A life's consistent hatred of slavery in every form, a willingness, to the best of my ability, to do and suffer with my oppressed brethren, to maintain a reputation 'unspotted before the world,' and thereby live down the calumnies of the enemies of our race, is, in the fury and violence of this meanly ambitious man and foulmouthed slanderer, of no account. To gratify his ire, and serve his bitter and malignant spirit, I am pronounced as being 'practically an enemy of the colored people.'

Yours, ever and truly,

ROBERT PURVIS.¹⁵

The Liberator said on Dec. 16, 1853:

'Either he must
Confess himself wondrous malicious,
Or be accused of folly.'—CORIOLANUS.

In his paper of the 9th instant, FREDERICK DOUGLASS occupies twelve columns in reply to sundry brief articles in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, *Anti-Slavery Standard*, *Bugle*, and *Liberator*, respecting his feelings and attitude towards his old friends and associates

¹⁵ *Liberator*, Sept. 16, 1853.

in the cause of emancipation. Such portions of it as relate to the other journals referred to, we leave them to dispose of as they may think proper. We quote all that is personal to us, in addition to a considerable portion of Mr. D's exordium; and from this sample, our readers can easily infer what the remainder must be.

The history of the Anti-Slavery struggle has been marked by instances of defection, alienation, apostacy, on the part of some of its most efficient supporters for a given time; but by none more signal, venomous, or extraordinary, than the present. Mr. DOUGLASS now stands self-unmasked, his features flushed with passion, his air scornful and defiant, his language bitter as wormwood, his pen dipped in poison; as thoroughly changed in his spirit as was ever 'arch-angel ruined,' and as artful and unscrupulous a schismatic as has yet appeared in the abolition ranks.

Having long endeavored, by extreme forbearance, to avoid any collision with him; having omitted in many cases to make even a passing reference to what we deemed unworthy of his position; having criticised, with brevity and moderation, some very objectionable articles from his pen, only because we could not be true to our convictions of duty, if we suppressed the expression of our surprise and sorrow; and having no feelings of personal animosity to gratify; we have no intention to make a protracted rejoinder in the present case, but shall submit the whole matter, in a very few words, to the impartial judgment of all who take any interest in the controversy.

It is difficult to believe that the author of the article of 'enormous' length and character, now under consideration, is the FREDERICK DOUGLASS once so manly, generous, and faithful. The transformation—or, rather, the revelation—is the most astounding and severely painful event in our experience; and 'the end is not yet.' He now assumes an attitude which is eliciting the warmest encomiums from the most malignant enemies of the Anti-Slavery movement, and which is undisguisedly hostile to his old companion in arms. No marvel, therefore, that he can speak of the 'Garrisonians' with as much flippancy as any of our pro-slavery contemners; or that he can aver, '*Word-wise*, these Garrisonians are my best friends—*deed-wise*, I have no more vigilant enemies'; or that he is able to say of the 'REFUGE OF OPPRESSION,' that, 'of late, it has become about the best part of Mr. Garrison's paper, and about which nobody cares a single straw;' or that he can utter the

monstrous untruth, that 'a fierce and bitter warfare' is waged against him, 'under the generalship of William Lloyd Garrison,' with a view to destroy *his anti-slavery usefulness!!*

The untruthfulness of Mr. D. is matched only by his adroitness in striving to excite popular sympathy, as though he were a poor innocent lamb, about to be torn in pieces by a pack of famished wolves! Though he is the aggressor, he affects to have made no effort even in self-defence, and whiningly says—'I shall be silent no longer (!) The impunity allowed to my adversaries, by my silence, like all other submission to wrong, has failed to soften the heart of the wrong-doers (!) They have waxed more arrogant as I have waxed humble' (!) 'Gerrit Smith is an independent nation. Alas! I am but a rebel. While those against whom I have rebelled would treat with Mr. Smith, they would hang me.' Again—'I had reason to know that prejudice against color—yes, prejudice against my race, would be invoked, as it has been invoked, on the side of my adversaries (!)—and in all the likelihoods of the case, the question between me and my old friends would be decided in this case as between white and black—in favor of the former, and against the latter—the white man to rise, as an injured benefactor, and the black man to fall, as a miserable ingrate' (!) Again—'The spectacle of a rich (!) and powerful (!) organization, largely provided with the appliances of moral warfare, is now seen marshalling its forces, its presses, and its speakers, for the moral extermination of one humble, solitary individual (!!!)—for the purpose of silencing, and putting to open shame, *a fugitive slave*, (!) simply because that fugitive slave has dared to differ from that Society, or from the leading individuals in it, as to the manner in which he shall exercise his powers for the promotion of the anti-slavery cause, and the elevation of the free people of color in the United States (!!)

Again—'The hatchet of fratricidal war is uplifted; nay, it is now flung at the head of its appointed victim, with the combined force of three strong arms, and with the deadly aim of three good marksmen' (!!!) And this is his estimate of the American Anti-Slavery Society, its presses, and its speakers! Now, as a specimen of low cunning and malignant defamation, we have never seen this surpassed. It is too palpable to need a single word in reply, and we should be lost to all self-respect to treat it as worthy of serious consideration.

Mr. Douglass sneers at the regret expressed by us, and others,

at the necessity of noticing his hostile assaults, and scoffingly says—‘They have had to overcome mountains of reluctance in getting at me; and it is amazing, considering the ruggedness of these mountains, that they ever succeeded in crossing their Alpine heights!’ If this does not indicate either that we have never, in his opinion, been his true friends, or that, ever selfish and untrue himself, he is incapable of experiencing the pang of misplaced confidence and disappointed friendship, we know not how to interpret language. In either case, it places him in a most unenviable position.

Jaundiced in vision, and inflamed with passion, he affects to regard us as the ‘disparager’ (!) of the colored race, and artfully endeavors to excite their jealousy and opposition by utterly perverting the meaning of our language. We said, that ‘the Anti-Slavery cause, both religiously and politically, has transcended the ability of the sufferers from American slavery and prejudice, *as a class*, to keep pace with it, or to perceive what are its demands, or to understand the philosophy of its operations’—meaning by this, that the cause requires religious and political sacrifices, which, ‘as a class,’ they do not yet see, or, seeing, are not yet prepared to make, even though they are the victims to be delivered—and also meaning that what was at first supposed to be local, is now seen to have a world-wide bearing, and must be advocated upon world-wide principles, irrespective of complexional differences. There is nothing really or intentionally invidious in a statement like this: and yet, how does Mr. Douglass treat it? ‘The colored man,’ he says, ‘ought to feel profoundly grateful for this magnificent compliment to their high moral worth and breadth of comprehension, so generously bestowed by William Lloyd Garrison! Who will doubt, hereafter, the *natural* inferiority of the negro, when the great champion of the negroes’ rights *thus broadly concedes all that is claimed respecting the negro’s inferiority by the bitterest despisers of the negro race*’!!! Now, if this were blundering stupidity, it might readily be pardoned; but it is unmitigated baseness, and therefore inexcusable.

Again we said—‘It does not follow, that, because a man is or has been a slave, or because he is identified with a class meted out and trodden under foot, therefore he will be the truest to the cause of human freedom’—a truism which nothing can make plainer. Yet Mr. Douglass presumes upon the color of his skin to vindicate his superior fidelity to that cause, and to screen himself from

criticism and rebuke! This trick cannot succeed. Of the colored people he says—'What is theory to others, is practice to them. Every day and hour is crowded with lessons to them on the subject, to which the whites, as a class, are strangers.' Very true—but what then? Does it indicate the same regard for universal justice, for those who are oppressed to desire to gain their freedom, as it does for others, not of their complexion, and not involved in their suffering, to encounter deadly perils and make liberal sacrifices in seeking their liberation? The former may be animated by motives limited to a narrow selfishness; the latter must be actuated by feelings of disinterested benevolence and world-wide philanthropy. Once, Mr. Douglass would have promptly recognized this distinction; now, beneath the blackness of his skin he is attempting to hide the blackness of his treachery.

How low he has fallen is further indicated by his despicable insinuation—'Even Charles L. Remond, who was scarcely recognized as one of the 'tried' and 'true,' *when poor*, has, *since making himself well off by marriage*, rapidly risen in Boston favor'! Is not this at once the acme of absurdity, the extreme of falsehood, and the lowest depth of moral debasement? When Frederick Douglass was 'poor,' and in utter obscurity, and not as now every where visible, was *he* a stranger to 'Boston favor,' and was nothing done to raise him up to respectability and influence? But this is to hint that he is destitute of grateful emotions—and gratitude is something about which he does not like to be reminded.

So, too, when he speaks of the faithful, intelligent and worthy WILLIAM C. NELL as 'a hanger-on' and 'a pitiful tool'—and of OLIVER JOHNSON as 'not caring two straws about Christ's precepts' in regard to peace, whom he (Douglass) would be the first to assassinate, if he believed it right to kill his enemies, as he has not 'a more malignant enemy than Mr. Johnson is giving proof of being'—he reveals a state of mind as frightful as it is deplorable.

Referring to the Rev. Dr. Campbell, of the *British Banner*, he says, 'There is not a man in England, whose friendship I more highly prize, or of whose commendation I ought to be more proud'; and his *Banner* he places at the head of all other journals for its 'moral courage, true manliness, high independence, steadfast adherence to the right, and to the cause of progress'—the last attributes to be attributed to that venomous, Ishmaelitish and really proslavery sheet. There is not a more unfair disputant or a more un-

scrupulous defamer at the head of the press, than this same dogmatical, quarrelsome, and double-dealing Dr. Campbell. The American Anti-Slavery Society and *The Liberator* have not a more malignant and outrageous assailant abroad than himself; and if he were in this country, we have no more doubt that he would be found on the side of pro-slavery conservatism, and a holder of slaves if a resident of the South, than we have of the position of Franklin Pierce. The fact that Mr. Douglass deems it an honor to be complimented by such a man, is another melancholy proof of the loss of his integrity to the Anti-Slavery cause.

A word in regard to our allusion to a bad adviser in Mr. D's printing-office, whom we accused of exerting a pernicious influence upon his mind and judgment, and 'causing much unhappiness in his own household.' That last allusion was not meant unkindly, nor intended to imply any thing immoral; but, though it is strictly true, and we could bring a score of unimpeachable witnesses in Rochester to prove it, we regret it was made, as it had no relevancy. Our only object in referring to that nameless 'adviser' was, to indicate to such inquirers as our Chicago correspondent, that there had been secret causes at work to alienate Mr. Douglass from his old associates, and we felt bound to throw out the intimation as a clue to much that would be otherwise inexplicable to those not familiar with the facts in the case. Mr. D. says—'I am profoundly grateful for the eminent services of that "adviser," in *opening my eyes* (!) to many things connected with my anti-slavery relations, to which I had before been partially blind.' That tells the whole story, and is all we care to extort. In what condition his vision now is—and whether in slumbering in the lap of a prejudiced, sectarian Delilah, he has not at last enabled the pro-slavery Philistines to ascertain the secret of his strength, cut off his locks, and rejoice over his downfall—we leave our readers and the uncompromising friends of the Anti-Slavery cause to judge.

REPLY OF MR. WM. C. NELL.

The last number of '*Frederick Douglass's Paper*' contains some editorial references to myself.

1st. 'Mr. Nell, (who) goes *grumbling* about in private that he ought to have been successor in the anti-slavery office in Boston to Henry W. Williams, and complained that he, a colored man, was pushed out of employment to make way for Mr. Wallcut,' &c. &c.

To be brief. This version of the matter is a false one, as my friends can bear testimony.

As to his second charge, that the printed copy of my speech at the Boston meeting 'was essentially different from that made on the occasion,' it would be an easy matter to prove it to be also false; but though much remains unsaid, I shall content myself with this denial.

These wrongs should be righted where perpetrated, in the columns of '*Frederick Douglass's Paper*;' but as its Editor has ignored all candor and magnanimity towards me, the prospect of any change in that respect is a hopeless one.

What I *have* said and done, touching this controversy, has been prompted solely by that fidelity which I have cherished for the anti-slavery cause since its advent in Boston in 1831; and as a looker-on, when not a participant, from that time to the present. I have borne allegiance to PRINCIPLES, rather than to MEN; and whether good or ill betide me, I shall not shrink from any responsibility which the position legitimately demands of me.

WILLIAM C. NELL.

Boston, December 12th, 1853.

III. LETTERS OF SLAVES TO FORMER OWNERS

Closely connected with what the fugitive thought of his former condition should be presented the thought of the fugitives years thereafter in writing to their former masters.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS TO HIS MASTER.

THOMAS AULD:

SIR—The long and intimate, though by no means friendly relation which unhappily subsisted between you and myself, leads me to hope that you will easily account for the great liberty which I now take in addressing you in this open and public manner. The same fact may possibly remove any disagreeable surprise which you may experience on again finding your name coupled with mine, in any other way than in an advertisement, accurately describing my person, and offering a large sum for my arrest. In thus dragging you again before the public, I am aware that I shall subject myself to no inconsiderable amount of censure. I shall probably be charged with an unwarrantable, if not a wanton and reckless

disregard of the rights and proprieties of private life. There are those North as well as South who entertain a much higher respect for rights which are merely conventional, than they do for rights which are personal and essential. Not a few there are in our country, who, while they have no scruples against robbing the laborer of the hard earned results of his patient industry, will be shocked by the extremely indelicate manner of bringing your name before the public. Believing this to be the case, and wishing to meet every reasonable or plausible objection to my conduct, I will frankly state the ground upon which I justify myself in this instance, as well as on former occasions when I have thought proper to mention your name in public. All will agree that a man guilty of theft, robbery, or murder, has forfeited the right to concealment and private life; that the community have a right to subject such persons to the most complete exposure. However much they may desire retirement, and aim to conceal themselves and their movements from the popular gaze, the public have a right to ferret them out, and bring their conduct before the proper tribunals of the country for investigation. Sir, you will undoubtedly make the proper application of these generally admitted principles, and will easily see the light in which you are regarded by me, I will not therefore manifest ill temper, by calling you hard names. I know you to be a man of some intelligence, and can readily determine the precise estimate which I entertain of your character. I may therefore indulge in language which may seem to others indirect and ambiguous, and yet be quite well understood by yourself.

I have selected this day on which to address you, because it is the anniversary of my emancipation; and knowing of no better why, I am led to this as the best mode of celebrating that truly important event. Just ten years ago this beautiful September morning, yon bright sun beheld me a slave—a poor, degraded chattel—trembling at the sound of your voice, lamenting that I was a man, and wishing myself a brute. The hopes which I had treasured up for weeks of a safe and successful escape from your grasp, were powerfully confronted at this last hour by dark clouds of doubt and fear, making my person shake and my bosom to heave with the heavy contest between hope and fear. I have no words to describe to you the deep agony of soul which I experienced on that never to be forgotten morning—for I left by daylight.) I was making a leap in the dark. The probabilities, so far as I could by reason

determine them, were stoutly against the undertaking. The preliminaries and precautions I had adopted previously, all worked badly. I was like one going to war without weapons—ten chances of defeat to one of victory. One in whom I had confided, and one who had promised me assistance, appalled by fear at the trial hour, deserted me, thus leaving the responsibility of success or failure solely with myself. You, sir, can never know my feelings. As I look back to them, I can scarcely realize that I have passed through a scene so trying. Trying however as they were, and gloomy as was the prospect, thanks be to the Most High, who is ever the God of the oppressed, at the moment which was to determine my whole earthly career. His grace was sufficient, my mind was made up. I embraced the golden opportunity, took the morning tide at the flood, and a free man, young, active and strong, is the result.

I have often thought I should like to explain to you the grounds upon which I have justified myself in running away from you. I am almost ashamed to do so now, for by this time you may have discovered them yourself. I will, however, glance at them. When yet but a child about six years old, I imbibed the determination to run away. The very first mental effort that I now remember on my part, was an attempt to solve the mystery, Why am I a slave? and with this question my youthful mind was troubled for many days, pressing upon me more heavily at times than others. When I saw the slave-driver whip a slave woman, cut the blood out of her neck, and heard her piteous cries, I went away into the corner of the fence, wept and pondered over the mystery. I had, through some medium, I know not what, got some idea of God, the Creator of all mankind, the black and the white, and that he had made the blacks to serve the whites as slaves. How he could do this and be *good*, I could not tell. I was not satisfied with this theory, which made God responsible for slavery, for it pained me greatly, and I have wept over it long and often. At one time, your first wife, Mrs. Lucretia, heard me singing and saw me shedding tears, and asked of me the matter, but I was afraid to tell her. I was puzzled with this question, till one night, while sitting in the kitchen, I heard some of the old slaves talking of their parents having been stolen from Africa by white men, and were sold here as slaves. The whole mystery was solved at once. Very soon after this my aunt Jinny and uncle Noah ran away, and the great noise made

about it by your father-in-law, made me for the first time acquainted with the fact, that there were free States as well as slave States. From that time, I resolved that I would some day run away. The morality of the act, I dispose as follows: I am myself; you are yourself; we are two distinct persons, equal persons. What you are, I am. You are a man, and so am I. God created both, and made us separate beings. I am not by nature bound to you, or you to me. Nature does not make your existence depend upon me, or mine to depend upon yours. I cannot walk upon your legs, or you upon mine. I cannot breathe for you, or you for me; I must breathe for myself, and you for yourself. We are distinct persons, and are each equally provided with faculties necessary to our individual existence. In leaving you, I took nothing but what belonged to me, and in no way lessened your means for obtaining an *honest* living. Your faculties remained yours, and mine became useful to their rightful owner. I therefore see no wrong in any part of the transaction. It is true, I went off secretly, but that was more your fault than mine. Had I let you into the secret, you would have defeated the enterprise entirely; but for this, I should have been really glad to have made you acquainted with my intentions to leave.

You may perhaps want to know how I like my present condition. I am free to say, I greatly prefer it to that which I occupied in Maryland. I am, however, by no means prejudiced against the State as such. Its geography, climate, fertility and products, are such as to make it a very desirable abode for any man; and but for the existence of slavery there, it is not impossible that I might again take up my abode in that State. It is not that I love Maryland less, but freedom more. You will be surprised to learn that people at the North labor under the strange delusion that if the slaves were emancipated at the South, they would flock to the North. So far from this being the case, in that event, you would see many old and familiar faces back again to the South. The fact is, there are few here who would not return to the South in the event of emancipation. We want to live in the land of our birth, and to lay our bones by the side of our fathers'; and nothing short of an intense love of personal freedom keeps us from the South. For the sake of this, most of us would live on a crust of bread and a cup of cold water.

Since I left you, I have had a rich experience. I have occupied

stations which I never dreamed of when a slave. Three out of the ten years since I left you, I spent as a common laborer on the wharves of New Bedford, Massachusetts. It was there I earned my first free dollar. It was mine. I could spend it as I pleased. I could buy hams or herring with it, without asking any odds of any body. That was a precious dollar to me. You remember when I used to make seven or eight, or even nine dollars a week in Baltimore, you would take every cent of it from me every Saturday night, saying that I belonged to you, and my earnings also. I never liked this conduct on your part—to say the best, I thought it a little mean. I would not have served you so. But let that pass. I was a little awkward about counting money in New England fashion when I first landed in New Bedford. I like to have betrayed myself several times. I caught myself saying phip, for fourpence; and at one time a man actually charged me with being a runaway, whereupon I was silly enough to become one by running away from him, for I was greatly afraid he might adopt measures to get me again into slavery, a condition I then dreaded more than death.

I soon, however, learned to count money, as well as to make it, and got on swimmingly. I married soon after leaving you: in fact, I was engaged to be married before I left you; and instead of finding my companion a burden, she was truly a helpmeet. She went to live at service, and I to work on the wharf, and though we toiled hard the first winter, we never lived more happily. After remaining in New Bedford for three years, I met with Wm. Lloyd Garrison, a person of whom you have *possibly* heard, as he is pretty generally known among slaveholders. He put it into my head that I might make myself serviceable to the cause of the slave by devoting a portion of my time to telling my own sorrows, and those of other slaves which had come under my observation. This was the commencement of a higher state of existence than any to which I had ever aspired. I was thrown into society the most pure, enlightened and benevolent that the country affords. Among these I have never forgotten you, but have invariably made you the topic of conversation—thus giving you all the notoriety I could do. I need not tell you that the opinion formed of you in these circles, is far from being favorable. They have little respect for your honesty, and less for your religion.

But I was going on to relate to you something of my interesting

experience. I had not long enjoyed the excellent society to which I have referred, before the light of its excellence exerted a beneficial influence on my mind and heart. Much of my early dislike of white persons was removed, and their manners, habits and customs, so entirely unlike what I had been used to in the kitchen-quarters on the plantations of the South, fairly charmed me, and gave me a strong disrelish for the coarse and degrading customs of my former condition. I therefore made an effort so to improve my mind and deportment, as to be somewhat fitted to the station to which I seemed almost providentially called. The transition from degradation to respectability was indeed great, and to get from one to the other without carrying some marks of one's former condition, is truly a difficult matter. I would not have you think that I am now entirely clear of all plantation peculiarities, but my friends here, while they entertain the strongest dislike to them, regard me with that charity to which my past life somewhat entitles me, so that my condition in this respect is exceedingly pleasant. So far as my domestic affairs are concerned, I can boast of as comfortable a dwelling as your own. I have an industrious and neat companion, and four dear children—the oldest a girl of nine years, and three fine boys, the oldest eight, the next six, and the youngest four years old. The three oldest are now going regularly to school—two can read and write, and the other can spell with tolerable correctness words of two syllables: Dear fellows! they are all in comfortable beds, and are sound asleep, perfectly secure under my own roof. There are no slaveholders here to rend my heart by snatching them from my arms, or blast a mother's dearest hopes by tearing them from her bosom. These dear children are ours—not to work up into rice, sugar and tobacco, but to watch over, regard, and protect, and to rear them up in the nurture and admonition of the gospel—to train them up in the paths of wisdom and virtue, and, as far as we can to make them useful to the world and to themselves. Oh! sir, a slaveholder never appears to me so completely an agent of hell, as when I think of and look upon my dear children. It is then that my feelings rise above my control. I meant to have said more with respect to my own prosperity and happiness, but thoughts and feelings which this recital has quickened unfits me to proceed further in that direction. The grim horrors of slavery rise in all their ghastly terror before me, the wails of millions pierce my heart, and chill my blood. I remember the chain, the gag, the bloody whip,

the death-like gloom overshadowing the broken spirit of the fettered bondman, the appalling liability of his being torn away from wife and children, and sold like a beast in the market. Say not that this is a picture of fancy. You well know that I wear stripes on my back inflicted by your direction; and that you, while we were brothers in the same church, caused this right hand, with which I am now penning this letter, to be closely tied to my left, and my person dragged at the pistol's mouth, fifteen miles, from the Bay side to Easton to be sold like a beast in the market, for the alleged crime of intending to escape from your possession. All this and more you remember, and know to be perfectly true, not only of yourself, but of nearly all of the slaveholders around you.

At this moment, you are probably the guilty holder of at least three of my own dear sisters, and my only brother in bondage. These you regard as your property. They are recorded on your ledger, or perhaps have been sold to human flesh mongers, with a view to filling your own ever-hungry purse. Sir, I desire to know how and where these dear sisters are. Have you sold them? or are they still in your possession? What has become of them? are they living or dead? And my dear old grand-mother, whom you turned out like an old horse, to die in the woods—is she still alive? Write and let me know all about them. If my grandmother be still alive, she is of no service to you, for by this time she must be nearly eighty years old—too old to be cared for by one to whom she has ceased to be of service, send her to me at Rochester, or bring her to Philadelphia, and it shall be the crowning happiness of my life to take care of her in her old age. Oh! she was to me a mother, and a father, so far as hard toil for my comfort could make her such. Send me my grandmother! that I may watch over and take care of her in her old age. And my sisters, let me know all about them. I would write to them, and learn all I want to know of them, without disturbing you in any way, but that, through your unrighteous conduct, they have been entirely deprived of the power to read and write. You have kept them in utter ignorance, and have therefore robbed them of the sweet enjoyments of writing or receiving letters from absent friends and relatives. Your wickedness and cruelty committed in this respect on your fellow-creatures, are greater than all the stripes you have laid upon my back, or theirs. It is an outrage upon the soul—a war upon the immortal spirit, and one for which you must give account at the bar of our common Father and Creator.

The responsibility which you have assumed in this regard is

truly awful—and how you could stagger under it these many years is marvellous. Your mind must have become darkened, your heart hardened, your conscience seared and petrified, or you would have long since thrown off the accursed load and sought relief at the hands of a sin-forgiving God. How, let me ask, would you look upon me, were I some dark night in company with a band of hardened villains, to enter the precincts of your elegant dwelling and seize the person of your own lovely daughter Amanda, and carry her off from your family, friends and all the loved ones of her youth—make her my slave—compel her to work, and I take her wages—place her name on my ledger as property—disregard her personal rights—fetter the powers of her immortal soul by denying her the right and privilege of learning to read and write—feed her coarsely—clothe her scantily, and whip her on the naked back occasionally; more and still more horrible, leave her unprotected—a degraded victim to the brutal lust of fiendish overseers, who would pollute, blight, and blast her fair soul—rob her of all dignity—destroy her virtue, and annihilate all in her person the graces that adorn the character of virtuous womanhood? I ask how would you regard me, if such were my conduct? Oh! the vocabulary of the damned would not afford a word sufficiently infernal, to express your idea of my God-provoking wickedness. Yet sir, your treatment of my beloved sisters is in all essential points, precisely like the case I have now supposed. Damning as would be such a deed on my part, it would be no more so than that which you have committed against me and my sisters.

I will now bring this letter to a close, you shall hear from me again unless you let me hear from you. I intend to make use of you as a weapon with which to assail the system of slavery—as a means of concentrating public attention on the system, and deepening their horror of trafficking in the souls and bodies of men. I shall make use of you as a means of exposing the character of the American church and clergy—and as a means of bringing this guilty nation with yourself to repentance. In doing this I entertain no malice towards you personally. There is no roof under which you would be more safe than mine, and there is nothing in my house which you might need for your comfort, which I would not readily grant. Indeed, I should esteem it a privilege, to set you an example as to how mankind ought to treat each other.

I am your fellow man, but not your slave,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹⁶

¹⁶ *Liberator*, Sept. 22, 1848.

TO CAPT. THOMAS AULD, FORMERLY MY MASTER.

No. 4 ALEXANDER ST., ROCHESTER, }
September 3d, 1849.

DEAR SIR:—I propose to celebrate this, the 11th anniversary of my escape from your dominion, by addressing to you a friendly epistle on the subject of slavery.

I do this partly with a view to the fulfilment of a promise I made you on this day one year ago, and partly to neutralize certain charges which I then brought against you.

Ungrateful and unjust as you, perhaps, deem me, I should despise myself if I could wilfully malign the character even of a slaveholder; and if, at any time, I have appeared to you guilty of such conduct, you have greatly misapprehended me. I can say, with a clear conscience, in all that I have ever written or spoken respecting yourself, I have tried to remember that, though I am beyond your power and control, I am still accountable to our common Father and Judge,—in the sight of whom I believe that I stand acquitted of all intentional misrepresentation against you. Of course, I said many hard things respecting yourself; but all has been based upon what I knew of you at the time I was a slave in your family. Of the past, therefore, I have nothing to take back; but information concerning you and your household, lately received, makes it unjust and unkind for me to continue the style of remark, in regard to your character, which I primarily adopted. I have been told by a person intimately acquainted with your affairs, and upon whose word I can rely, that you have ceased to be a slaveholder, and have emancipated all your slaves, except my poor old grandmother, who is now too old to sustain herself in freedom; and that you have taken her from the desolate hut in which she formerly lived, into your own kitchen, and are providing for her in a manner becoming a man and a Christian.

This, sir, is good news; it is all the more gratifying to me, since it deprives the pro-slavery public of the North of what they deem a powerful argument against me, and the abolitionists generally. It proves that the agitation of the subject of slavery does not hinder, if it does not help, the emancipation of slaves at the South. I have been frequently told that my course would have an unfavorable influence upon the condition of my friends and relatives in your possession; and the common argument against abolitionists may be stated as follows: Let slaveholders alone, and they will emancipate

their slaves; and that agitation only retards the progress of the slave's liberation. It is alleged that the slaveholder is induced to clutch more firmly what is attempted to be wrested from him. To this argument, your case is a plain contradiction. If the effect of anti-slavery were such as is thus alleged, you would have been among the first to have experienced it; for few slaveholders in this land have had a larger share of public exposure and denunciation than yourself; and this, too, from a quarter most calculated to annoy, and to provoke resentment. All this, however, has not prevented you from nobly discharging the high duty you owed alike to God and to the slaves in your possession. I congratulate you warmly, and I rejoice most sincerely, that you have been able, against all the suggestions of self-interest, of pride, and of love of power, to perform this act of pure justice and humanity. It has greatly increased my faith in man, and in the *latent virtue* even of slaveholders. I say *latent virtue*, not because I think slaveholders are worse than all other men, but because, such are the power and influence of education and habit upon even the best constituted minds, that they paralyze and disorder, if not destroy their moral energy; and of all persons in the world, slaveholders are in the most unfavorable position for retaining their power. It would be easy for me to give you the reason of this, but you may be presumed to know it already.

Born and brought up in the presence and under the influence of a system which at once strikes at the very foundation of morals, by denying—if not the existence of God—the equal brotherhood of mankind, by degrading one part of the human family to the condition of brutes, and by reversing all right ideas of justice and of brotherly kindness, it is almost impossible that one so environed can greatly grow in virtuous rectitude.

You, however, sir, have risen superior to these unhallowed influences, and have added another striking proof to those already existing, that the heart of the slaveholder is still within the reach of the truth, and that to him the duty of letting 'the oppressed go free,' is not in vain.

I shall no longer regard you as an enemy to freedom, nor to myself—but shall hail you as a friend to both.—Before doing so, however, I have one reasonable request to make of you, with which you will, I hope, comply. It is thus: That you make your conversion to anti-slavery known to the world, by precept as well as example. A publication of the facts relating to the emancipation of the slaves,

with the reasons that have led you to this humane act, would doubtless prove highly beneficial to the cause of freedom generally—at the same time that it would place yourself in that high estimation of the public mind to which your generous conduct justly entitles you. I think you have no right to put your candle under a bushel. Your case is different in many respects from that of most repentant slaveholders. You have been publicly and peculiarly exposed before the world for being a slaveholder; and, since you have ceased to be such, a just regard for your own standing among men, as well as a desire to promote the happiness of a deeply injured people, requires you to make known your sentiments on this important subject. It would be truly an interesting and a glorious spectacle to see *master* and *slave*, hand in hand, laboring together for the overthrow of American slavery. I am sure that such an example would tell with thrilling effect upon the public mind of this section. We have already had the example of slaves and slaveholders side by side battling for freedom; but we yet lack a master working by the side of his former slave on the anti-slavery platform. You have it in your power to supply this deficiency; and if you can bring yourself to do so, you will attain a larger degree of happiness for yourself, and will confer a greater blessing on the cause of freedom, than you have already done by the generous act of emancipating your own slaves. With the example before me, I shall not despair of yet having the pleasure of giving you the right hand of fellowship on the anti-slavery platform.

Before closing the present letter, I wish to set you right about a matter which is, perhaps, of small importance to yourself, but is of considerable consequence to me.

In your letter, written three years ago, to Mr. A. C. C. Thompson, of Wilmington, respecting the validity of my narrative, you complained that I failed to mention your intention to emancipate me at the age of 25. The reason of this failure is as follows: You will remember that your promise to emancipate me preceded my first attempt to escape; and that you then told me that you would have emancipated me, had I not made the attempt in question. If you ask me why I distrusted your promise in the first instance, I could give you many reasons; but the one that weighed most with me was the passage of a law in Maryland, throwing obstructions in the way of emancipation; and I had heard you refer to that law as an excuse for continuing your slaves in bondage; and, supposing the

obstructions alluded to might prove insuperable barriers to my freedom, I resolved upon flight as the only alternative left me short of a life of slavery. I hope this explanation will be satisfactory. I do not regret what I have done, but rather rejoice in it, as well for your sake as mine. Nevertheless, I wish to be fairly understood, and have, therefore, made the explanation.

I shall here conclude this letter, by again expressing my sincere gratitude at the magnanimous deed with which your name is now associated—and by repeating the ardent hope that you will publicly identify yourself with the holy cause of freedom, to which, since I left your service, I have been most unremittingly devoting myself.

I am, Dear Sir,

Very respectfully yours,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹⁷

WILLIAM W. BROWN TO HIS MASTER.

TO CAPT. ENOCH PRICE, of St. Louis, Mo.:

SIR,—When I left you fifteen years ago, I had not the most remote idea that I should ever correspond with you, either publicly or privately. But as this seems to be an age of progression, and reform the order of the day, I have taken the liberty of addressing you. Since we last parted, the world has made rapid advances in civilization. The principles of human rights have been to some extent discussed, and their blessings secured to a great portion of mankind. The amelioration of the condition of the human family seems to be the great idea of the present age. All Christendom is unsettled, and its ocean of mind is heaving and advancing towards the high mark of Christianity. Almost all the nations of the earth are discussing the rights of man. Not only the civilized, but the semi-civilized are acting under the guidance of the clearer light of the nineteenth century, and the higher motives of the present day.

The subject to which I wish to call your attention is one with which you are intimately connected, namely, Chattel Slavery in the United States. The institution of slavery has been branded as infamous by the good and wise throughout the world. It is regarded as an offence in the sight of God, and opposed to the best interests of man. Whatever in its proper tendency and general effect destroys, abridges, or renders insecure, human welfare, is

¹⁷ *Liberator*, Sept. 14, 1849.

opposed to the spirit and genius of Christianity. There is a proverb, that no man can bind a chain upon the limb of his neighbor, without inevitable fate fastening the other end around his own body. This has been signally verified by the slaveholders of America. While they have been degrading the colored man, by enslaving him, they have become degraded themselves; in withholding education from the minds of their slaves, they have kept their own children in comparative ignorance. The immoralities which have been found to follow in the train of slavery in all countries and all ages, are to be seen in their worst forms in the Slave States of America. This is attributable to the degree of ignorance which is deemed necessary to keep the enslaved in their chains. It is a fact admitted by the American slaveholders themselves, that their slaves are in a worse state of heathenism than any other heathen in the civilized world. There is a constant action and reaction—the immoralities of the slave contaminate the master, the immoralities of the master contaminate the slave. The effects of the system are evident in the demeanor of the slaveholders. For example, they are proverbial for their want of courtesy to those who differ from them in opinion. They are noted for their use of the 'bowie-knife,' an instrument peculiar to the 'peculiar institution.' Slaveholding parents sending their children to the free States to be educated, frequently find a difficulty in getting boarding places for them, from the mere fact that they have been found to spread their vices among the children with whom they have associated in the free States, to such an extent that parents have often taken their children out of school on the introduction of the children of slaveholders. As deep and malignant as is the prejudice in the free States against the colored people, there are those who would rather have the companionship of colored youths for their children, than the society of the sons of the most distinguished slaveholders in the South.

These are the legitimate results of an institution, which sets at defiance the laws of God and the reason of man. Believe me, sir, it is from no wish of mine to hurt the feelings of yourself, or those with whom you are associated, that I give publicity to these facts. Connected as I am with the slaveholders of America by the blood that courses through my own veins, if I could I would throw the mantle of charity over the disgusting institution, and everything connected with it. But the duty I owe to the slave, to truth, and

to God, demands that I should use my pen and tongue so long as life and health are vouchsafed to me to employ them, or until the last chain shall fall from the limbs of the last slave in America and the world.

Sir, you are a slaveholder, and by the laws of God and of nature, your slaves, like yourself, are entitled to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' and you have no right whatever to deprive them of these inestimable blessings which you claim for yourself. Your slaves have the same right to develop their moral and intellectual faculties that you have; but you are keeping them in a state of ignorance and degradation; and if a single ray of light breaks forth, and penetrates to their souls, it is in despite of your efforts to keep their minds obscured in mental darkness.

You profess to be a Christian, and yet you are one of those who have done more to bring contempt upon Christianity in the United States, by connecting that religion with slavery, than all other causes combined. Were it not for slavery, the United States would be what they have long professed to be, but are not, the 'land of the free, and the home of the brave.' The millions in Europe, who are struggling for political and religious liberty, have looked in vain to the United States for sympathy. The Americans, busily engaged in spreading slavery over new territory, and thereby forging chains for the limbs of unborn millions, are not in the position to sympathise with the oppressed in other countries. America has her Red Republicans, as well as her black slaves; their hands are crimsoned with the blood of their victims. If the atrocities recently practised upon defenceless women in Austria make the blood run cold through the veins of the humane and good throughout the civilized world, the acts committed daily upon the slave women of America should not only cause the blood to chill, but to stop its circulation.

In behalf of your slaves, I ask you, in the name of the God whom you profess to worship, to take the chains from their limbs, and to let them go free. It is a duty that you owe to God, to the slave, and to the world. You are a husband:—I ask you then to treat the wives of your slaves as you would have your own companion dealt with. You are a father:—I ask you, therefore, to treat the children of your slaves as you would have your own legitimate offspring treated. When you take your own child upon your knee, and thank God that no one can snatch it from you, and

place it upon the auction block, and sell it to the highest bidder, think of the children that you have sold from their parents. When you look upon your own parents, sisters and brothers, and feel thankful that you are kept in safety together, think of him who now addresses you, and remember how you, with others, tore from him a beloved mother, an affectionate sister, and three dear brothers, and sold them to the slave trader, to be carried to the far South, there to be worked upon a cotton, sugar or rice plantation, where, if still living, they are now wearing the galling chains of slavery. By your professed love of America, I conjure you to use your influence for the abolition of an institution which has done a thousand times more to blacken the character of the American people, and to render the name of their boasted free republic more odious to the ears of the friends of human freedom throughout the world, than all their other faults combined. I will not yield to you in affection for America, but I hate her institution of slavery. I love her, because I am identified with her enslaved millions by every tie that should bind man to his fellow-man. The United States has disfranchised me, and declared that I am not a citizen, but a chattel: her Constitution dooms me to be your slave. But while I feel grieved that I am alienated and driven from my own country, I rejoice that, in this land, I am regarded as a man. I am in England, what I can never be in America, while slavery exists there.

Sir, you may not be pleased with me for speaking to you in so plain a manner; but in this I have only done my duty. See that you do yours!

I am, Sir, with all due respect,

WM. WELLS BROWN.¹⁸

London, Nov. 23d, 1849.

LETTER TO REV. J. W. LOGUEN, FROM HIS OLD MISTRESS.

The *Liberator* said on April 27, 1860:

The following letter was received a day or two since by Rev. Mr. Loguen, of this city, from his old mistress 'way down in Tennessee.' The old lady is evidently 'hard up,' financially, and attempts to frighten her former servant into the payment of \$1,000 as 'hush money.' We imagine she sent to the wrong man, as Mr.

¹⁸ *Liberator*, Dec. 14, 1849.

Loguen needs no 'bill of sale' to secure himself from capture in this section of the State. Besides his own stalwart arm, he has hosts of friends who would make this region too hot to hold the man-hunters who would venture on such an errand as the old lady hints at in her somewhat singular epistle. Her lamentations about the old mare are decidedly funny, (we may add womanly,) and all the misfortunes of the family are traced directly to the escape of 'Jarm.' But here is her letter:

MAURY COUNTY, State of Tennessee, }
Feb. 20, 1860. }

TO JARM:—I now take my pen to write you a few lines, to let you know how we all are. I am a cripple, but I am still able to get about. The rest of the family are all well. Cherry is as well as common. I write you these lines to let you know the situation we are in,—partly in consequence of your running away and stealing Old Rock, our fine mare. Though we got the mare back, she never was worth much after you took her;—and, as I now stand in need of some funds, I have determined to sell you, and I have had an offer for you, but did not see fit to take it. If you will send me one thousand dollars, and pay for the old mare, I will give up all claim I have to you. Write to me as soon as you get these lines, and let me know if you will accept my proposition. In consequence of your running away, we had to sell Abe and Ann and twelve acres of land; and I want you to send me the money, that I may be able to redeem the land that you was the cause of our selling, and on receipt of the above-named sum of money, I will send you your bill of sale. If you do not comply with my request, I will sell you to some one else, and you may rest assured that the time is not far distant when things will be changed with you. Write to me as soon as you get these lines. Direct your letter to Bigbyville, Maury County, Tennessee. You had better comply with my request.

I understand that you are a preacher. As the Southern people are so bad, you had better come and preach to your old acquaintances. I would like to know if you read your Bible. If so, can you tell what will become of the thief if he does not repent? and, if the blind lead the blind, what will the consequence be? I deem it unnecessary to say much more at present. A word to the wise is sufficient. You know where the liar has his part. You know

that we reared you as we reared our own children; that you was never abused, and that shortly before you ran away, when your master asked you if you would like to be sold, you said you would not leave him to go with any body.

SARAH LOGUE.

MR. LOGUEN'S REPLY.

SYRACUSE, (N. Y.) March 28, 1860.

MRS. SARAH LOGUE: Yours of the 20th of February is duly received, and I thank you for it. It is a long time since I heard from my poor old mother, and I am glad to know that she is yet alive, and, as you say, 'as well as common.' What that means, I don't know. I wish you had said more about her.

You are a woman; but, had you a woman's heart, you never could have insulted a brother by telling him you sold his only remaining brother and sister, because he put himself beyond your power to convert him into money.

You sold my brother and sister, Abe and Ann, and twelve acres of land, you say, because I ran away. Now you have the unutterable meanness to ask me to return and be your miserable chattel, or, in lieu thereof, send you \$1000 to enable you to redeem the *land*, but not to redeem my poor brother and sister! If I were to send you money, it would be to get my brother and sister, and not that you should get land. You say you are a *cripple*, and doubtless you say it to stir my pity, for you knew I was susceptible in that direction. I do pity you from the bottom of my heart. Nevertheless, I am indignant beyond the power of words to express, that you should be so sunken and cruel as to tear the hearts I love so much all in pieces; that you should be willing to impale and crucify us all, out of compassion for your poor *foot* or *leg*. Wretched woman! Be it known to you that I value my freedom, to say nothing of my mother, brothers and sisters, more than your whole body; more, indeed, than my own life; more than all the lives of all the slaveholders and tyrants under heaven.

You say you have offers to buy me, and that you shall sell me if I do not send you \$1000, and in the same breath and almost in the same sentence, you say, 'You know we raised you as we did our own children.' Woman, did you raise your *own children* for the market? Did you raise them for the whipping-post? Did you

raise them to be driven off, bound to a coffin in chains? Where are my poor bleeding brothers and sisters? Can you tell? Who was it that sent them off into sugar and cotton fields, to be kicked and cuffed, and whipped, and to groan and die; and where no kin can hear their groans, or attend and sympathize at their dying bed, or follow in their funeral? Wretched woman! Do you say *you* did not do it? Then I reply, your husband did, and *you* approved the deed—and the very letter you sent me shows that your heart approves it all. Shame on you!

But, by the way, where is your husband? You don't speak of him. I infer, therefore, that he is dead; that he has gone to his great account, with all his sins against my poor family upon his head. Poor man! gone to meet the spirits of my poor, outraged and murdered people, in a world where Liberty and Justice are *Masters*.

But you say I am a thief, because I took the old mare along with me. Have you got to learn that I had a better right to the old mare, as you call her, than Mannasseth Logue had to me? Is it a greater sin for me to steal his horse, than it was for him to rob my mother's cradle, and steal me? If he and you infer that I forfeit all my rights to you, shall not I infer that you forfeit all your rights to me? Have you got to learn that human rights are mutual and reciprocal, and if you take my liberty and life, you forfeit your own liberty and life? Before God and high heaven, is there a law for one man which is not a law for every other man?

If you or any other speculator on my body and rights, wish to know how I regard my rights, they need but come here, and lay their hands on me to enslave me. Did you think to terrify me by presenting the alternative to give my money to you, or give my body to slavery? Then let me say to you, that I meet the proposition with unutterable scorn and contempt. The proposition is an outrage and an insult. I will not budge one hair's breadth. I will not breathe a shorter breath, even to save me from your persecutions. I stand among a free people, who, I thank God, sympathize with my rights, and the rights of mankind; and if your emissaries and venders come here to re-enslave me, and escape the unshrinking vigor of my own right arm, I trust my strong and brave friends, in this city and State, will be my rescuers and avengers.

Yours, &c.,

J. W. LOGUEN.

IV. ANONYMOUS LETTERS AND OTHERS

In the newspapers there often appeared anonymous letters which decidedly differed from such of today. A Negro signing his name to a document attacking an institution protected by the laws of the country was in danger almost anywhere in this country before the Civil War. The failure to sign his name was not always due to a lack of courage but rather to the desire for self-preservation, the first law of nature. Such letters as these, then, are valuable in determining what the Negro was feeling and thinking at that time.

To the Editor of the Liberator.

ESTEEMED FRIEND—I have perused, with infinite pleasure, the first and second number of the new-born infant, with the above title. How sweetly sounds the name in the ears of every descendant of Africa!

As I am one of that unfortunate people for whom you have volunteered both life and fortune to redeem, if possible, from their present state of degradation to a rank among the rest of mankind; I cannot but feel interested in every thing touching their cause. It was, therefore, with no small sensation of joy, that I beheld this instrument of good, referred to above, established in this metropolis; especially as it is to be particularly devoted to the cause of my depressed race throughout the United States. The word *Liberator*, which character your paper assumes, is a phrase highly distinguished, if I rightly understand its meaning. May it be as influential in the accomplishment of its object, as that mighty spirit which it breathes; and as eminent and popular in its character, as is the illustrious name which it bears. May your appearance in this city prove as fruitful as the coming of Titus into Macedonia.

That heaven has given you ability to perform the work in which you are engaged, is not questioned even by your most bitter opponents. Agreeing with them and all others in this fact, it is not to be supposed that I am attempting to render aid in any of your editorial labors; for I would by no means flatter myself with the capacity, though my will be ever so good. The principle, therefore, by which I have been governed in making these remarks, springs alone and purely from a deep-felt sense of gratitude, and a strong

desire of your final success in your undertaking. And should you, through the blessing of God, be successful in this most noble enterprise, my greatest hope, my strongest desire, and sincerest and best wishes will truly be answered. Thus will great good be done to the African race, and more honor to your country than all that which has been acquired by military exploits.

I see, however, before you, a mountain over which you have to travel, steep and dark, and pregnant with deep-rooted prejudice of long duration. I am also happy to see that you have measured out the ground, and estimated the cost, and are going onward clothed in Paul's spirit of perseverance, and carrying along with you the courage of Leonidas, the Grecian hero. May your success be like that of Gideon of old; may there arise a Howard, a Clarkson, and a Sharpe, to give you aid in removing that foul stain, *slavery*, from your country's *Constitution*. And may all this be done without bloodshed. For though I advocate, like yourself, the doctrine of universal emancipation, and am anxious, with the rest of my brethren, for our just rights and the enjoyment of those inestimable blessings which the providence of God has allotted to the human race; yet I am very far from wishing a second St. Domingo warfare in the United States. I wish, therefore, that the spirit of the Egyptians may not long reign in America. But it is my hope that the eyes of this people will shortly be opened to their true interest, by opening the prison doors and letting the oppressed go free.

I do, therefore, sincerely and devoutly hope, that by the force of truth, sound and mild reasoning, many will come up to your assistance in this great work of human rights, of which we are not so ignorant as many have supposed.

Public opinion is a masterly engine; and I hope you will secure it in your present enterprise; for to have both wind and tide to steer against, is a task not easily managed. But to tell you what you already know is no news at all; and as I place great confidence in the sincerity of your intention, I doubt not that you will pursue the best course for the furtherance of the cause which you espouse. I believe your motive to be far more noble and pure than what your enemies have asserted it to be. I believe, also, that your eyes are fastened upon the good of your country, as much so as it is upon liberating the descendants of Africa. And may the wisdom of a holy God direct your pen; and may his grace enable you to move human pride and prejudice before you, as the darkness moves be-

fore the rising sun! I invoke the blessings of God upon the new-born infant, as I term it. I implore his holy benediction upon your labor of benevolence, hoping it may flourish before you like the green bay-tree, and be as a handful of corn upon the tops of the mountain, whose fruits shall shake like Lebanon. I invoke his peace to dwell with you forever; and may you be carried along in the current of his Holy Spirit.

A MAN OF COLOR.

DEATH OF WALKER.

To the Editor of the Liberator.

SIR—Having been prompted, by the inquiries of the Journal & Tribune, to make some researches respecting the circumstances of the death of Walker, author of a flagitious pamphlet, so called; I have spared no pains to obtain correct information relative thereto. The result has not been very satisfactory to me, and probably will not be to the public.

The most I can learn is, that some one or more, recently from the south, spread a report in this city that a reward of \$3000 was offered by southern planters to any one who would take the life of Walker. The report is believed by many of our population, who have no higher source of intelligence, to be true. Many well-informed persons of color there are, however, who have a strong suspicion that Walker came to his end otherwise than by a usual visitation of the Providence of God. Whether their suspicion be groundless or not, is a question—a question, too, under circumstances hard to be answered. In cases of law, presumptive evidence, I believe, is valid. Why not in this case? Were I asked, what is the presumptive evidence? I should answer, Prejudice—Pride—Avarice—Bigotry—in a word, the self-love of a wicked country, which outweigh all civil, moral and religious principles contained therein. If murder and robbery, with their correspondent evils, are practised by the refined part of society, ought it to be thought a wonder that a man, like Walker, should fall a victim to the vengeance of the public? Is it not well known by individuals, that the whole country has set the example for them for centuries, by imbruing their hands in innocent blood? Is it not the language of the country to every individual, 'GO AND DO LIKEWISE'?

A COLORED BOSTONIAN.¹⁹

¹⁹ *Liberator*, Jan. 22, 1831.

To the Editor of the Liberator.

SIR—I have received and read with great satisfaction the first two numbers of the *Liberator*, with the exception of the notice you have taken of Walker's Appeal, which production I have ever been opposed to (1)—opposed to, in the first place, not because he is a man of color, but because I do not believe that he wrote it; for the matter brought forward in said pamphlet is the result of more reading than could have fallen to the lot of that man, and, at the same time, have left him so vulgar as he has been represented to me. (2)—Besides, sir, he could never have read all the authors quoted in his book, and seen of what true greatness consisted, and then bestowed such unbounded praise upon one whose name the political, the moral, and the religious world will be found equally indifferent about handing to those who may come after us (3)—To say nothing of the excellent criticisms upon the speeches of the most talented men of the age—all of which discover to us a greater degree of education than we have any reason to believe that he possessed.

I am aware, sir, that I differ very widely from many of those with whom I stand intimately connected; for some of them are so infatuated as to believe it an inspired work. Such inspiration is passing strange with me.

We are forbidden, by high authority, to do evil that good may come. Why then cast this firebrand so injudiciously among the stubble? Behold its injurious effects! In many of the southern states, the free people of color enjoyed some privileges and good situations, which not only afforded them the means of support but also of education—so that the rusty mind was daily becoming bright, and its brilliancy beaming forth to the destruction of prejudice. These privileges are now taken away.

I am opposed to the pamphlet, therefore, in the second place, because I believe it to be at the bottom of the recent enactments of severe laws in the southern states, such as are too notorious to be mentioned.

There is no man among us, who is more sensible of his political degradation than I am; but, at the same time, I am unwilling to resort to any dishonorable means of deliverance—such as Walker points out.

LEO.

Philadelphia, Jan. 21, 1831.

(1) We know not wherein we differ from 'LEO' in his view of the pamphlet. We have repeatedly expressed our disapprobation

of its general spirit. It contains, however, many valuable truths and seasonable warnings.

(2) We are surprised at this incredulity. Mr Walker was personally unknown to us; but we are assured, by those who intimately knew him, that his Appeal was an exact transcript of his daily conversations; that, within the last four years, he was hurtfully indefatigable in his studies; that he was not 'vulgar,' either in manners or language; and that he was a blameless professor of religion. The historical facts which he has collected were too familiar to have required extraordinary research. Besides, the internal evidence of the pamphlet clearly substantiates its authorship.

(3) We cannot find that there is any other individual extolled than the venerable and worthy bishop Richard Allen of Philadelphia. Surely our correspondent cannot mean to deny *him* the tribute of merit which Mr Walker has bestowed? ²⁰

To the Editor of the Liberator.

SIR—I have read the several numbers of your excellent paper with much pleasure, and cannot refrain from tendering my sincere thanks to you for the active part that you have taken in behalf of myself and colored brethren of this country.

That we are not treated as freemen, in any part of the United States, is certain. This usage, I should say, is in direct opposition to the Constitution; which positively declares, that all men are born equal, and endowed with certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

I would ask some of our pretended white friends, and the members of the American Colonization Society, why they are so interested in our behalf as to want us to go to Africa? They tell us that it is our home; that they desire to make a people of us, which we can never be here; that they want Africa civilized; and that we are the very persons to do it, as it is almost impossible for any white person to exist there. I deny it. Will some of those guardian angels of the people of color tell me how it is that we, who were born in the same city or state with themselves, can live any longer in Africa than they? I consider it the most absurd assertion that any man of common sense could make, unless it is supposed, as some have already said, that we are void of understanding. If we had been born on that continent, the transportation would be

²⁰ *Liberator*, Jan. 29, 1831.

another matter; but as the fact is the reverse, we consider the United States our home, and not Africa as they wish to make us believe;—and if we do emigrate, it will be to a place of our own choice.

I would also mention to the supporters of the Colonization Society, that if they would spend half the time and money that they do, in educating the colored population and giving them lands to cultivate here, and secure to them all the rights and immunities of freemen, instead of sending them to Africa, it would be found, in a short time, that they made as good citizens as the whites. Their traducers would hear of fewer murders, highway robberies, forgeries, &c. &c. being committed, than they do at present among some of the white inhabitants of this country.

If a man of color has children, it is almost impossible for him to get a trade for them, as the journeymen and apprentices generally refuse to work with them, even if the master is willing, which is seldom the case. Even among laborers, there is a distinction. During the late snow storm, thousands of persons were employed in cleaning the gutters, leveling the drifts, &c. Among the whole number, ~~there~~ there was not a man of color to be seen, when hundreds of them were going about the streets with shovels in their hands, looking for work and finding none. I mention this fact merely to show what a great distinction exists, more or less, between the whites and blacks, in all classes—and as much among aliens who have been in this country three or four months, or perhaps a year, as any class of persons that I can mention.

In bringing this subject to a close, I will only say, that I am under the impression that the time is not far distant, when the prophecy which says, ‘Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hand unto God,’ will be fulfilled.

A COLORED PHILADELPHIAN.²¹

Philadelphia, Feb. 3, 1831.

To the Editor of the Liberator.

SIR—The total defeat of tyranny and noble triumph of liberty in some of the old countries, awaken in me sensations too strong to be suppressed. My soul is filled with joy to perceive that, instead of man’s continuing the protector or ruler of his fellow man, God alone will be the ruler over all. It is a sight pleasant indeed, to

²¹ *Liberator*, Feb. 12, 1831.

witness the increasing liberality and wise policy which the whole continent of Europe is manifesting in relation to its governmental affairs. But, sir, my joy is still greater to know, that this mighty reformation has been effected not by deadly weapons, but by strict attention to education and an uplifted eye to the Deity. The heart of man is always rightly directed when his eyes are fixed upon God. Let the mind expand, and methinks the time will ere long arrive when there will not be a man, from the equator to the poles, whose soul will not burst forth in the strains of Homer, and shake the yoke of slavery from his neck as the lion 'shakes the dew-drops from his mane.'

Nothing was ever more true, sir, than the sentiment put forth by Mr Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are born free and equal;—and there is no stronger proof of this truth, than to see, wherever an opportunity presents itself, the oppressed grasping the banner of liberty and breathing forth this sentiment in peals of thunder. That the spirit of liberty is born in the breast of every man is an undeniable truth: it is also true that the sensation accompanies him from his cradle to the grave; and though sometimes suppressed by the sword and bayonet, it often bursts forth, like the smoking volcano, striking terror into the heart of the oppressor. May its mighty power shake the pillars of oppression until they crumble like 'the baseless fabric of a vision.'

I glory, sir, in your general call to my brethren in the United States, to awake out of sleep; and as the trumpet is in Zion, so may your voice be in directing them to the vast importance of educating themselves and their children, in the true spirit of the gospel and the golden principles of liberty.

I believe, sir, that the obtainment of our just rights depends more upon this, and devout supplications to God, than upon any other means. I know that God hears the prayers of the righteous; and if our people will devote themselves to piety and the study of useful knowledge, the Lord God will hear and answer their cries when they supplicate his throne.

I earnestly entreat my brethren, then, to look up to Him from whence cometh their salvation; for he is able to save to the uttermost all that will come unto him. Awake and arise, my beloved brethren, nor linger so; but cast your eyes on Europe, and see for yourselves what has been recently accomplished in the march of mind. These things are truly the precious fruits of education.

Awake, then, and let your actions tell the world that you are men—the workmanship of a mighty God. O Capitien, Sancho, Vassa, Cugoana! send back your ambitious spirits into the bosoms of your brethren, that they may sweetly repose under the shadow of your wisdom, and meditate upon your virtues with great delight.

A MAN OF COLOR.²²

TO COLONIZATIONISTS.

How long, oh! ye boasters of freedom, will ye endeavor to persuade us, your derided, degraded fellow countrymen, to the belief that our interest and happiness are prized in high estimation among you? Be it known, that we are not all such misguided, deluded mortals as to be duped by your plans; that we will not suffer ourselves to become so infatuated as to ‘hurl reason from her throne,’ and succumb to your glittering, showy, *dissimulating* path to eminence. We spurn with contempt your unrighteous schemes, and point the finger of derision at your fruitless attempts. You have commenced them in a day, when liberty, justice and equality are claimed by almost all, as Nature’s rights; for behold! a beam of science, lucid as the sun, has divinely fallen upon the lightless intellects of a portion of that ignoble part of your fellow creatures, who have been so long the victims of your fell injustice and inhumanity. Would to God that conscience might subdue your malignant prejudices. Tell us not that our condition can never be bettered in the land of our birth: you know it not. Make but the attempt in consecrating a portion of your time, talents and money upon us here, and you would soon find the cause of Afric’s injured race vindicated by her descendants; and the day which now dawns would be speedily ushered into blazing light, declaring in its effulgence the joyful sound of Liberty—Justice—Equality to all mankind.

Philadelphia.

HANNIBAL.²³

To the Editor of the Liberator.

SIR—It is with additional pleasure that I have perused the 8th number of your useful and entertaining paper; and I am under the impression that it will meet with much encouragement in this city, as it is almost impossible for any persons of color, who feel interested for themselves or posterity, to do otherwise than to subscribe

²² *Liberator*, Feb. 19, 1831.

²³ *Ibid.*, March 12, 1831.

to it, if they can possibly spare the price of subscription. It is a grand engine for us to make known our difficulties, deprivations, &c. that we have to encounter in these United States; and I hope the time is fast approaching, when we shall be able to boast that we have a press (solely to vindicate the cause of the people of color) in every State in the Union. I am heartily glad to hear that our friend and brother (Mr Stewart) is about to publish a paper in Albany, devoted to our cause. May the Lord bless him abundantly in his undertaking; may he thrive in his editorial labors, like a tree planted by the water side; and may he meet with that encouragement, which will enable him to continue it as long as his life shall last.

It is utterly impossible for me to proceed any further, without saying a few words concerning the Colonization Society, the advocates of which are more and more engaged in devising ways to rid the United States of the free people of color. Auxiliaries are forming in almost every city for the *laudable* purpose of raising funds to transport us across the wide Atlantic ocean to Africa, to breathe our last soon after, or perhaps before, we arrive. But I am fully convinced, that it is a matter of no consequence to the persons interested in that Society, and likely to some who are not, what becomes of us after we leave the United States. All they are anxious for is, that we, who have the name of being freemen, (but who, I am sorry to say, are not treated as such,) should leave the country. Why do they not turn their minds to the slaveholders at the south, and solicit them to set their slaves free; and send such home again as have been stolen from Africa; and such as have not, educate and treat them as they ought to be in this free country? But no: it is the free people they want out of the way, and not the slaves; as they are perfectly aware that the latter are kept in fear generally. But the other class, they say, have too much liberty; and if they are not sent off, they will in time overrun the country. But if the whites will give us our rights, establish good schools for our children as well as theirs, give them trades, and encourage them after they have become masters of their business, they will have nothing to fear: they will find us as true to this our country and home, as any class of persons that do or shall hereafter exist in these United States—is the opinion of

A COLORED PHILADELPHIAN.²⁴

Philadelphia, Feb. 28, 1831.

²⁴ *Liberator*, March 19, 1831.

To the Editor of the Liberator.

SIR—It is with much pleasure that I now make the following remarks, which you are at liberty to publish, if you deem them worthy of an insertion in your excellent paper. It has been some time since I addressed you on any subject whatever; but in perusing the 29th number of your paper, a paragraph attracted my attention, concerning the conduct of the slaves and other colored persons at the late fire in Fayetteville, N. C., which fire, I am under the impression, was a visitation from God, for their cruelty to our brethren which is inflicted upon them with the utmost rigor imaginable.

I was informed by a person from that place, (who was an eye-witness to what I am about to relate,) that in the very town where the fire was, he saw a free man of color, as he was termed, stripped and tied to a whipping post, before a great concourse of brutes in human shape, (with a few exceptions,) and there lacerated by an inhuman overseer till he was covered with blood; to such a degree, indeed, that it would have caused any person, who had not a heart of stone, to weep bitterly at the treatment he received. His crime was merely for passing a joke with one of his white neighbors, in this boasted land of liberty, which is termed by some, an asylum for the inhabitants of all foreign nations; but which, I am sorry to say, is the worst place for colored persons in the known world.

When we take a retrospective view of things, and hear of almost every nation fighting for its liberty, is it to be expected that the African race will continue always in the degraded state they now are? No. The time is fast approaching when the words 'Fight for liberty, or die in the attempt,' will be sounded in every African ear throughout the world; and when he will throw off his fetters, and flock to the banner which will be then floating in the air with the following words inscribed upon it—'Liberty or Death;' and when they will die to a man sooner than be slaves any longer to persons (I am sorry to say) not so good as themselves, merely because their skin is something of a darker hue than their own. O Liberty! sound delightful to every African ear! And when the sound has once struck them, may they seize upon it as a drowning man would to anything that comes within his grasp, and never let go till they get that which they ought to have enjoyed ever since they have been in existence, but which has been torn from them by a set of persons who can be termed nothing less than pirates.

The Colonization Society is still busy in trying to get free persons of color to embark for Africa, (but whom I would recommend to stay at home,) where almost every eight out of ten die by the time they get within sight of that land; and if they should by chance touch the shore, they do not exist but a short time, with very few exceptions. They tell us they want to better our condition. What absurdity! If so, let them do it in America, and not in Africa. But no; their object is to rid this country of us, as they think we are getting too numerous, and that some time or other a collision may take place; but I assure them that if they will treat us as we consider we ought to be treated, they need never fear the least trouble from us. All we want is our rights, and these we will have. I may never live to see that joyful time; but I am fully persuaded that the time will come, when every colored man must and will have his liberty.

In coming to a close, I am aware that if we look forward to the great 'I Am' for help, we shall never be in danger of falling like those who walk upon a line. If we keep our eyes fixed upon one point, we may step forward securely, and nothing shall molest or make us afraid.

A COLORED PHILADELPHIAN.^{24a}

Philadelphia, July 28, 1831.

TO THE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

BY A COLORED LADY.

On reading the painful account of the slave ship in the last *Liberator*, I am induced to write a few lines of encouragement to us as a people. Although it does seem to us, at times, as though we had more hardships and difficulties than we are able to bear,—deprived of almost every blessing and comfort which we see our white friends enjoying,—yet, reflection will show that we have every thing that can be called good in this world to encourage us. For God hath no respect of persons, but doth bless continually, both in temporal and spiritual blessings. God hath made the world, and all things that are in it. The same God that made them, hath made us, and will save all who put their trust in him: therefore let us strive to put our trust in God, for he is able to deliver us from the power of the enemy, and from the bondage that is to come. For if a man doth gain the whole world, and lose his own soul, what

^{24a} *Liberator*, Aug. 20, 1831.

doth it profit him? Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt and where thieves do break through and steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal. For the Scripture saith, 'whoso keepeth the law is a wise son.' Although men may bind our bodies, they cannot bind our souls; for the Lord searcheth the heart, and knoweth all our need. Let us raise our hearts to God in prayer, that he would own and bless our souls. He doth delight to own and bless all those who put their trust in him. Better is it to be of a humble spirit with the lowly, than to divide the spoil with the proud; for he that handleth a matter wisely shall find good, and whoso trusteth in the Lord, happy is he; for the Lord is able to deliver us from evil, and from the hands of sinful men. That God who delivered Daniel from the lion's den; who protected the three men in the fiery furnace, and did not suffer so much as a hair of their head to be injured, is still the same.

Better is a little with righteousness, than great revenues without right: for righteous lips are the delight of kings, and they love him that speaketh right. How much better is it to get wisdom than gold, and to get understanding rather than silver! For Wisdom saith, riches and honor are with me, yea, durable riches and righteousness: my fruit is better than fine gold, and my revenue than choice silver; I lead in the way of righteousness, in the midst of the paths of judgment, that I may cause those that love me to inherit sustenance, and I will fill their treasures.

Although the Lord doth comfort us, and deliver us from the cruel hands of the slaveholders, still we do sympathise with those of our friends in a southern clime: therefore let us as the heart of one person be united, and raise our hearts to God in humble prayer that he would send deliverance to the captives, and enlighten the hearts of the slaveholders, that they may see that they are bound as well as those whom they are still holding in bondage; yea, they are bound by Satan's slavish chains. And I do awfully fear, that unless they quickly repent, and turn unto that God who doth have mercy upon all men, they will sin away the day of grace.

Can it be that they will buy and sell those who are as good, by nature, as themselves? Will they sell their souls for gold, which will profit them nothing in a dying hour? Look at the rich man in the gospel, who had much goods laid up for many years, and said

unto his soul, 'Soul, take thine ease; eat, drink, and be merry.' But the Lord said unto him, 'Thou fool! this night thy soul shall be required of thee.' Although he had great possessions, it could not save him from death; but, as we are informed, he died, and was buried; and in hell he lifted up his eyes, being in torment, and cried for Lazarus that he would come and dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool his parched tongue, for he was tormented in the flame.

It is my prayer to God, daily, that he would enlighten the hearts of the children of men. Let us, my friends, begin with new engagedness to seek and serve God. Let us raise our hearts to him continually, that he would bless us as a nation; that he would let his holy spirit descend and rest upon us, and guide us in the way of all truth. For the high way of the upright is to depart from evil. He that keepeth his way preserveth his soul. For if faithful to God until death, we shall secure that crown of glory which will never fade away. Let us take the bible for the guide of our life, and so live that when called to die, we may die in peace, and rest in the arms of a crucified Redeemer.

*Middletown, July 29, 1831.*²⁵

To the Editor of the Liberator.

SIR—Permit a colored subscriber, and constant reader of your most valuable paper, to cast his mite into the casket of the Liberator.

ACTS xvii. 25. God hath made of one blood (take notice, 'of one blood'—not white blood) all nations of men, (black and white,) for to dwell on all the face of the earth.

Now, it takes all sorts of people to make a world. What, then, can be more preposterous than for any set of men to institute schemes for the transplantation of the colored sons of America, whom the God of nature has designed should fill up the vacancy intended for them on these happy shores of America? The hue of the people of color has been explained to denote intended subjection. I do not think it worth while to engage (nor could I) in a philosophical speculation, respecting the origin of that variety of complexions, which now characterises our race; though all descended from the same parents, and parents too, whose color, we have every reason to believe, was neither white nor black, but a

²⁵ *Liberator*, Aug. 27, 1831.

medium between both; for the first was called Adam, which signifies a red man. Solomon, whose head was an epitome of the world's wisdom, was a colored man. Esau was a man of color. Jethro and other illustrious men were men of color; and if any person wishes to know whether or not it is hateful in the sight of God to despise a man merely on account of his color, let him read the 12th chapter of Numbers. The first white man, that we have an account of, became white for forging a falsehood. Not that I would cast a stigma on any of our fairer brethren; no, rather would I have an arm amputated.

It is not an improbable conjecture, that climate and mode of life have produced the diversification of color in the human species. We have an incontrovertible instance of it in the case of the modern Jews. While it is an indisputable fact, that the Jews have remained a distinct people to the present day, the English Jew is white, the Arminian olive, the Arabian copper, the Portuguese swarthy. But let color be as it may, I would gladly learn in the book of God or nature, that color is the standard of relative rank in the scale of humanity, and how this scale is graduated. I know not that the great Author of nature has any where informed us, that the whites have a right to tyrannize over any of the human race; to make the poor people of color their hewers of wood and drawers of water, and beasts of burden. Why have the whites any more claim upon the African than upon the Indian because he is red, or upon the Asiatic because he has a light or a dark olive complexion? Why is color in one a mark of superiority, and in another an indenture of servitude? Why has the American a better right to enslave a man of Africa, than an African to enslave an American? When the English Jew has a right, on the ground of complexion, to hold his darker brethren in bondage, then, and not till then, will a citizen of these United States have a right, on the ground of justice and equity, to deprive the African brother of liberty.

But it is predicated, that the Africans are inferior in their nature, and therefore the whites are authorized to hold them as their property; yea, some have even asserted that the negro, an opprobrious epithet which they attach to the human race, is a species of monkey. But this is absurd in the abstract. In the first place, it is well known that a monkey is ranked among quadrupeds, and has no soul; is destitute of that vital principle which the great

Author of nature places in man; for God breathed into man the breath of life, and he became a living soul. Secondly—neither have they a gizzard or muscular stomach, as we find in a human being. I care not what Buffon and the Naturalists say about the physical organization of colored persons; but this I know, place a white man in like circumstances with a man of color, and we have no very strong reason to believe that his intellect would flash any more light upon the world than the latter.

Suppose the man of color inferior to the white man, is any man or set of men warranted to enslave a man on the ground of his intellectual inferiority? No, no! I say no man has any more right from Scripture or reason to hold a fellow creature in bondage, than I have to go, in the dead hour of night, to the stable of my neighbor and take out his horse. Every descendant of Adam, no matter whether his parents are in servitude or not, is born free and independent. Nature never forged a collar or a chain. O, look at the inconsistency of Americans! One day signing the declaration of independence, and brandishing a slave whip the next. This conduct covers America with shame.

I call upon the ministers of the gospel, of every denomination, to come out plainly and boldly for God, and vindicate the cause of our colored brethren. They can do much. Let not the blood of two millions of the human race rise against you in the day of judgment. Ministers, preach the word; reprove, rebuke, push all principles to their utmost power of activity, on this topic. Care not for the frowns nor the smiles of the world; it is for God; neglect no part of your sacred function; perform faithfully all the duties of which it is composed.

‘We hold these truths to be self-evident,’ says our boasted Declaration of Independence, ‘that all men are born equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;’ and either the man of color was forgotten, or he was not recognized as a human being, or he is an exception to the universal rule, or his right is superseded by the paramount right of his master to hold him in servitude, and to work, scourge and sell him like a slave.

EUTHYMUS.

*Columbia, Pa., August 11, 1831.*²⁶

²⁶ *Liberator*, Aug. 27, 1831.

Extract of a letter from a colored gentleman in Maryland.

"I have just been thinking that if Stephen Girard had left you, your partner, and the weather-beaten veteran, B. Lundy, a few thousands a piece, what an incalculable amount of good you might then be enabled to accomplish; but hod carriers stand a better chance for riches than reformers. While on this subject, I was led to ponder on the inscrutable ways of Providence, and could not dismiss the subject, satisfactorily, until I read upon the golden page: 'The Lord God is a sun and a shield; the Lord will give grace and glory; *no good thing* will he withhold from them that walk uprightly.

The Liberator, I perceive, continues to thunder and lighten; but I very much fear that it will be proscribed by our Legislature: this seems to be the general sentiment.

The times in regard to us seem peculiarly portentous; but strange as it may appear, we do not, in general, give ourselves any undue uneasiness or concern about the event. And why should we? We read, Eccl. v. 8, 'If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter: for he that is higher than the highest regardeth, and there be higher than they.' We, for the most part, enjoy all that peace of mind and confidence in Divine favor and protection, which a consciousness of innocence never fails to inspire. We know that

The God that rules on high,
That thunders when he please,
That rides upon the stormy sky
And manages the seas,

is our Father, our Protector, our Defender. He has told us if we fear him and keep his commandments, no weapon formed against us shall ever prosper—that he is a very present help in every time of need—a strong hold in the day of trouble—and finally, that all things shall work together for good to them that love God; 'therefore will we not fear though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be cast into the midst of the sea: though the waters thereof roar and be troubled; though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.' Ps. xlii. 2. 3. And should our Legislature compel us to remove to Canada, Hayti, or to Mexico, we will sing even on our passage thither:

There's mercy in every place;
 And mercy, (encouraging thought,)
 Gives even affliction a grace,
 And reconciles man to his lot.

But we apprehend little of this.—I was glad to find that the Governor of North Carolina disapproved the enactment of additional sanguinary laws: this is the true, the right policy. I hope his recommendation may have some influence upon our own Legislature.—The memorial from the Friends offered to the Virginia Legislature, is above all praise. The Lord abundantly bless that people for their labors of love; for they have done us much good. We are told that the Legislature received the memorial with 'marked respect'—verily 'the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.' He is sitting on the whirlwind, and he will direct the storm. I had almost thought that the heart of sympathy had ceased to beat for us,—that the lips of philanthropy were totally sealed.' ²⁷

TO THE AMERICAN CONVENTION FOR PROMOTING THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

GENTLEMEN—It has been my intention, for some time past, to write on the subject which you propose for an essay, but I have been prevented by other occupations.

The following, I hope, will meet your approbation; not that I hope to receive the premium, but merely for the benefit it may be to the slaves and their masters, as I wish the welfare of the whites of the South.

The only way in which the Slaves ought to be treated, in my opinion, is, in the same manner, and with the like indulgences, as hired servants. They must be civilized and naturalized before they can be made tractable, and be of any real benefit to their owners: otherwise they are like the lion in the wilderness or a tiger broke loose from his cage, which they will copy after, if they have any chance of obtaining revenge for cruelty practised on them.

Now I will ask the learned, what method to pursue? I will myself answer:—First, to abolish the importation of slaves altogether, because there are already sufficient to be of any advantage to the white population, who are even at this moment under continual apprehension of their rising; and if they should, murders innumerable would be committed. Their offspring are increasing,

²⁷ *Liberator*, Jan. 21, 1832.

which will undoubtedly supply any deficiencies. Secondly, I propose to have them educated in a manner that may make good citizens of them hereafter; and the only way is, to give them a good education, and bring them up in a moral and religious way. They will then look upon their masters as their fathers rather than as tyrants, which they do now. In such case, they will think it as much a crime to commit murder as a white man. Then give them encouragement to believe they will be free men; after such a time of good conduct, well pursued, and to the satisfaction of their owners, they shall be set free.

I never was of opinion that such a vast number should be free at once, especially in the situation their minds and habits are now in, without being immediately hired as free laborers, and instructed in all the useful branches of knowledge; for, otherwise, emancipation would be almost fatal for both parties.

I say free them, and hire them as you would other servants, until they can earn sufficient to benefit themselves and the public likewise; and by proper management and encouragement, in lieu of the lash, I have no doubt but many of them might make valuable citizens.

They are well adapted to the climate, and I believe are naturally industrious, when they are made to know it is for their future benefit and their wives and children's happiness.

What can a man care for the future, if he knows that, let him work ever so hard, he and his family must live and die slaves? His whole mind is given up to revenge and murder, not only the guilty but the innocent, the moment he can find a safe chance.

What I have written is as much for the benefit and safety of the white men of the south as the poor slaves, and I hope they will take this into their consideration.

They (the slaves) are under great obligations to that humane and generous gentleman who offers the premium, as I think it will bring forward a great deal of good sound reasoning before the public, which it may be impossible for those concerned in that inhuman traffic to withstand.

If these few hints, given from the heart, can be of any advantage to either party, I shall think myself well repaid for this essay given in their favor, as I hope.

Gentlemen, sincerely yours,
SAMSON HARRIS MOODY,

Boston, 1832.

*A colored man.*²⁸

²⁸ *Liberator*, March 24, 1832.

MR GARRISON—I find that the Wilberforce settlement has far exceeded the expectations of many, (especially our enemies,) in its rapid growth, within the course of two years. It appears that the extensive emigration from the United States has augmented that settlement to about 2,000 souls, within this short space of time. What a vast difference between this and the colony of Liberia on the western coast of Africa! The Colonization Society has been straining to accomplish in sixteen years, what has been done in about sixteen months, besides the advantage it has had over these patriotic settlers. Hundreds of dollars have been collected and lavished, and continue to be wasted upon that colony, where, before half, or I may say two thirds of its emigrants become naturalized to the climate, they are swept away as with a besom of destruction. Not so with the settlement of Wilberforce. They have the salubrious air of the high latitudes—they prefer going there, because they are not exposed to the danger of the seas, nor the enormous expense of transportation; and, besides, they are received there by the Canadians as brethren and fellow subjects to his Majesty King William IV; whose laws are not so hard to them as the laws of the U. S. made and executed by about ten millions of majesties, called freemen, or free trampers upon the rights of the red and sable race; to the blush of reason and humanity. About six thousand of us went to Hayti, assisted by that philanthropic people; but we found that a settlement there did not suit our extensive population. Thus you see that the Lord is opening a way for us to pack up and march off, without crossing the seas, to Canada, and I hope soon, to the Texas, or some neighboring province.

A COLORED CITIZEN OF BROOKLYN.²⁹

Brooklyn, N. Y.

BALTIMORE, March 7, 1833.

To the Editor of the Liberator.

SIR:—It is known throughout the land that the free people of color cling with unconquerable tenacity to this, their own, their native land; and that nothing can drive them from it but persecution, injustice and cruelty without a parallel in the history of the world. It is known that we have most earnestly remonstrated against the principles and designs, the anti-republican and anti-christian doctrines of the American Colonization Society; that we

²⁹ *Liberator*, April 7, 1832.

are indignant at those designs,—that we do most sincerely deprecate the spread of those principles, and the propagation of those doctrines. Being thus influenced, we cannot but be deeply aggrieved when we see ministers of the gospel, occupying dignified and responsible stations in the church, in their solemn, deliberative assemblies putting the broad seal of their approbation upon the principles and doctrines of the American Colonization Society; and thereby inflicting a deep, perhaps an irreparable injury upon thousands who are wont to look up to them as their spiritual guides. And what gives additional pungency to our grief is the reflection, that these gentlemen know our sentiments, but are totally unmindful of them.

The exciting cause of these remarks is the address on Colonization of the Rev. Mr. Hammett (a methodist minister) published in the Christian Advocate of the 1st of March. This distinguished personage, after a few preliminary observations, commences with the usual, monotonous cant of colonizationists:—‘The evil which this Society proposes to remedy, has already spread to a fearful extent, and is becoming more and more alarming every day.’ This hackneyed proposition may be briefly dismissed in the language of an influential colonizationist, recently used in the Legislature of Maryland, on a different subject: ‘Do,’ says he, ‘what is just, and then you will have nothing to fear.’

Mr. H. proceeds to reiterate the prediction, that ‘that class of the community to whom it [the Col. Society] affords succour, though nominally free, can, *in fact*, NEVER be so in this country.’ Now as the gentleman would have us implicitly believe the truth of this prophetic declaration, we would, with all due deference, desire him to exhibit, for our conviction, the supernatural data upon which his prediction is predicated. If this reasonable proposition cannot be acceded to, he will permit us to be incredulous as to his infallibility. The gentleman ought to reflect that as we are all short-sighted mortals, and ‘*know not what a day may bring forth*,’ we may, at least, be permitted to hope to see better days; and he must be cruel indeed, who would rob us of this invaluable boon of Heaven—this soother of all our sorrows—this, our only solace in the darkest hours of distress. But the Rev. gentleman denies us even this consolation: he would not have us to be influenced by the scriptural doctrine that ‘godliness with *contentment* is great gain;’—he would hide from our eyes the declaration of

Paul: 'I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be *content*.' No, he would have us feel that our condition is intolerably grievous—irremediably hopeless.

Hear him: 'A gloom hangs over them, through which they can never *hope* to penetrate.' Now, we would tell this messenger of 'glad tidings' that we perceive the 'gloom,' the creature of pride and prejudice, of which he so forcibly speaks, and that it is not so dark to our vision as to preclude all *hope* of penetrating its apparently impervious mists. What! has it come to this, that we must not, in this christian land, even indulge in *hope*? And is it true that 'the land of the free and the home of the brave' has been converted into tophet, where

'Hope never comes, that comes to all?'

But this is the true policy of colonizationists. They design to make us miserable here, that we may emigrate to Africa *with our own consent*. Their tender mercies are cruel! And have they yet to learn that, so far as Liberia is concerned, we have chosen rather

—————'to bear the ills we have,
Than fly to those we know not of?'

Mr. Hammett continues: 'They groan under a *weight of prejudice*, from which they can never expect to rise. The *consequence* is that intellectual effort is paralyzed, and *morals* among them are *prostrated*.' Here then he concedes that the prostration of our morals is an inevitable consequence of the unholy prejudices of his brethren. And this he perceives and acknowledges, without the moral courage to denounce those prejudices, or the benevolence to attempt a reformation of those morals. Indeed, he seems to think that we are all, in this country, incorrigible sinners by a fatal necessity. To us he cannot preach repentance, nor upon us inculcate any system of ethics, for he pronounces us to be '*a class of beings* (are we human?) who,' he says, 'at home, *among us* can scarcely be *elevated by religion*, or controlled by law.' To the white citizens of the United States he indirectly declares they are under no obligation to regard the injunction of Paul: Honor *all* men;—that they may give to the winds the doctrine of the bible: If ye have *respect to persons*, ye commit sin;—that they may violate with impunity the golden rule of our Lord: 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' He would paralyze the hand of *private* benevolence,—he would seal up the fountains

of *public* justice,—he would have us, if we remain in this country, to be ‘wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked,’ without help and without *hope*. Do you accuse me of misrepresentation? Well, then, he shall speak for himself: ‘Find them where you may, whether in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Richmond, or Charleston—in a free or in a slaveholding State, you find them, with *very few* exceptions, (the Lord pardon him, for he must be ignorant of us) the same degraded, demoralized race. No *individual effort*, no *system* of legislation, *can*, (moral impossibility) in this country, redeem them from this condition, nor raise them to the level of the white man, nor secure to them the privileges of free-men. *It is utterly vain to expect it.*’ Sir, does not the heart of the patriot sink within him at this description of his country’s morals? Does not the church of Christ bleed at every pore at the promulgation of such odious doctrines by one of her most gifted but deluded sons? ‘I ask you,’ with all the earnestness of which I am capable, ‘is it not amazing that such’ doctrines ‘should meet with’ approbation ‘from any lover of his country—from any lover of freedom?’ What, then, are we to think of those religious editors who copy into their papers such injurious sentiments without animadversion? What are we to think of the editors of the *Christian Advocate*, who not only publish Mr. Hammett’s address approvingly, but with the ostensible design of diffusing its sentiments far and wide over the land, and especially among the ‘nearly six hundred thousand communicants, and’ the ‘not much short of ten thousand ministers’ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who, Mr. H. tells us, ‘unitedly approve the objects of the American Colonization Society?’ Does this formidable host *now* imbibe the very exceptionable doctrine of the Rev. gentleman? or is it intended to make the *Christian Advocate* the medium of disseminating those doctrines?—to make this widely extended journal the *Advocate* of the principles and designs of the American Colonization Society? If so, we shall only add for the present, ‘O tempora! O mores!’

A COLORED BALTIMOREAN.³⁰

MY DEAR FRIEND:—If I have ever felt a disposition to sympathize with the persecuted, the deeply injured abolitionists, the firm and uncompromising friends of our despised, neglected, and proscribed race, it is now:—*now*, while their lives and all they hold

³⁰ *Liberator*, March 23, 1833.

dear in life are at the tender mercies of infuriated mobs:—*now*, while they are threatened with assassination, and ruthlessly assailed in their persons—their houses pillaged, and their property given to the devouring flames:—it is *now*, while some of the professed ministers of Jesus, and the avowed enemies of all righteousness, have made it a common cause to stigmatise the consistent followers of the Savior, as ‘visionary enthusiasts,’ ‘fire brands,’ ‘incendiary fanatics,’ ‘blood-thirsty’ ‘cut-throats,’ &c. &c.—it is *now*, while some who occupy high and responsible stations in society, have so far forgotten the age, and the country in which they live, the institutions with which they are surrounded, as to appeal, not to the sober reason of the people, but to their vindictive passions and insane prejudices:—it is *now*, while the unthinking and credulous multitude, listening to the most flagrant misrepresentations, and cruel slanders of our enemies, seem determined to put down by brute force what they cannot do by moral power. And can these men have a reasonable hope of ultimate success? Can they annihilate the eternal truths of the sacred page?—subvert the moral government of God, frustrate his benevolent designs, and arrest forever the onward and majestic march of the Redeemer’s kingdom? Can they measure arms with omnipotence? Can they withstand the Lord of Hosts? ‘Surely, O God, the wrath of man shall praise thee, and the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain.’

I perceive with mingled emotions of surprise and contempt, that one of the most implacable of the colonization prints in New York, has guaranteed abolitionists their lives on condition that they repudiate their principles, and ingloriously abandon the cause they have so generously, nay, *conscientiously* espoused. Abolitionists may live, it seems, on condition that they obey man rather than God—on condition that they renounce allegiance to the great King of heaven and earth—on condition that they apostatize from Him who has said to all his consistent disciples: ‘Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that, have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear him, which, after he hath killed, hath power to cast into hell; yea, I say unto you, Fear him.’ ‘For whosoever will save his life shall lose it; and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it.’ These gentlemen have yet to learn that abolitionists have counted the cost, and will, by the help of God, abide the issue—that they have the ‘moral force of the universe’ on their side, and are, consequently, invinci-

ble—that if they should be called to seal the truths they inculcate with their blood, they will be sustained even in the hour of death with the consolatory thought that

‘They never fail, who die in a great cause.
The block may soak their gore;
Their heads may sodden in the sun;
Their limbs be strung to city gates and castle walls;
But still their spirit walks abroad.’

We pray, however, that abolitionists may be preserved—the hearts of their enemies turned, and the people convinced that ‘the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.’ The principles, sir, which guide you and your noble coadjutors will be to you a tower of strength in every situation and circumstance of life. Upon them you may ever gaze with complacency. They are the emanations of Deity; and while you cherish them, you shall have the favor and protection of Him ‘who is mighty to save and strong to deliver.’ In the darkest hours of distress, they will embolden you to exclaim, ‘Though a host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear;’ or in the language of the veteran Lundy—‘Notwithstanding the threatening aspect of the times—the portentous appearance of the gathering storm—my head is bared to its pitiless peltings. My eye winks not at its fiercest lightnings. The awe-inspiring thunders may roll around; the electric fire may stream from every cloud; the demon of the storm may hurl his death-doing bolts;—yet, if I be not stricken lifeless to the earth, my humble labors shall not cease.’³¹

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE season is close at hand when the tide of politics must naturally ebb and flow; and the editor of the Philadelphia *North American*, and men of like stripe, think it their duty to begin to beat the old tattoo of Colonization and Negro-hate, in order to prepare the public mind for the coming elections. But, if they drive us darkies all off to Africa, I don’t know where they and their party will get black ponies to ride into power on. But I want you to tell the editor aforesaid for me, that he may as well save his ink and paper, and give himself no trouble about us darkies, for we are not going to Africa. We have no more claim on Africa than he has; that country belongs to the Africans, and not to us. We are Americans;

³¹ *Liberator*, Aug. 2, 1834.

this is our country, and we have no claim on any other. There may be many colored adventurers who will go to Africa as there are some now going to California, Australia, Frazer River, and elsewhere, in search of wealth; but the masses will stay here. The Anglo-Saxons planted us here, without our wish or consent, and God has sent the early and latter rains on us, and we have taken root and have grown and multiplied here; and now we have no wish or intention to leave our native soil. Here we were born, and here we intend to die. Tell him there will be millions of our descendants here when he and his present sentiments will be numbered amongst the things that were. There will be multitudes of them here when Gabriel blows the trump for Judgment, for we are destined to spread, with those that planted us here, from sea to sea and from the rivers to the ends of this Continent, and to live in all the States on it, both in the present Union and out of the Union; and we will make a large number of the inhabitants of America when his name and sentiments shall have perished with his body. The problem that perplexes the gentleman is, to know what is to be done with us. I think if he would look over the decision of the Baltimore Convention, which was got up especially for the benefit of free negroes, he might gain some light on the subject; and if really he does want to know, and will only have patience to wait until Colonization hate has died out, as die out it will, and universal Emancipation has come in, as come it will, he will see that the blacks will dispose of and take care of themselves, which they are doing now without his help and in spite of his ado. It would be a waste of time to attempt to refute all the false charges made by the gentleman; they are plain enough to the observation of every reflecting individual. My only object is to inform the editor of the Philadelphia *North American* what we will and what we will not do.

A COLORED AMERICAN.³²

For the Liberator.

MESSRS GARRISON AND KNAPP—Allow me to express the high satisfaction I feel on seeing the enlargement of the *Liberator*. It affords matter for very pleasing reflection to observe this, as being an indication that inquiry is *awakening* in reference to the condition and rights of a people who have been long and cruelly oppressed.

³² *Liberator*, Aug. 27, 1859.

I would fondly hope, that in this land where Liberty is said to dwell, clothed with all her most fascinating enchantments, your noble and untiring efforts in the cause of humanity and natural rights may not be fruitless and unavailing. Why should not this land, which is an asylum for the persecuted of almost all nations, also be a sanctuary of security and repose to the wearied and depressed African? Humanity and justice can assign no sufficient reason.

Permit me, gentlemen, to say that I am impressed with sentiments of deep and lasting gratitude to you, for the able and fearless manner in which you have exposed the wickedness and moral deformity of slavery, as likewise for your views on the character and tendency of the Colonization Society. Your articles upon this subject breathe the spirit and sentiments of every colored man of any intelligence. Why establish a Society for the purpose of inducing the African to forsake this soil which he has enriched with his labor, and watered with his tears; which the violence and rapacity of Europe and America have made his native land? Why plunder him of his liberty, degrade his character, and then entice him into a foreign, and to him a strange land? This is not justice. Is it mercy? You have shewn the scheme to be impracticable and delusive. No man, who takes a sober view of the question, can entertain a doubt. But suppose the Society could attain what it is, and has been attempting, viz. the removal of the free people of color, it would then have done more towards tightening the cords and strengthening the chains of slavery, than ten thousand laws against freedom, sanctioned and enforced by the whip and the gibbet. It is well known that the slave has no chance of being informed of his natural rights, but by his intercourse with those of his color who are free: it therefore becomes highly desirable for those who wish to see oppression firmly established, to remove the free people of color. Thus the free African who permits himself to be allured from his debased countrymen, gives a bond, as far as he is concerned, that his kinsmen who are in bondage shall continue meek and submissive as beasts of burden. Let the free colored man reflect—let him consider deeply, before he puts the seal upon this compact—the seal is the blood of his countrymen.

You will pardon me, gentlemen, for saying so much on this question, as it is one in which I feel the most deep and lively interest. I join with the friends of equality and justice every where, in wishing

that your efforts in this great and arduous enterprise may be crowned with success.

Yours, respectfully,

J. B. VASHON.³³

Pittsburgh, March 16th, 1832.

Boston, 7th mo. 10, 1839.

DEAR FRIEND:

Circumstances entirely beyond my control constrained me to forego the pleasant interview that I expected to have had with you on Tuesday evening, previous to my leaving the city: consequently I embrace this opportunity of expressing my regret at the unexpected disappointment. But before leaving the city, allow me, through the medium of this letter, to indulge myself in a few remarks concerning the advancement of the *holy cause of Abolition*.

'When doctors disagree, who shall decide?' says the moralist. And when abolition doctors disagree about prescribing medicine to cure the infectious *disease* of slavery, who shall we look to for a decision? My answer is—to the *patient*. And professing to be one who has been sick *all* his days, and knowing that the *disease* still continues to make sad havoc among my colored countrymen, I venture to decide for myself.

Before examining the disagreement of abolition doctors, allow me to notice the experimental medicine used by the Colonization Society. These doctors proposed to remove such free colored people as were convalescent to a purer air, where the scorching rays of an African sun would make them a healthy nation of *Freemen*. But some how or other, they very imprudently furnished them with 'the cordial for all our fears,' (rum,) which, when mixed with a little gunpowder, and taken in strong doses, soon brought on a *relapse*; and dreadful to relate, many died or—were decently *killed*! Things went on in this way for some years, when a young printer proposed to try a new medicine, (immediatism,) which, when rightly applied, would cure the disease without *bleeding*. So confident was he of the efficacy of his medicine, that he applied some of the same to a slave-trader in Maryland, which threw him into such a fit that with the assistance of twelve jurymen and others, the printer was pronounced a *quack* and thrown into close confinement.

³³ Sometimes the writer dared to sign his name. *Liberator*, March 31, 1832.

But, if I am rightly informed, through the liberality of a *Gothamite*, he was soon after released. Afterwards, he established a *school* in Boston, consisting of eleven or twelve pupils, and astonishing to relate, the whole country is now overrun with schools to the number of 2000, and pupils without number. Certificates were coming in from all quarters, testifying to the astonishing cures effected by using his *life-preserving* medicine.

But after all, this printer entertained two or three *ultra notions*, viz:—that in the nineteenth century, women were to all intents and purposes—*persons*,—entitled to be respected as such in *all* the relations of life. That divine government is preferable to human government, &c. Consequently, ‘the staff of accomplishment’ must be taken from him and others, and placed in the hands of an electioneering and time-serving clergy. Now, dear friend, as they are about to administer strange medicine, I, for one, (and I know I speak the sentiments of *all* my colored brethren) will neither touch, taste nor handle the unclean thing; and I warn all true-hearted abolitionists to buy and circulate the genuine medicine to cure the ‘infectious disease of slavery,’ to be had only at No. 25 Cornhill. I would like to say more, but time and paper fails me. Go on in the good cause and heaven will be your reward.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM P. POWELL.³⁴

MR. EDITOR:—

Although not complexionally identified with you and your noble coadjutors in the great work of human freedom, yet when, in the gratitude of my heart, I grasp you by the hand, and salute you by the endearing name of brother, I have reason to believe you do not repudiate the affinity. Perhaps, sir, I cannot employ a leisure hour more advantageously than by a line or two in reference to that most odious and infamous enactment, denominated the Fugitive Slave Bill—a bill so utterly repulsive, so hideous in its every feature, that bare reflection upon it is sufficient to ‘freeze our blood, and cause each particular hair to stand on end, like quills upon the fretful porcupine.’

Mr. Editor, every citizen of this Commonwealth is, by the provisions of this bill, imperatively forbidden to obey the express declarations of the word of God. Should you, sir, remembering them that

³⁴ *Liberator*, Jan. 19, 1839.

are in bonds as bound with them, whisper in the ear of the panting fugitive, 'Escape for your life! look not behind you!' you are liable to an enormous fine, and a home in the State Prison is provided for you, without money and without price, where you can reflect for six months upon the enormity of obeying the Divine injunction, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' Should the poor hound-hunted fugitive, after having endured all the perils and privations incident to a flight from that land where the demon of Slavery holds his infernal orgies—should he arrive here, and locate himself on Bunker Hill, at the very base of the monument which is the boast of America, that monument dedicated to Freedom, and upon which our fathers, who fought and bled and died, never dreamed a slave should ever, for one moment, gaze—should he, in his humble tenement, surrounded by his wife and little ones, commence his song of praise to God for having given him the North Star to guide his weary feet, at that very moment, on that consecrated spot, the merciless slave-hunter may snatch him from his wife and children,—bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh,—and carry him back to interminable bondage. And should you, sir, believing it to be your duty to resist oppression manfully, irrespective of the source whence it emanates, 'with pitying eye behold his helpless grief,' meet him at the threshold of the poor slave's domicile, and command him to desist in his work of blood—'hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther'—then this liberty-loving nation has ordered that *your* liberty be taken from *you*; and you shall have a punishment inflicted upon you, sufficient to recall you to a lively sense of your constitutional obligations, and you be metamorphosed into a good citizen of the Commonwealth.

All this is done, sir, by a people whose flag of freedom waves in the broad sunlight of heaven—a people who profess to be the freest and most enlightened nation under heaven. Well might we, in view of such gross hypocrisy, such manifest inconsistency, exclaim with the Savior, 'O generation of vipers, how can you escape the damnation of hell!'

But, perhaps, as slaveholding is attempted to be justified because Paul sent back Onesimus to his master, not as a servant, but as a *brother beloved*, the late lamented Clay and Webster (*par nobile fratrum!* 'we ne'er shall look upon their like again') had their attention directed to that portion of the Scriptures which

speaks of the apostles as *fishers* of men. And with characteristic reverence for the Word, wishing to emulate the Savior's example, they thought they would frame a law, which virtually declares to the sons and daughters of the Pilgrims—'Behold, we make you *hunters* of men, women and children!'

But then, we are told, it was all done in a spirit of compromise—its tenacious supporters *hoped* by its passage to effect a settlement of the slavery question. Why, gentlemen, 'was the hope drunk wherein you dressed yourselves?' Know you not, O Daniel! that this great question cannot be settled by compromise? The word cannot be found in the vocabulary of an honest man's heart, for the simple reason that it imports a mutual dereliction of principle. If, sir, the institution of slavery is right and just in the sight of God and man, then, in the name of justice, do all you can to perpetuate it; if not, if the whole system is inherently iniquitous, abolish it, and give to the winds your concessions and compromises. And these men pretend to be the friends of the colored man! We tell them, once for all, despite our innate inferiority, aside from the obliquity of our mental vision, our perceptions are sufficiently acute to discern iniquity, whether shielded by the helmet of senatorial wisdom, or stalking abroad in the earth in all its native hideousness, its heart-appalling deformity.

But the Bill has passed, and its passage has elicited the respect of all persons—but those whose respect is worth having. Its ardent supporters have won golden opinions from all sorts of people—but those who have honest hearts in them. How forcibly the passage occurs to our memory, 'O Capernaum, who wast once exalted unto heaven, but art now cast down to hell!' *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

Will the people of New England tamely submit to this miserable indignity? Will they implicitly obey the imperious mandates, the cruel enactments of bloodthirsty tyrants, or that 'higher law,' in exact conformity with which all others should be enacted, or sink into comparative insignificance? I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet; yet I venture to predict, that no man will be taken from Massachusetts. And, although the doctrine of the righteousness of the law of retaliation may not abide the scrutinizing test of scriptural criticism, yet our charity must be elongated to an almost indefinite tension, our religious organs must be most wonderfully developed, before we shall suffer our liberty to be wrested from us, without an arduous struggle to retain it. But we believe that more

can be accomplished by the all-controlling power of public sentiment, than by guns, bowie knives or pistols. And we believe public opinion is on our side. Why should it not be so? What have we, the colored people of this Republic done, that we should be trampled upon and crushed beneath a weight of proscription almost sufficient to crush an angel? Why, sir, an all-wise Providence has seen fit to give us a skin not colored like the white man's. 'The head and front of our offending hath this extent, no more.' But Ethiopia shall yet stretch out her arm, unparalyzed, to God. Like other causes which have for their object the amelioration of the condition of the human race, the cause of human liberty has encountered many oppositions calculated to impede its progress. But it will ultimately triumph. Our enemies cannot annihilate our aspirations after liberty. Our cause has been stamped by God with the impress of imperishable vitality. The spirits of liberty and slavery are even now, with characteristic skill and vigor, marshalling their respective forces for a mighty contest. And, if 'coming events cast their shadows before,' if the history of the past be any precedent for the future, then have the friends of freedom all things to hope for, and nothing to fear; for just so sure as God rescued the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage, just so sure will he hear our groans, and come down to deliver us.

W. J. W.³⁵

Boston, October 9th, 1850.

V. DAVID RUGGLES

David Ruggles, as the editor of the *Mirror of Liberty*, published in New York City, was constantly on the firing line fighting side by side with other abolitionists. Unfortunately, however, a complete file of his publication is not extant. However, from letters written by him from Northampton, to which he went during the early 'forties to regain his health in the employ of the Association of Education and Industry, there may be obtained much information as to his opinions and policies.

NEW BEDFORD, June 23d, 1841.

To the Editor of the *New Bedford Daily Register*:—

SIR,—Permit me to inquire of your readers, what is Highway Robbery? and if the following outrage is not Robbery, and Assault

³⁵ *Liberator*, Nov. 1, 1850.

and Battery. I left New Bedford on Saturday last, the 19th inst., on board the Steamboat Telegraph, for Nantucket. On the passage thither, when called upon to pay the fare, I stepped forward to the Captain's office, and inquired the price of the passage. I learned that there were two prices; one \$2, the other \$1 50. The passenger who pays the first price is entitled to all the privileges of the Boat. The one who pays the second price purchases a forward deck privilege. I concluded to pay \$2, which the Capt. repeatedly refused to take, and insisted on my purchasing the forward deck privilege, which I did not choose to take, on the grounds, first, no man or body corporate has a right to decide for another person what he or she shall purchase; second, no man can justly compel another to pay for what he does not want. The Capt. became furious at my position, commenced an assault and battery upon my person, took from me by force my private papers. Finding myself 'a stranger in a strange place,' shorn of hat and important papers, I was compelled to leave the Island without accomplishing the object of my visit; on my return passage, Capt. Lot Phinney received \$2 fare. I state these facts to *caution* the public, who may travel in the Steamboat between New Bedford and Nantucket.

Yours for Equal Rights,

DAVID RUGGLES.³⁶

————— 'Know ye not who would be free,
Themselves must strike the blow!'

COLORED AMERICANS:

The time is fast approaching, it will soon be at hand, when the friends of reform, of outraged human nature, should convene at the important Convention of the American Reform Board of disfranchised commissioners, which is to be held in the city of New-York on the 8th of September next, where you are expected to 'unite and energize in securing our immediate relief and enfranchisement'—a measure which can never be effected until we adopt principles and measures conducive to that end. Know we must our true condition, our relative position, to the policy or blighting machinations formed against us.

You will permit me to inform you of the request of the executive committee of the A. R. B. of disfranchised commissioners, who

³⁶ *Liberator*, June 9, 1841.

expect you to meet them as members or honorary members of the Board which has been established to promote a bond of union and action which is essential to the safety and prosperity of our cause.

Fail not to collect and report to the Convention—

First. The statistics of our people in the place in which you reside.

Secondly. The number of children in schools, and the state of education.

Thirdly. The number of mechanics, their different trades, and how employed.

Fourthly. The number of persons known to be in chain gangs at the south.

Fifthly. The number of churches, church members, and clergymen, designating their denomination.

Sixthly. The condition of our people generally, in relation to the 'pursuit of happiness.'

Notwithstanding the unpardonable state of supineness, which every where exists among us, the age in which we live is pregnant with events which claim our every attention. Our condition is every where identical. Rise, brethren, rise! Strike for freedom, or die slaves! The storm of colonization has come upon our brethren in Maryland, and threatens to visit us throughout this land. Come up, and help us! In our cause, mere words are nothing—action is every thing. Buckle on your armor, and appear at the Convention, remembering that our cause demands of us union and agitation—agitation and action, from the east to the west, from the north to the south.

Yours for reform,

DAVID RUGGLES.³⁷

NORTHAMPTON, Jan. 23d, 1843.

DEAR GARRISON:

I rejoice to see, by the last *Liberator*, that you have survived the severe attack of a blighting fever, and, having buckled on the armor, have re-entered the conflict against our COMMON FOE—SLAVERY. I have a strong desire to be with you on duty, in the field; but the stubborn, though declining affection of the diaphragm compels me to continue on a furlough. I have sojourned in this delightful region since last fall, with a community of practical

³⁷ *Liberator*, Aug. 13, 1841.

Christians—the Northampton Association of Education and Industry, which promises to be a paradise. By the synopsis of the proceedings of the late Latimer Convention, held in this town on the 9th inst., (that appears in your paper on the 20th,) and of which I was a member,—that it may not be inferred by your readers that I voted for the third resolution, and thereby conceded to slavery my own right, and the rights of those with whom I am proscriptively identified, (our complexion being recognised as the presumptive evidence of slavery,) I wish to state that I took exceptions against the first part of it, which is in the following words:

‘Resolved, That the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the U. S. in the case of *Prigg vs. Pennsylvania*, and sustained by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, by which the ancient and sacred right of trial by jury, and the habeas corpus act, are denied to every person in this Commonwealth, who may be claimed as a slave, thus converting Massachusetts into a hunting ground for southern kidnappers, and exposing every man, woman and child, to the cupidity of southern slave-owners,’ &c.

Now, I do not acknowledge that an act or proceedings under a law to question a man’s inalienable right to liberty can be ‘sacred’ or holy. It may be seen, by a reference to the first resolution passed in Convention, which reads thus: ‘Resolved, That the right of all men to be free can never be alienated’—that the meeting conscientiously erred by adopting the third resolution.

The 6th resolution adopted, also bears witness against the third.

The existence of a jury trial law, recognizing man as a criminal for wearing the complexion he has received from his Creator, or conceding to slavery the right to incarcerate humanity as a chattel personal, is at variance with my notion of equal rights, the Declaration of American Independence, the laws of Nature, and of the living God.

I cannot see that the ‘recent decision in question has destroyed the habeas corpus act, or converted Massachusetts into a hunting ground for southern kidnappers.’ This State, in common with the others of this Union, having been what they are now since the existence of the law created by Congress in 1793.

I wish the friends of freedom would, instead of taking issue against Justice Story, or the Supreme Court, for explaining the true bearing of the law, go against its constitutionality.

I apprehend that the ‘recent decision’ has nullified the existence

of unholy and proscriptive jury trial laws against complexion, and has emancipated and rebuked the people of the States wherein they existed, for volunteering their *legal* and *military* support to the odious system of slavery. I think also, that the idea expressed in the resolution, viz: that the 'recent decision has exposed every man woman and child to the cupidity of southern slave-owners,' is unfounded, usage and experience having shown that the law bears exclusively on us, who are disfranchised, and *appointed for destruction*.

I regret that a resolution of a similar import to the third adopted at the Northampton meeting was passed by the friends of liberty at the Concord Latimer Convention, Jan. 2d.

I am aware that the view which I take of the decision of the Supreme Court, and the jury trial laws, is at variance with that of many gentlemen, learned in the legal profession; but, if it is recollected that lawyers are as liable to differ and err in expounding the civil law as clergymen are the moral law, I may be excused for holding such an unpopular opinion against that entertained by the good and the learned of the country.

Yours, truly, for equal liberty,

DAVID RUGGLES.³⁸

The pleasant view of our cause, as presented weekly by the Standard, is really refreshing to us up here in the mountains. Among many other things, I have noticed, with deep interest, the "Sixth Annual Report of the Canada Mission," in your paper of the 26th of January, by our friend, Hiram Wilson. I rejoice to learn the success with which the indefatigable labors of himself and his co-workers have been crowned.

The 10th article of the Ashburton treaty is so inimical to the safety of persons emigrating from slavery to Canada, that our friends should be cautious, and not render their reports charts, by which slaveholders may pursue their game with uninterrupted success. I think that article of the treaty has rendered the Canadas, *yea* the whole British province, as much a hunting-ground for American slaveholders, as the law of Congress, of 1793, has rendered several States of this Union. A slave is one in the possession of another, and subject to the will of another; in other words, he is a *chattel*. But if he becomes the subject of his own will, and

³⁸ *Liberator*, Feb. 10, 1843.

declares his independence of slavery, by emigrating to Canada, he becomes a *person*, and may be "*charged with robbery, &c.* Under the forms of the laws of the States, he may be pursued and arrested in any part of the British provinces as a criminal, and returned to the United States, under a plain construction of the treaty. Had I not arrived at this conclusion from the words of the 10th article of the treaty referred to, the explanation of Lord Ashburton, represented by Lewis Tappan to have been given to a committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, as published in the *Journal of Commerce*, and the *Standard*, would have led me to form such an inference.

DAVID RUGGLES.³⁹

NORTHAMPTON, May 1st, 1843.

I regret that you did not state, in your remarks introducing an extract of my letter in the *Standard* of the 6th ultimo, that I sojourn here as a member of this great and interesting family, called "The Northampton Association of Education and Industry," established to live out the hallowed principle of "*equal brotherhood—the all-embracing law of love*—so emphatically taught by true Christianity."

That no member is considered to be "in the employ of the association;" but that each and every member *employs* himself and herself in promoting the welfare of all, by preparing this family, "by an enlightened and never-ending education, to be peaceful, happy, and active fellow-laborers together," in promoting a higher development of the race.

I shall remain here a few months longer, until I gain sufficient physical and mental strength to re-enter the arena for the redemption of our enslaved and perishing countrymen.

I wish that the fact could be generally known among such of our disfranchised friends as are desirous of securing an education, and a trade, at the same time, for their children, male or female, and who are able to pay the sum of one hundred dollars a year for board, washing, and tuition, while they pursue an English and classical education, with a practical knowledge of agriculture, horticulture, and silk growing or silk manufacturing, carpentering, brick and stone masonry, blacksmithing, cutlery, or tailoring.

I regard the privileges and advantages afforded to the pupils

³⁹ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, April 6, 1843.

and members of this association, to be superior to any with which I am acquainted in this country. Among the members of this interesting community of practical abolitionists, are our well-known friends, George W. Benson, and Dr. Erasmus D. Hudson. The standard of equality here erected and sustained, "recognizes no distinction of rights, or rewards, between the strong and the weak, the skillful and the unskillful, the man and the woman, the rich and the poor; but welcoming all to an equal participation in God's blessed bounty." I am truly your friend,

DAVID RUGGLES.⁴⁰

To the Editor of the Albany Northern Star:

ESTEEMED FRIEND MYERS—This letter comes to communicate my thanks to you, and to the Publishing Committee of the Albany Northern Star, for the honor conferred on me, by the appointment of agent for your interesting paper; and to express regret that it is not in my power to serve you, in the noble cause in which you are engaged.

Having retreated for health and quiet from the inhospitable city of New-York, to the delightful and fertile hills of New-England,—where the unwritten music of the fresh mountain breezes, through the trees and the valleys—of the sonorous peals of thunder succeeding the warm spring showers—of the rippling hills, and meandering brooks—of the robin, and the wren, the blue-bird, and the sparrow, the pe-wit, and the lark, and of other minstrels of the various feathered tribes, whose mellifluous strains may be heard from every tree, on either side of the pathway—of the chattering squirrels leaping from branch to branch among the trees—and of many other animals, rational and irrational, from the sheep and the lambs, to the boys and the girls, the men and the women, conspire to a harmony in exciting wonder and admiration, love and veneration, for the beautiful in Nature, the workmanship of God. Being here sheltered by friendship, and cherished by love, in this promising Home for Humanity, until health and sight shall allow me to re-enter the field of reform, for the regeneration of the race, the redemption of Humanity, I must be content to remain yet a little longer in quiet neutrality. Do me the justice, therefore, to omit my name from the list of agents, and introduce instead, Stephen Christopher Rush, who is able and willing to serve you.

⁴⁰ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, May 11, 1843.

No friend of a newspaper, devoted to the cause of reform, should allow his name to stand, as agent, without being able to act—every agent of a paper in such a cause, should feel that he incurs a responsibility, which is but a short remove from that of the Editor, or principal, because, he professes to act *instead* thereof, within the limits of his appointment.

I admire the title of your paper, because it is indicative of light and inflexibility—while the North Star of the heavens, shines alone, by its own light, it may add to the refulgence of the ‘Northern Star’ of Albany, by borrowing light from such bodies, or stars, as may be attracted near your polar region, to form a constellation of correspondents—there are Wm. Whipper, Robert Purvis, Sarah Douglass, R. F. Wake, L. Bodine, J. McCune Smith, Eliza Richardson, John Peterson, Rebecca Fenwick Bell, P. Loveredge, John J. Zuel, Sarah Ennals, W. P. Powell, P. Reason, Thomas Jinnings, Wm. C. Nell, N. A. Borden, Sarah Forten Purvis, Robert Hamilton, J. C. Morell, John T. Hilton, F. Seanlen, J. B. Sanderson, Ezra Johnson, P. C. Howard, Frederick Douglass, and C. L. Remond. Let these differ as they will, in magnitude, each one is as important to the moral and intellectual constellation, as the *inflexibility* of the ‘Star’ is to the shipwrecked inebriate—who may follow its beacon-light to the haven where he should be.

As my eyes do not now serve me to make *sidereal* observations, I may be allowed to enquire—what of that dark body, or *phenomenon*, which appeared in the North-west, at or near Buffalo, in August last, called a Convention? Did it give any light to the world? or was it a total eclipse? Do, if you can, furnish some philosophical remarks respecting its character.

Seeing the Albany Committee of Vigilance has the reputation of being the most efficient organization in the State of New-York, in the business of aiding the way-worn and weather-beathen refugee from slavery’s shambles,

On the track for Liberty! in Queen Victoria’s land;

I expect that you take cognizance of the cruel machinations formed by slaveites in other States, to enslave our fellow-countrymen and women, and therefore ask for information, in relation to the case of our unfortunate brother, James D. Lane, late steward of the Empire, under the treacherous Capt. Wm. Powell, who betrayed him, (as I am informed,) to be sacrificed by the slave power of Virginia,

for his fidelity to the cause of human rights. Some of the facts appear in the 'National Anti-Slavery Standard' of Jan. 18, 1844, which show that a certain cob-web-making, spider-living lawyer of N. York, who treats men as spiders do the flies—by taking advantage of their ignorance, and *extorting* a fee of '*one hundred dollars,*' to bring a useless suit against said captain, when the spirit of the law, common sense, and the advice of the true friends of humanity, were against the proceedings.

Mr. Lane's case is an important one, and should arrest the attention, and secure the sympathy of every disfranchised inhabitant of the State. Humanity pleads, and Justice *demand*s that he be redeemed, and restored to liberty! If there is no other remedy in Mr. L's case, seek it under 'Seward's protective law of 1840,' providing that when a '*free citizen, or inhabitant of the State of New-York shall be wrongfully seized, or imprisoned, or otherwise deprived of rights, in southern States,*' &c. Solicit, nay, *demand* gubernatorial interference in the case. If you are not possessed of all its legal features to proceed thus, correspond with some member of the New-York bar, who has a character for professional ability and honor, and for true humanity. You may rely on Messrs. Hiram Ketchum, Theodore Sedgwick, Alanson Nash, John Jay, and John Hopper, for legal information; or upon that sage veteran and friend of human freedom, Isaac T. Hopper, who has had more experience in such cases, than any other man in America.

If you are not fully possessed of all the particulars in the case, I trust that you will not hesitate to become so, and to make this a common cause, by appealing to the philanthropy of every disfranchised man and woman, causing them to feel, reason, and *agitate*—until victory is secured over *slavery*, in the redemption of our suffering brother, James D. Lane.

When we, a proscribed, outraged, disfranchised and down-trodden people shall *know* our condition, and live in obedience to the laws of our being—ignorance, slavery, and all other evils afflicting us, will be no more—and we shall be free indeed.

Yours truly,

DAVID RUGGLES.⁴¹

⁴¹ *Liberator*, May 24, 1844.

NORTHAMPTON WATER CURE, }
Dec. 5, 1848. }

FRIEND GARRISON :

As the sympathetic, menacing, and explanatory letter of Seth Marshall, of Painesville, Ohio, in the *Liberator* of the 1st instant, in regard to the part he took in aiding his friend Wilcox's departure from my establishment, with a knowledge of his intentions to commit fraud, places him in a worse light before the public than did my allusion to him in the article which you copied from the *Springfield Republican*; and as he complains that I did not do him justice, by stating that Wilcox took the cars to Springfield in company with him, and that one of my neighbors had a small bill against him for horse-hire, a fact which he admits in his letter, together with the circumstances which induced him to become an accessory after the fact in the affair; I can only say, that as my letter to the *Republican* was written on the day they left, I had not sufficient knowledge of the interest he took in his friend's departure, to award him that justice in the matter which was really due. The unaccountable intimacy which existed between Wilcox and Marshall, when the latter knew that his friend was not what he should be, and the fact that Marshall, through Wilcox, hired the carriage in which they went to the depot; and that when Marshall took leave of us, he drove off to overtake Wilcox on the road near the point where he had concealed his bundle of clothing; and that he was seen by several persons to drive back and forth, near the place, apparently to give Wilcox an opportunity to throw his bundle into the wagon undiscovered; and that the man who returned with the horse and carriage, protested to him that nothing was said to him by Marshall or his friend in regard to the pay, had the effect to excite suspicion, and shake the confidence of those who had heretofore regarded Marshall as a man of true self-respect and integrity. If Marshall was ignorant of Wilcox's intentions to leave in such a manner, until he threw his bundle of clothing into the wagon, why did he not request one of the gentlemen who saw him driving back and forth on the road to afford his friend an opportunity to smuggle his bundle, to ride to the depot with him, and return the horse? Or why did he not return to the establishment, as he was but a few rods off, and invite one of the patients to ride with him? He had ample time to do so. It appears that Marshall's reasons for going on with his friend were, that he was told

by Wilcox that I had 'abused him, and was keeping him to get his money, and that Dr. Denniston told him that he was well, and ought to have left long ago'—when he knew that Wilcox had been discharged from the establishment for unprincipled conduct, and was only permitted to remain a few weeks longer, after apologising for his course, and promising to do better. Dr. Denniston may have advised Wilcox thus; but it is not believed that he would hazard his reputation by giving such advice. If he did so, and if all that Marshall represented his friend to have said had been true, it would seem strange that an honest man should compromise his honor by aiding another in such a dishonorable transaction, at the expense of one for whom he has so much sympathy, that it restrained him from prosecuting for a libel. Marshall's self-respect and sympathy for me are evinced in the following extracts from a letter addressed to a gentleman in the establishment, *two* days after his arrival at New-York, under date 24th October. In alluding to his departure with Wilcox, he says:—'He had told me that he should leave soon, but wanted me to say nothing of it, which I promised him.' 'What was the occasion of his leaving? Did he owe the Doctor, and take that method of paying it?' Now, was Marshall ignorant of his friend Wilcox's intention to leave? Had *he* no more agency, was he no more responsible for his departure in that manner than yourself? Judge ye!

Yours, for truth and justice,

D. RUGGLES.⁴²

VI. THE TESTIMONY OF THE FREEDMEN

A neglected aspect of the study of slavery is the mind of the slaves themselves. As bondmen, they were generally too illiterate to express themselves. Freed and brought North to be educated, however, they often bore intelligent testimony against the institution. In so doing, they have given a picture of the institution from a different point of view.

MR. WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

RESPECTED FRIEND—I take the liberty of calling you friend, although I have never had the pleasure of seeing you. But, from

⁴² *Liberator*, Dec. 15, 1848.

your ardent zeal in the cause of humanity, I think I may with safety call you 'my friend.' And not only myself, but if the poor slaves, whose lot it is to toil day and night on the cotton, and sugar, and rice plantations, only knew of what you have done, and are still doing and suffering for them, I think they would send up their united praise to God, for having raised up one so faithful to plead their cause: but these things are hid from them, as far as it is possible. But I believe the time will come when these things will be published upon the house-tops. Dear friend, do not think that I am trying to flatter you. No—it is the language of my heart. I am one of those unfortunate beings, who fell among thieves, and have been stripped and wounded; whom the people of this nation, priest and levite alike, have passed by on the other side, and left me without one to bind up my wounds, or to comfort me. Nearly thirty years of my life was I in this condition, at the close of which, God was so good as to open a way whereby I made my escape. The Lord truly took me by the hand, and led me on. He was a wall round about me, and kept me from being molested, until I found myself in Philadelphia, in the bosom of friends, who, as it were, seemed to have been waiting to receive me at my coming. Yes—they were ready to feed and clothe me: after which, by their help, I was then enabled to resume my journey, until I found myself in Dr. Osgood's 'stranger's room' in Springfield. Being assisted by him, I obtained a place of service, where I continued one year; at the close of which, besides paying for my board and clothing, I found myself with the first hundred dollars that I ever could call my own, although I had earned many. This will go to prove to some, that the slaves 'cannot take care of themselves.' In relation to myself, I found it much less difficult to take care of myself, than to take care of myself and my master too. So much for freedom. Freedom, did I say? Not in the full sense of the word—but only partially so.

Think you, sir, that I can feel free, while millions of my countrymen are held in chains and fetters by this professed christian nation; while our soil is wet with blood, caused by 'the whip on woman's shrinking flesh,' and God's own image is bought and sold! Think, sir, that I can feel free, while these, my countrymen, are stripped, and wounded, and left in the cotton fields and the rice swamps, to bleed and to die; and, among them, my own brothers and sisters, who are as dear to me as my heart's blood? No—I cannot feel free. I am still bound with my brethren. I feel the cruel lash, and their chains.

At the close of the first year, being, as a matter of course, almost entirely destitute of education, I thought that I would go to Wilbraham school, knowing of no better place at that time. I did so, and spent one year and six months in said school. Now, sir, this school professes to be based on christian and humane principles; and not only so, but a majority of this school are professed abolitionists; and yet, will you believe me when I have told you, that during the time which I have been in this school, I have been obliged to wait until my aristocratic abolition white skinned brethren had been served, before I could be admitted to the table? And not only so, but I was not permitted even to room in the same house; and yet I had to pay the same as the other students, for my board, room and tuition! Not that I thought myself above eating at the second table; but I was grieved to see the pro-slavery feeling that existed among this professed christian-loving people, 'without partiality or hypocrisy,'—many of them, too, preparing to preach the impartial love of Christ, and hoping to go to heaven. Perhaps they will expect a first table there, and a negro table for negro souls. But I have come to the determination to leave them; and as I wish to continue my studies, I shall seek a place elsewhere. But the abolitionists of this institution, I learn, are anti-Garrison abolitionists. Not that I would condemn all that belong to this party, or even all in this institution; but I think you may judge from the above remarks, whether the majority of this school, notwithstanding all their profession of humanity and philanthropy, have not prejudice deep-rooted in their hearts. For the last two months, I have been trying those of the old stamp—the true friends of Garrison and of the slave; and I must say, that I have found as much difference as there is between a mere nominal profession and a true Christian. I am received as a man and a brother, and am made to forget that I have a colored skin; and am not only admitted to the same table, but in many instances the same bed.

You can dispose of this as you think best.

JAMES L. SMITH.⁴³

OCKHAM SCHOOL, near Ripley, }
SURRY, (Eng.) Nov. 29, 1851. }

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I hope you will not think that we have in the least degree forgotten your kindness towards us, though it may seem so by our not

⁴³ *Liberator*, March 26, 1841.

writing to you before. The reason has not been the want of interest on our part, or [of] the proper valuation of true friends. But merely because we, as you well know, have been deprived of the art of writing, and consequently felt our inability of addressing a letter to you.

But the letter of introduction which you were so kind as to give us, was to such a kind and valued friend, that we trust not to labor under this disadvantage much longer.

Through the aid of Mr. Estlin, and some other kind friends, we have been able to settle at the above school, to get such an education as we hope will enable us to do something for the liberties and the elevation of our enslaved countrymen.

And as writing becomes more easy to us, we will take great pleasure in sending you a few lines from time to time, to let you know how we are getting on. And will be much pleased if you will send us the *Liberator* occasionally, so that we may know what is going on.

We were very sorry that the slaveholders were successful enough to get a slave from Boston, but were much pleased with the difficulty they had in doing so.

We think a few more such cases as the Christiana affair will put a damper upon slave-catchers.

Please to remember us very kindly to Mr. Garrison, Mr. Wallcut, and all other inquiring friends,

And believe us to be,

Yours very truly,

W. & E. CRAFT.⁴⁴

OCKHAM SCHOOL, Nov. 10, 1852.

MY DEAR MR. MAY—I know that you and other friends will heartily rejoice to hear that my wife has given birth to our first free born babe, on the 22d of October, and I am more than thankful to say that both he and his dear mother are now doing well. It is true, her sickness was of the severest nature, yet she bore it all firmly, and without a murmur, because she knew that she was not bringing a human being into the world to be brutified, but one whom the blessings of liberty and the pursuits of happiness may ever rest upon;

⁴⁴ The thrilling escape of William and Ellen Craft from Macon, Georgia, is very well known. Being an octroon, she posed as the master of her husband, who drove her in a carriage through the land of slavery into freedom. They then went to England for safety and better opportunities.—*Liberator*, 1851.

for I assure you, my dear friend, nothing can be more consoling to the heart of a fugitive slave, than to look upon his new-born infant, and feel that there are no chains and fetters waiting in readiness to grasp and stunt his physical structure, and no hell-born despotism like American slavery hanging over his head, ready to drop, and crush his intellectual faculties to the dust, should they dare to expand beyond the tyrant's will.

We have heard of the very incorrect article which has been going the rounds of the American papers, that my wife wished to return to the barbarous land of whips and chains! But you know that the statement is entirely false, therefore I deem it unnecessary to say any more on this point.

I have just heard that another great man has passed away from our native country; and, oh! how I wish he had lived so that every slave and every other true lover of liberty might have seriously mourned his loss to society! But can my wife or myself, or any other victim of the Fugitive Slave Law, weep? No! for whenever we hear of a great genius like Daniel Webster being snatched from the world, with the innocent blood of a whole race clinging to his skirts, we can only say, Lord, have mercy upon him!

'Uncle Tom's Cabin' and the 'White Slave' are arousing a very great feeling of indignation in the English mind against America's peculiar institution.

We have received the *Liberator* regularly, and have always looked forward to its arrival with great pleasure, for it is the only American anti-slavery paper we have seen for months, except a few copies of Mr. Douglass's paper, and one copy of the *Standard*. We have also received Mr. Garrison's interesting volume, which he was kind enough to send us, and the *Liberty Bell* from Miss Weston. Do give our sincere thanks to them both, for I assure you we feel highly gratified, as well as honored, by receiving the paper and the books.

Our boy's name is Charles Estlin Phillips, after our kind friend Mr. Estlin of Bristol, and after Mr. Wendell Phillips, the eloquent champion of human liberty.

Ellen joins me in kind remembrances to yourself and other kind friends.

Yours, very truly,

WILLIAM CRAFT.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ *Liberator*, Dec. 17, 1852.

The British Anti-Slavery Advocate introduced this letter thus:

In our last number, we mentioned that a strange report has gone the round of the slave States, to the effect that Ellen Craft had grown so tired of liberty, and of the blessings of education in England, and had become so lost to self-respect, that she had deserted her husband, and had placed herself under the protection of an American gentleman in London, on the express condition of his undertaking to restore her to that bondage from which she had so bravely emancipated herself. Of course, we did not believe this absurd calumny. Being personally acquainted with Mrs. Craft, we knew that such a course was simply impossible to one with her keen perceptions of the monstrous injustice and cruelty of slavery. Although her experience has not been by any means of the worst, it has been tremendous. No woman of refined feelings and vigorous understanding, such as she possesses, could wish to return to the Southern Sodom. However, to put the matter beyond doubt, we wrote directly to herself, and here is her answer:—

Ockham School, near Ripley, Surrey, }
Oct. 26th, 1852. }

DEAR SIR,—I feel very much obliged to you for informing me of the erroneous report which has been so extensively circulated in the American newspapers: ‘That I had placed myself in the hands of an American gentleman in London, on condition that he would take me back to the family who held me as a slave in Georgia.’ So I write these few lines merely to say that the statement is entirely unfounded, for I have never had the slightest inclination whatever of returning to bondage; and God forbid that I should ever be so false to liberty as to prefer slavery in its stead. In fact, since my escape from slavery, I have got on much better in every respect than I could have possibly anticipated. Though, had it been to the contrary, my feelings in regard to this would have been just the same, for I had much rather starve in England, a free woman, than be a slave for the best man that ever breathed upon the American continent.

Yours very truly,

ELLEN CRAFT.^{45a}

LONDON, April 21, 1851.

MY DEAR FRIEND MR. GARRISON:

I hardly know how to begin a letter to you, being as I am such a poor scholar; but I hope you will excuse my poor penmanship. I arrived safe in Liverpool on the 26th of last month, and I thank God for his kind mercy to me whilst crossing the sea; for, indeed, I had a very rough time of it. I was sick all the voyage over. I would have given any thing to have been at my journey's end before I was half way; but, withal, I thank God that I am a free man. I consider myself freer than I ever was before. I can call this, with safety, the land of the free and the brave. (1)

Your kind letter arrived a fortnight ahead of us. I have not language to express my thanks to you; for your letter has carried me far in London and Liverpool; and, likewise, that from Capt. Reese to the Rev. Mr. Burnet. Mr. B. received me very kindly indeed. He took me to two noblemen's houses, to see if he could not get me a situation as waiter, and thinks he shall succeed in it; and he took me to the exhibition. I cannot give you any idea of the things I saw there: they were so many in number, I cannot remember all. And I have seen Buckingham Palace, but have not yet seen her Majesty. She was in town when I went to the Duke of Wellington's house, with a letter for a gentleman there.

I got to London on the 13th of April, and was very kindly received at the depot by one of the Rev. Francis Bishop's friends, of Liverpool. They took us to his house, and got us lodgings for that night; and the next day he took us to the house of a friend of his, and we were kindly congratulated by them also. The Bishop of London could not have been kinder to his own brother than to us.

We had some very fine meetings while we were in Liverpool. My friend that is with me gave a lecture. I could not put confidence in myself to speak in a public meeting. I expect to speak in London tonight, (if God spares me)—but, O! I wish I had words to speak my gratitude to you for your kind letters. But there is One who can reward you better than I can. I have not forgotten to praise his holy name. No—blessed be God, I will praise him while I have breath. Although the slaveholders would not let me have a place in America to rest the soles of my feet, glory to God! I expect one day to have a place of rest, both for soul and body. I know, when I get there, the slaveholders cannot chase me—I shall be free as any white man. Is it not a blessed thing,

that the poor black men have got a resting-place some where? I can tell you, my dear friend Mr. Garrison, if we should never meet in the flesh again, I expect to meet you, by the grace of God, in bright glory. Tell the slaveholders to go on, for God is about to take the poor negroes home to rest. Please to tell all the poor run-aways to serve the true and living God, for he is able to deliver them safe through all trials and hard crosses. Please remember me to all my friends in Boston; the blessing of God on them is the prayer of their humble servant. Please to remember me to Captain Reese. I thank him kindly for his letter. Mr. Burnet is well, and wishes to be remembered to him. Please to tell Captain Reese that Mr. Jones has left.

Your most obedient servant,

FRANCIS S. ANDERSON.⁴⁶

P. S. Mr. Duval desires his respects to Mr. May, and feels very thankful to him for a kind letter which he received from him, containing letters of introduction, and says he had a very pleasant passage over, not having had a day's sickness; and he desires that if any friends ask after him, that you will be so kind as to give his love to them, and tell them that he is quite as comfortable as can be expected under the circumstances in which, through divine providence, he is placed. And may the Lord bless the labors of the abolitionists!

This letter, together with the comment thereon, shows the aggressive attitude of many fugitive slaves in spite of the non-resistance doctrine of their best friends, the abolitionists.

SYRACUSE, April 28, 1854.

MY DEAR FRIEND—I want you to set me down as a *Liberator* man. Whether you will call me so or not, I am with you in heart. I may not be in hands and head—for my hands will fight a slaveholder—which I suppose *THE LIBERATOR* or some of its good friends would not do. But I do not say but they are doing more good in their way than I am in mine. I am a fugitive slave, and you know that we have strange notions about many things. But, notwithstanding, I will love *THE LIBERATOR* and its noble editor, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, because he has been for many years a standing

⁴⁶ *Liberator*, June 13, 1851.

and true friend to my poor people in slavery. His name is now known and loved by them even in the slave pens of the South. So let the name of WM. LLOYD GARRISON be borne on every breeze, until the chain shall be knocked off of the last slave!

I am, yours for liberty,

J. W. LOGUEN.

☛ This tribute from 'a fugitive slave,' in the person of our esteemed friend LOGUEN, is of course very gratifying to us. 'A true friend' to the colored population of this country, whether bond or free, we trust ever to remain. We are not surprised that Mr. LOGUEN, educated as he has been, is unable to accept the doctrine of non-resistance, while hourly in danger of being seized by prowling slave-hunters, and carried back to the South; but he will yet realize the truth, we hope, that it is solely because of war and violence that slavery exists; because the slaveholders and slave-hunters are not non-resistants, that they can hold and hunt slaves; and because there are so few disposed to return good for evil, that injustice and oppression are so universal. The principle which disarms the slave, at the same moment disarms his master also, and therefore renders the enslavement of any human being impossible. But while men claim the right to kill their fellow-men at discretion, to subserve their own interests or protect their own rights, the spirit of usurpation will continue to prevail in the world. Rely upon it, the philosophy of Jesus, in regard to the treatment of enemies, as taught and exemplified by him, is divinely adapted to all exigencies, and effectual to the overthrow of all forms of oppression. In comparison with 'Uncle Tom,' for real moral grandeur of character and the spirit of unconquerable goodness, how low is the plane on which they stand who believe in the war principle! Such are our views—but, 'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind,' and true to his own convictions of duty.—*Ed. Lib.*⁴⁷

The case of Anthony Burns is as dramatic as that of any of the efforts at rescuing fugitives in the North. Through the intercession of friends he finally obtained his freedom and after undergoing some training became a useful man.

MR. EDITOR: DEAR SIR:—Having seen a piece from a Richmond (Va.) paper, stating that I was in the Massachusetts Penitentiary,

⁴⁷ *Liberator*, May 5, 1854.

I avail myself of the opportunity to say that the accusation is a lie without a father. I am not, nor neither have I been, nor do I expect to be in the Penitentiary, unless some one should attempt to deprive me of my liberty, as before—then I would enforce the motto of Patrick Henry, 'Liberty or Death.'

Again; if such had been the case, I should only have fallen back into the midst of such a class of individuals as I was among before my escape from the South—that of liars, cradle-robbers, thieves, murderers, whoremongers and idolaters, such as ought to be in the Penitentiary for the murdered mothers, children, fathers, sisters and brothers of the South.

I now call the attention of the public to the place where I have been residing since my return from the South. I have for two years been prosecuting my studies in Ohio at Oberlin Institute—the light of the world—and since that time at Fairmount Theological Seminary, Cincinnati—striving hard, with the aid of my friends, to store my mind with that knowledge which I have been deprived of by slavery, &c. I have no doubt but that I shall find friends enough, with abundant means, who will aid me in my noble object.

I am now in Maine, making preparations to travel with a panorama, styled the Grand Moving Mirror—scenes of real life, startling and thrilling incidents, degradation and horrors of American slavery—for the purpose of selling my book, a narrative, giving a full account of my life in slavery from childhood, with many other facts connected with the system of slavery. The proceeds are to enable me to complete my studies, at which time friends will have the opportunity of seeing, hearing, reading and knowing for themselves.

I have no doubt but there are some who would be glad if the above report was true. The gentleman who thus informed the public that I am now in the Massachusetts Penitentiary wished to be kicked into notice, and who, like Balaam's ass, would not have spoken if his master had not given him an awful lashing. Whoever he may be, I can assure him that he shall never be kicked into notice by me.

ANTHONY BURNS,⁴⁸
of Boston, Mass.

⁴⁸ *Liberator*, Aug. 13, 1858.

VII. DR. JAMES McCUNE SMITH, MACON B. ALLEN AND
WILLIAM G. ALLEN

Taking up the question statistically, Dr. James McCune Smith published in the *New York Tribune* the following in the form of letters evoked by a lecture delivered by Dr. Orville Dewey. A graduate of the University of Glasgow, Dr. Smith had not only distinguished himself in his practice in New York City but also in such discussions of the race problem as the following.

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY FOR AFRICANS.

Rev. ORVILLE DEWEY, D. D. :

SIR,—A report of the Lecture delivered by you last night, which you will find in the *New-York Tribune* of this morning, contains the following sentence :

‘Emancipation has taken place here, (in the free States,) yet the blacks are worse off than the slaves of the South—not being so well clothed, fed or so happy.’

Presuming the above to be a correct report of your remarks, I beg to say that, being the son of a slave, owing my liberty to the Emancipation Act of the State of New-York, and having kindred in a southern State, some of them slaveholders, others slaves, I feel proposition which you have announced as above. And I hold myself prepared to prove, either in oral discussion, or in any manner you may choose :

1st. That the free blacks of the free States are *not* worse off than the slaves of the South.

2dly. That they are better fed than the slaves.

3dly. That they are better clothed than the slaves.

In regard to the last clause of the proposition, the term ‘happy’ will bear various interpretations. If, by that term, you mean, insensibility to degradation, an ignorance of, and therefore carelessness regarding, human responsibility, with a consequent enjoyment of the ‘*alterum cum belluis commune*,’ then you are right in asserting that the slaves are happier than the free blacks; but if you affix to the term ‘happy,’ a human signification, I will show,

4thly. That the free blacks are happier than the slaves; and

5thly. That the experiment of emancipation in the free States,

proves the safety and expediency of emancipation—being the ‘angel voice’ teaching the South how to act.

In seeking to discuss this matter with you, Rev. sir, I am impelled by the same motives which led you to deliver the lecture of last evening—with this difference, *you* stood up to defend ‘American Manners and Morals’ from assaults which are seasoned with some variety and originality; *I* am forced to defend a class of our countrymen from stereotyped libels of unmitigated platitude. These libels had their origin in the American Colonization Society, which found them profitable in a pecuniary point of view; they have been industriously retailed by foreigners who may be excused when they *lie* for their bread—but when the same libels are dovetailed into a hollow argument, by the able, the eloquent, the manly Mr. Dewey, it is time they should be met and tried at the bar of public opinion.

They assume a serious form when endorsed by your highly respectable name, and I am forced to ‘call you out’ to defend your proposition which contains them. So long as they were confined to the interested, I was willing, along with my colored brethren, to live them down; but now, when they are uttered by the disinterested and the candid, it is clear, that they are gaining a credence which will operate fatally against our efforts at improvement, and even against our opportunities to earn our bread. Bereft of the support which slaves receive, and yet partially enslaved—burdened with all the responsibilities of freemen, but denied a large share of the rights of citizenship—our *good name* is all we have left us (under God) in our struggle for sustenance and for advancement. You, sir, have robbed us of our *good name*; and it is fair and manly that you should afford us the opportunity to repair the mischief which might thereby befall us. You have done the act inadvertently, repeating the hearsay of others; but I am mistaken in you, if you will inadvertently trample upon the weak, and then shut your ears against their appeal for justice.

In this matter I have no vindictive feeling to pacify, no insulted pride to avenge, no soaring ambition to gratify—but am governed by a sincere and single desire to make known the facts in regard to the free people of color—facts which will show a steady improvement in their condition since their emancipation—facts which will take away the reproach from that portion of Freedom which has been granted them—facts which will open the eyes of

candid men to the falsehood of the assertions that 'Freedom, in this Republic, is no boon to the black man,' and 'That there are difficulties in the way of the South AFTER emancipation.' It is important to those whom you have libelled, that these facts should be attached to a name sufficiently prominent to attract public attention, hence yours has been selected: and it has been chosen for the additional reason that you are a man open to conviction, and of sufficient independence to obey your convictions, come what may.

Let me beg that you will accept this proposal. It comes from the lowly, and is addressed to the lofty; yet it is from man to man. Do not let the 'impassable barrier' of a difference in complexion hinder you from the contest: *Truth* and *Justice* know no complexion, and their followers should emulate their example. Let us reason together on this subject, and I doubt not that you will find that the Providence of the Almighty, in regard to the Free Blacks of these States, is one of the most interesting displays yet opened to the observation of man.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JAMES M'CUNE SMITH.⁴⁹

New York, January 11th, 1844.

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY FOR AFRIC-AMERICANS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE:

Figures cannot be charged with fanaticism. Like the everlasting hills, they give cold, silent evidence, unmoved by the clouds and shadows of whatever present may surround them. Let us see what they say of the

VITAL STATISTICS

of the slaves of the South, and of the free blacks of the North. There are one or two preliminary remarks necessary to enable us to judge of this matter: they relate to what statisticians call the 'disturbing influences.' It is generally assumed that the rigor of the northern winter is more destructive to the Afric-American constitution than the milder influence of the southern clime. How much should be allowed for this, I am at a loss to say: by the late census, however, the free colored population of the northern and southern States have nearly an equal per centage above 36 years of age, not more than 1, 12 per cent. being in favor of the South. But this

⁴⁹ *Liberator*, Feb. 16, 1844.

small per centage is more than balanced by the facility with which colored men and women turn white at the North. The keen and practised eyes of Southern men can instantly detect the most remote admixture of African blood; and interest and pride urge them to exercise a rigid conservatism. But here at the North, the boundary line is less distinct: the colored white has merely to change his place of abode, cut his old associates, and courtesy will do the rest—he is a white. There is not a path in literature or science in our State, in which I could not point out very distinguished colored men. Of one hundred boys who attended with me in the N. Y. African Free School in 1826–7, I could name six now living—all white.

There is another ‘disturbing influence.’ You have probably heard of the great Anglo-Saxon race, the Irish people, and the Bersekirs. You have also heard of their indomitable energy, which overwhelms all opposing obstacles and races. During the last thirty years, the Northern States have been the scene of a silent struggle. The combatants have been and are, on the one hand, the great Anglo-Saxon race, the Irish people and the Bersekirs, (I have borrowed the name from Mr. Emerson,) having in their possession the ‘arts of war and peace,’ their numbers swelled by an immigration of 23,000 per year, which has fallen into rank and file by naturalization and enfranchising laws—on the other hand, are the free blacks, taught to believe themselves naturally inferior, barely admitted to common school instruction, shut out from the temples of higher literature, and taunted with ignorance, barred from the jury bench, and driven from what are called churches, yet branded with impiety. This has been no trifling conflict. The Indian race have perished in a like encounter. It has severely tried the vitality of the free blacks, whilst the slaves of the South have had no such battle to fight in their struggle for bread. This should show the percentage of longevity in favor of the slaves, other things being equal.

The Texan slave-trade, or migration, consisted chiefly of slaves under 36. The voluntary migration to Canada of the runaway slaves (about 10,000) has also consisted, chiefly, of a class of persons under 36 years of age. Both of these disturbing influences would throw the balance of longevity largely in favor of the slaves of the South; for the medium ages being diminished, the extremes should be greater.

Longevity is an admitted test of relative condition. Take two classes of persons, equal in other respects, and place them in like condition, their longevity will be equal: place the same classes of persons in different condition, and that condition which yields less longevity will be the *worse* condition. By the census of 1840, it appears that there are of

FREE COLORED IN THE FREE STATES,

	Males.	Females.
Aged 36 and under 55—	16.12 per ct.	15.62 per ct.
“ 55 and under 100—	6.5 per ct.	7.1 per ct.

SLAVES.

	Males.	Females.
Aged 36 and under 55—	11.65 per ct.	11.22 per ct.
“ 55 and under 100—	4.11 per ct.	4. per ct.

THAT IS TO SAY:

Free colored of 36 and under 100—	22.68 per cent.
Slaves 36 and under 100—	15.49 per cent.

Difference,	<u>7.19</u>
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Here we find that whilst 22.68 per cent. of the free black population of the North live beyond 36 years of age, only 15.49 per cent. of the slaves of the South pass that period of life; showing a difference of 7.19 per cent. in favor of the longevity, i. e. of the *condition* of the free blacks. And as the only difference between these classes of population is, that the one is free and the other enslaved, it follows that slavery has actually destroyed at the very least 7.19 per cent. of the slave population. Had the slaves been in no worse condition than the free blacks of the North, instead of numbering only 2,487,355 in June, 1840, they would have numbered 2,666,440, the difference, 179,085, having been MURDERED by the system of slavery. What mockery it is for men to talk of the kindness of masters in taking care of aged slaves, when Death has relieved them of so large a share of the burden! Have not the Northern States a right, in view of this awful fact, to call upon the South to emancipate her slaves, so that she may ‘do no murder?’ If a hundred thousand dollars, sunk in the mire of repudiation, is sufficient cause for great and pious men to whine about, what rush of sympathy is sufficiently rapid, what language is intemperate, which pleads for the loss of a hundred thousand human lives, cut off in their prime, and blasted from all usefulness? This is no accidental

result of a single census. By reference to Professor Tucker's very able work on the 'Progress of Population,' &c. (press of Hunt's Merch. Mag. N. Y.) it will be seen that in the census of 1820 and 1830, the same per centage of the slave population, only 15 per cent. live beyond the age of 36 years, while the free black population has steadily improved its per centage beyond that period of life from 17 per cent. to 22.68 per cent.

Here, then, is evidence from unprejudiced witnesses, that the free blacks of the North are *not* worse off than the slaves of the South; and that the former have gradually improved in longevity: that is, in the comforts of life, since their emancipation. As a portion of these comforts must be food and clothing, it is a fair inference that they are not worse fed or clothed than are the slaves.

There is corroborative evidence in the annals of this city. Dr. Niles states that in 1824, '5 and '6, the deaths among the free black population of this city was 1 in 18.88. By the City Inspector's Report of 1840, I find that the deaths of the same class were only one in 32.16. Slavery was abolished, or terminated, in New-York in 1827; and a large proportion of those who died in 1825, &c. were slaves recently emancipated. These facts prove, that within fifteen years after it became a free State, a portion of the free black population of New-York have improved the ratio of their mortality 75 per cent.—a fact without parallel in the history of any people.

It is a prevalent opinion, that emancipation has made the free blacks deaf, dumb, blind, idiots, insane, &c. &c. The Southern Literary Messenger has quite a pretty theory on this subject, based upon certain statements, announced as facts in the census of 1840. An editor at Buffalo, and subsequently Dr. Jarvis of Dorchester, Mass., have demolished that theory by proving that the statements announced in the census were not facts. Those statements made Maine a very mad-house, yet they contradict themselves in the following manner. In that State, saith the census of 1840:

TOWNS.	Total col'd inhab.	Col'd insane.
Limerick,	0	4
Lymington,	1	2
Scarboro'	0	6
Poland,	0	2
Dixfield,	0	4
Calais,	0	1
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total,	1	19

To make 19 crazy men out of one man, is pretty fair calculation even for 'down east.' The census is equally incorrect as to the proportion of deaf, dumb, &c. Freedom has not made us mad; it has strengthened our minds by throwing us upon our own resources, and has bound us to American institutions with a tenacity which nothing but death can overcome.

Very gratefully yours,

JAMES M'CUNE SMITH.⁵⁰

New-York, Jan. 29, 1844.

FREEDOM AND SLAVERY FOR AFRIC-AMERICANS.

NO. III.

In regard to the intellectual statistics of the slaves, it is well known that the laws of all the slave States, by heavy penalties—in some, *death*, for the second offense—prohibit the teaching of the slaves to read. In Ohio and the northwestern States, there is no such law, nor is there any public provision for the instruction of colored children; yet there are many schools, supported by the people of color, in those States. All the free States, east of Ohio, afford public instruction, alike to white and colored children.

Who are worse off, the slaves, whose children are doomed to brutal ignorance, or the few blacks of the North, the offspring of whom are for the most part permitted to enjoy common school education? The answer depends on the extent to which the parents of the latter, embrace their superior privileges. In our own State, to a population of 50,000, there are twenty-two public schools for colored children. In this city, to a population of about 17,000, there are seven public, and four private schools for colored children, with two exceptions, taught by colored teachers. The average attendance of colored children at the public schools, by the last report, was 1,031 per day. From a document issued by the board of trustees of the public schools, (in March, 1842,) I have carefully made the following statement of the relative standing of the boys in the 8th and 9th classes: Number 1 being best, 2, good, &c. &c.

⁵⁰ *Liberator*, Feb. 16, 1844.

	White boys.	Colored boys.
Reading	2.18	2.50
Punctuation	2.59	1.75
Spelling	2.31	2.50
Definition	3.03	3.25
Arithmetic	1.87	2.25
Grammar	2.73	2.50
Geography	1.75	2.00
Astronomy	1.66	2.00
Slate writing	2.46	2.00
Paper writing	2.71	3.00
Total average	2.32	2.47

Showing a difference of 15, about 1-7, in favor of the white boys.

The whole number of schools among the free black population of the North, is 66. There are a large number of colored youth attending white schools; some of them are pursuing the higher branches of education, at Oberlin, Western Theological Seminary, Lafayette College, Dartmouth College, and Oneida Institute. There are, in the free States, sixteen colored literary societies, with libraries varying from 100 to 1,400 volumes; and there are one semi-monthly and three weekly papers, edited by colored men, and devoted to the advancement of the people of color. There are also one hundred and nineteen benevolent societies. All these schools, &c. have been established within the last forty years. Have the free black population made no improvement since the emancipation? If it be true, that we have not yet produced any literature worthy the name, it is because we are waiting for the Anglo-Americans to lead the way. The next subject is

Religious Statistics.

African churches in the slave States,	24
African churches in the free States,	114

(*United States Gazeteer: History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, by the Rev. Christopher Rush, New-York, 1843.*) Including bond and free, the whole colored population of the slave States, is 2,702,920; the colored population of the free States is 170,718. The African churches in the slave States are, nearly all of them, the property of the free colored population of those States: but, granting them *all* to the slaves, there are in the slave States, one church to 112,620 slaves, in the free States, one church to 1,580 free

blacks. Of the colored churches in the free States, 103 have been erected within 43 years. It is true that these churches have not quite so much of the "temple made with hands," as may be seen in some Broadway edifices, yet they are endowed, in one respect at least, with a more Catholic spirit—they are "no respecters of persons."

It may be thought that I underrate the religious advantages of the slaves, because the Methodist and some other churches reckon many thousands slaves in their communion. But these churches grant nothing but *oral instruction* to the slaves, whom they do not teach to read the Bible. And may I not be excused from calling that "Christian fellowship," which expressly denies the common rights of men to those whom they have enrolled as brethren? Are those churches, wherein bishops, priests, and deacons, ministers, and preachers who

Perfusi sanie vittas atroque veneno,

their hands bound and their utterance choked, whilst in their ministrations before the altar, not of God, but of slavery, they croak the changes upon "*Servants obey your masters?*" Such are the churches in the slave States, with one exception; let it be written upon every Protestant brow, for that one is the Roman Catholic Church—her doors, and her consolations are open alike to black and white, bond and free! She alone does not make, in the church militant, distinctions, which it were blasphemy to predicate of the Church triumphant.

In view of the schools, churches, and benevolent institutions organized by her free black population, under the genial smile of emancipation, may not the North, affectionately, earnestly, and reasonably, call upon the South to follow the example? This question has additional force when we find that a blessing has followed those of the free States, which have acted justly towards their free black population. New-York, led on by her Murrays, Jays, and Tompkins—Massachusetts, yielding to the common-sense argument of Paul Cuffee, and Rhode Island, urged by a bloodless revolution, have pre-eminently encouraged and fostered their free black population: and these are noble States and prosperous, their sons need be proud of them in either hemisphere or any clime. Pennsylvania, in 1838, cruelly disfranchised her free colored people, and in 1843—she became bankrupt. Men who look deeper than the surface of

things will perceive in the former act, a moral obliquity, to which the latter was a necessary sequence.

I now, respectfully, submit the case. Let the public judge whether it be made out. If, to have a right over his own person, be better than to be deprived of that right,—if, to possess his own wife, be better than to hold her at another's will—if, to enjoy common school privileges, be better than the doom of brutal ignorance—if, to sit under his own gospel vine, be better than to listen to alien adjurations to passive obedience—if, to live long in the land, be better than to be cut off in life's early prime—then the free blacks of the North are *not* worse off than the slaves of the South. The evidence is altogether in favor of emancipation.

Much has been said about the free black population of the North, filling the almshouses. Some inquiry enables me to state that most of them to be found in these almshouses, are those who have escaped, maimed, halt, or blind, from the slavery of the South, or remain from the slavery of our now free states. In 1836 the free colored people of Philadelphia, paid into the poor fund of that city, \$500 more than was required to support colored paupers living at the public expense. In the city of New-York, the colored population is to the white as 1 to 18.1; of 3,089 persons in the almshouse department on Saturday, January 20, 1844, there were 198 colored persons, about 1 colored to 15.5 white. In the lunatic asylum, December 23, 1843, there were 278 white and 17 colored patients: or 1 colored to 17 white: taking into account the number of whites in private institutions, it would seem that there is less insanity among the colored than the white population.

I cannot conclude without pointing out two sources of the errors which many commit in judging of the free black population. One is, that men, ignorant of our actual condition, and hindered by their prejudices, from inquiring thereinto, gather their opinions of us from specimens visible in the Five Points—they seem satisfied by a single glance at the “deformed leg.” Again, men of narrow views and limited information are apt to conceive that society and refinement are confined to the little heaven in which they are privileged to “thunder,” regarding all as outcasts—*barbaroi*—who are not embraced within their charmed environ: such men cannot perceive that there is around every intelligent “home,” all the elements of refined manners and dignified deportment. They are, thank heaven, a thousand such homes among the free blacks of the free States—

homes, in which the sounds of "my wife," "my child," "my mother," "my father," "*my Bible*," and their thousand clustering joys, weave the sweet harmonies of content and happiness. We toil hard for these, but we toil willingly, with stout and hopeful hearts. And, if, occasionally, one from "wandering to and fro over the face of the earth," be sent among us, to try us with the affliction of a Parthian warfare, we shall be found at our post, ready and willing to give an account of the faith that is in us—a faith which holds first to the Bible, and secondly, to American institutions, which have made us free, which will free our brethren in bonds, and which will be triumphant in pulling down the strongholds of tyranny throughout our globe.

I sincerely thank you, Mr. Editor, for your kind liberality in publishing these letters without money or price, but with perfect typographical accuracy. With your clear head and sound heart, long may you preside over the Tribune of the people. Very gratefully yours,

JAMES M'CUNE SMITH.⁵¹

MACON B. ALLEN

Macon B. Allen, a Negro lawyer, got into trouble by refusing to sign a pledge not to sustain the government in its war with Mexico, apparently to acquire slave territory. It did not suffice when Allen explained that as a lawyer he had taken oath to support the Constitution of the United States.

BOSTON, June 1, 1846.

MR. GARRISON:

DEAR SIR:—An incident occurred at the late Anti-Slavery Convention, in Faneuil Hall, on Thursday last, in relation to myself, which I think it proper for me to notice. I should have sought an explanation of it at the time, but the Convention being almost in the act of finally adjourning, and every moment seeming to be required for the despatch of their business, I did not wish to interrupt them.

When papers were being circulated for pledges of persons not to sustain the government in any event, in the present war with Mexico, a gentleman, whom I do not know, came to me, and pressed me to sign one of them. Feeling that I could not sign the paper, and

⁵¹ *New York Tribune*, 1844.

wishing, without touching the merits of the subject, to give him my most prominent reason for declining, I softly told him that I was under oath to support the laws of the country, and must, therefore, be excused. It is generally known, I presume, that a lawyer has to take this oath before he can be admitted to practice.

To my great surprise, a few minutes after this, I heard this gentleman, in answer to some question as to his progress in getting signatures, openly announce, to the *whole house*, that *I* had refused to sign the pledge.

Now, I assume, primarily, that in the fact itself, whether I did, or did not, sign the pledge, there was not, nor could there possibly be, the slightest importance, not equally applicable to the like action on the part of any other person at the Convention. And I charge that the conduct of that gentleman, towards me, was highly indecorous. It was a breach of good manners and conventional usage, and a wanton disregard of one's feelings, which I did not expect would be committed by any one who had any duty assigned him in so respectable a meeting. Why was he thus personal, singling out an individual? Did he wish to hold me up to the public animadversion, upon his partial statement? Did he wish to make it appear that I care not for the condition of the slave? If so, my own conscience acquits me of any such imputation. Though not in the habit of declaring what sentiments I entertain, deeming it of little consequence, I trust that it will not seem presumptuous if I embrace this occasion, thus brought about, to say, that I sympathize as strongly with my brethren in bonds—with whom I am identified in almost every particular—as my nature, not a cold one, enables me to do; and, according to the light that is in me, and my humble ability, am ever ready and willing to do all I can for their melioration. The cause of the colored man, in whatever section of our country, especially, is really my own cause; and it would be monstrous indeed, if I did not so regard it.

I ask my friends who may have been prejudiced against me, by the course of the gentleman, to be assured that there is no cause for such prejudice.

With great respect,

MACON B. ALLEN.⁵²

⁵² *Liberator*, June 5, 1846.

WILLIAM G. ALLEN

In this letter of William G. Allen, of McGrawville, New York, Horace Mann, known as a friend of the Negro, is adversely criticised on account of his views with respect to the emigration of the blacks to the tropical regions, but he is defended from the attacks of the Negroes in New Bedford, Massachusetts, who, reading his remarks on the native ability of the race, received the impression that he considered the Negro inferior.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, ESQ. :

DEAR SIR—I regret exceedingly that the colored citizens of New Bedford, Mass., should have taken umbrage at an extract of a letter sent by Horace Mann to the colored Convention in Cincinnati, held in January last. The resolutions recently passed by them (the colored citizens of N. B.) seem to be hasty and ill-advised; and certainly do injustice to a noble man, who has given abundant evidence of sincere love for the oppressed millions of America.

Mr. Mann believes, that as compared with the Caucasian, the African is inferior in intellect, but superior in sentiment and affection. Certainly there is nothing terrible in this, and nothing which by any means can be construed as disparaging to the African race, but rather as exalting it. The heart is king of the head. In that better day when mere calculating intellect (for this is the kind of intellect in which the Caucasian excels the African) shall have only its place—and no more, the African will unquestionably stand at the head of a true civilization. Mr. Mann exalts the African race above *all* the races, not only Caucasian, but Mongolian, and others, in sentiment and affection.

Mr. Mann also believes that independent nations of each race may be greatly improved by the existence of independent nations of other races. I believe so too: while at the same time I believe that all nations are made of one blood, to dwell upon all the face of the earth; and that human beings who are equal in character are equal to one another. It is convenient that this world should be divided into nations, as it is convenient that a community should be divided into families.

Mr. Mann believes further, that there is a band of territory around the earth on each side of the equator, which belongs to the

African race; and that the commotions of the earth have jostled them out of their place, to which they will be restored when the terrible crimes which displaced them shall be succeeded by reason and justice. I believe so too: but differ with Mr. Mann in regarding the colored people of this country as an *African* race, in contradistinction from any other. The colored people of this country are essentially a *mixed* race. Already more than half Anglo-Saxonized, it will not take Henry Clay's two hundred years to make them *wholly* such. At this moment, there sits at my side a young man of two-thirds Anglo-Saxon blood: now, since he is to be designated by either the term African or Anglo-Saxon, what propriety or scientific accuracy is there in calling him an African, since Anglo-Saxon blood predominates? Among the hundreds of colored people whom Mr. Mann has seen at Washington, those who represented in their purity the African color and features, were but a fraction of a fraction, while many, very many of the so-called colored people were as white as himself. It is by no means uncommon for travellers from the North to remark, that in promenading a Southern city, it is frequently a puzzle to tell, so far as complexion is concerned, who is the slave and who is the master. No one can be surprised at these results, who understands the character of slavery.

I repeat, I believe as Mr. Mann does, that when the commotions of the earth are settled, the African race will be restored to the territory of earth on each side of the equators; but by the African race, I do not mean the colored people of this country. So, also, I believe if slavery were abolished to-morrow, there would be an overwhelming tide of emigration to the South, on the part of the colored people of the Northern States, and of Canada; and for the reason that that is the soil on which they were born, and which is congenial to their nature.

Had Mr. Mann come out point blank in favor of Colonization, it would have been well for our New Bedford friends to pass their resolutions; but as he has simply uttered a theory which, considered scientifically, means no wrong, I cannot but regard our friends as acting hastily, and even ungenerously, towards a great and noble man. Whether Horace Mann has outgrown fully the prejudice of color which he learned in his youth, I know not; but this I know, he has a generous nature, and deserves to be approached, not as we approach those whose hearts are little and minds narrow. So far, however, as the action of our New Bedford friends may be regarded

as a protest against the Colonization Society, I rejoice at it. The idea of going to Africa is not a horrible one to me; but the idea of being the white man's slave or pet in Africa any more than in America, is to me worse than horrible—it is 'terrible horrible.'

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM G. ALLEN.

McGrawville, Oct. 25, 1852.⁵³

LONDON, Eng., 26 Swinton street, }
June 20, 1853. }

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, ESQ.:

DEAR SIR,—I cannot resist the temptation to address you a few lines; if for no other purpose, certainly to thank you for the very kind letter which I found at JOSEPH STURGE'S. That letter was an introduction to one of the dearest men (GEORGE THOMPSON) with whom it has ever been my lot to become acquainted. We have visited Mr. Thompson several times, and though I had heard him on the platform, and was filled (as who has not been?) with admiration of his genius and efforts in behalf of the oppressed of both hemispheres, yet it was not until I had enjoyed his home circle that I had a full appreciation of the loftiness of his character, as it is evinced in his child-like simplicity. Mr. Thompson is hardly less eloquent in conversation than in public speaking, and one cannot leave his house, after spending a day or an evening with him, without feeling himself invigorated in mind and heart, and in better love with whatsoever things are beautiful and true.

'Old England' is a wonderful country. There is grandeur in the looks of it. There is poetry, too—the ride from Liverpool to London taking one through a region of country all the way blossoming as the rose. The English people, too—I am in love with them. There is nobility in their hearts and dignity in their bearing. They have also a quiet repose of character, which is certainly a pleasing contrast to the hurly-burly of the American.

That in Englishmen which most favorably impresses the colored man from America is the entire absence of prejudice against color. Here the colored man feels himself among friends, and not among enemies;—among a people who, when they treat him well, do it not in the patronising (and, of course, insulting) spirit, even of hundreds of the American abolitionists, but in a spirit rightly appreci-

⁵³ *Liberator*, Nov. 20, 1852.

ative of the doctrine of human equality. Color claims no precedence over character, here; and, consequently, in parties given by the 'first people' in the kingdom may be seen persons of all colors moving together on terms of perfect social equality. Rev. SAMUEL R. WARD, of Canada, than whom it is hardly possible to be blacker, and who is an honor to the race in intellectual ability, has been in London several weeks, and can amply testify to the fact that his skin, though 'deepest dyed,' has been no barrier to the best society in the kingdom. Mr. Ward and myself were both present, by invitation, a few evenings since, at a party given by the Prussian Ambassador, at his residence in Regent's Park. That which, in an American community, would startle it more than seven thunders could—i. e., the marriage (or even the surmise of it) of two respectable persons, one of whom should be white and the other colored, passes as a *matter of course* in England. In no party, whether public or private, to which we have been, in no walk which we have taken, in no hotel at which we have had occasion to put up, in no public place of amusement, gallery, museum, &c., have we met the cry of 'amalgamation,' either outspoken, or as manifested in a well-bred sneer. This state of things, of course, evinces that prejudice against color is entirely a local feeling, generated by slavery, and which must disappear, not only as colored men rise higher and higher in the light of intelligence and virtue, but as the dominant race in America becomes wiser and more liberalized by the spirit of a true Christianity.

I must not forget to tell you of what pleasant evenings we have spent with Mrs. Follen and Miss Cabot. They were pleasant, because spent in the society of true and noble-hearted women, warm in their sympathies and active in their efforts in behalf of the enslaved millions of America. These noble American women—how long could slavery last, did America count such by the hundreds?

I must not forget to tell you, also, of a pleasant evening with Mr. ESTLIN—hardly a stranger to those who have read *THE LIBERATOR*, and a blessed good man and warm friend of humanity. Here we met many good friends of the cause from America, some of them quite recently.

Mrs. STOWE has gone to Paris. Her visit to this country has created much sensation. The papers here criticise both the Professor and Mrs. Stowe variously, and one or two, I think, unjustly; especially those that intimate that she is seeking self-glorification.

Mrs. Stowe has never suffered martyrdom, and, however much others may honor her, she has too much sense and piety, and is too great-hearted, to covet honors which more properly belong to those who have led on in the fore-front of this battle.

J. MILLER McKIM, Esq., of Philadelphia, has also gone to Paris. Miss SARAH PUGH leaves, in a few days, in company with Mrs. FOLLEN, for Switzerland. Dr. BAILEY, of the *National Era*, is in the city, and so also is Rev. J. FREEMAN CLARK, formerly of Boston; the latter I have seen.

Our friend WM. WELLS BROWN is as active as ever. There seems to be no end to his enterprise. He has, beyond a doubt, been a most efficient laborer in this country in the great cause of anti-slavery. Mr. FARMER and himself have aided us much in ferreting out notable places and getting a sight of notable people—for which we thank them both.

Rev. S. R. WARD holds a meeting to-night in Freemason's Chapel—the Earl of Shaftsbury in the chair—to consider measures for aiding the fugitives in Canada. Ward will be successful.

I rejoice exceedingly that you had so good a meeting in New York. It may be that slavery and compromise have not quite eaten out the heart of the nation, and that there is yet hope.

What a speech was that of DOUGLASS! A masterly production, and which should gain him immortal honor. Some of the criticisms upon it by the American papers would be villanous, if they were not so ridiculous, and some again are amusing. That was decidedly cool of Thurlow Weed, that 'if'—'if Douglass's great mind were imbued with kindlier sympathies'!! Now, it is all proper enough that all men, in whatever relation of life, should feel kind towards each other; but only think of it—asking, not the man who strikes, but the stricken, to be kinder. Surely, slavery has made bad work with the heart and conscience of the American people. It is the reformer's duty not to be content with *ameliorating*, as Weed would have Douglass do, but only in *rooting out* evil. Radicalism is the only ism that ever blessed the world, or ever will or can. These conservatives are singular folks. They have neither genius nor philosophy. They would have their boy learn to swim by making his motions upon the sand-bank; and neither he that led on the barbaric host against the gates of imperial Rome, nor Luther, ever would be model-men of theirs.

But I must not make you too long a letter. You know all about

the Exeter Hall meeting. Whatever may be its results, I am satisfied of one thing—it is directly to the point to get up a public sentiment against slavery abroad. Slaveholders must be driven into isolation; and I am very glad to know that they themselves are finding out that the thing is being done. I have but little sympathy for the feeling which apologises for and explains away their sins, on the plea of converting them to the truth. A single self-application of the Golden Rule would open the whole subject to them, in its length and breadth, and height and depth.

Now is an excellent time to spread anti-slavery truth among the people of this country. I shall do what I can (little though, of course, it will be) to help bring about the time when

‘Worth, not birth, shall rule mankind,
And be acknowledged stronger.’

Our passage from America to England was a pleasant one, barring the melancholy accident—the loss of four sailors at sea—of which you already know; and our stay of two weeks in Liverpool was rendered more than agreeable by the kindness of our mutual friend, WM. P. POWELL, Esq., formerly of New York. Mr. STURGE, also, of Birmingham, received us with great kindness and cordiality, and has placed us under many obligations to him for his friendly deportment towards us.

We are in good health, and, you may well imagine, we enjoy life. There is but one drawback; the light of British liberty has revealed more clearly than ever the inner chambers of the American prison-house of bondage, and disclosed how more than mangled and bleeding are the victims that lie therein. This makes me sad, but more determined to work on and work ever.

Very faithfully yours,

WM. G. ALLEN.⁵⁴

L. Kossuth, visiting this country to arouse interest in the elevation of his oppressed countrymen, soon found himself face to face with the abolition movement similar in many respects to the cause which he was promoting. To espouse abolitionism as the antislavery groups urged him, however, would have doomed his mission to failure. As he did not respond favorably to the proposal thus to express

⁵⁴ *Liberator*, July 22, 1853.

himself, he incurred the displeasure and invited the attacks of the friends of freedom as the letters of S. R. Ward and William G. Allen show.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS, ESQ.—DEAR SIR:—You have seen the address of the colored people of New York city to Kossuth. What a stupendously foolish thing! Not a word of their own wrongs—their sufferings—their enslavement;—no point, no directness, no nothing, except the mere rhetoric. Palaver, the whole of it; and to cap the climax of absurdities, the address winds up with the assurance to the Hungarian, that, on the day of giving, they (the colored people) will be on hand with at least the 'widow's mite,' if no more. Where did mortal man ever read of such folly as this before? Just as though, if the colored people are to invest money for the benefit of the oppressed, justice, consistency, and the commonest self-respect, do not require that such money should be expended in some way for the benefit of the four millions in our own land who are ground to the dust in chains and slavery, and the tens of thousands of others, who, by cruel laws and customs are kept in poverty and degradation.

The men who wrote that address are not fools. No equal number of men in the Union can present a greater amount of native intellect and talent; and in education and accomplishments, some of the members of that committee are by no means inferior to the most favored of their oppressors. How much the more guilty then are they! I cannot let them go gently by. Though no other colored man should speak out, I, for one, will do so; and let it be known that there is at least one of the oppressed in America, whose feelings that address, lacking, as it does, so much of vitality, does not represent, and who can find next to nothing to applaud in so ridiculous a performance.

The address, milk and water as it was, failed to make any impression upon Kossuth; and, as a matter of course, he treated those who presented it with the most withering contempt. *'Gentlemen, the time for addresses is past, and the time for action has come.'* If that isn't 'summary,' I should like to know what is? Poor men! how they must have felt as they sneaked away from his presence!

Kossuth is a man of matchless power of mind. He sets aside all orators, whether of ancient or modern date. He is positively an intellectual wonder. Nevertheless, he has proved himself not only

mortal man, but capable of cherishing views and feelings which are not in accordance with the laws that lie at the basis of our common humanity, and which bind us together in one bond of general brotherhood.

Kossuth is not asked to turn anti-slavery lecturer, though this is what Wright of the Commonwealth charges upon Wm. Lloyd Garrison. He is not asked to turn aside from the Hungarian cause, or to divide his energies between the cause of the American slave, and that of the Hungarian oppressed. Nobody but a fool would ask that. He is simply asked to do nothing or say nothing while here, which would imply that he regarded the liberty of the American black man as less sacred than that of the Hungarian white man: in other words, he is simply asked to see that there does exist among us such an institution as American Slavery, and to utter to the Americans, face to face, one burning rebuke by way of its condemnation. Do less than this, he could not, and maintain his integrity; and doing less than this, it is my prayer at least, that such 'Apostles of liberty' as he, may be fewer than ever were angels' visits, and a great deal farther between.

'*My principle,*' says Kossuth, in his card, '*in this respect is, that every nation has the sovereign right to dispose of its own domestic affairs, without any foreign interference; that I therefore shall not meddle with any domestic concerns of the United States.*' Four millions of Africans and their descendants, therefore, may toil on in a worse slavery than ever the Hungarian knew; and, for all Kossuth cares, the devil catch them at last. This is benevolence, surely! Why comes he here to induce us to meddle with the 'domestic concerns' of Austria? If the enslavement of the blacks to the whites in this country be a 'domestic concern,' then the oppressed condition of the Hungarians to the Austrians is a 'domestic concern.' And if, being a 'domestic concern,' the enslavement of the one class be outside of his notice, then why, with equal justice, should not the oppressed condition of the other class, being a 'domestic concern,' be outside of our notice? O, consistency, thou art a jewel!—and, besides, I hate hypocrisy.

The plain truth is, Kossuth's disclaimer will get him more money; but be it known unto him, that money gotten thus will curse him, and not bless him.

Some men I know at this point read us lectures on 'Common Sense.' Let them read on. I acknowledge no common sense which is in contravention of the law of rectitude.

Much better would it have been for the cause of freedom the world over, had Kossuth maintained his integrity. One word from him to this people would have startled this nation into a sense of propriety never felt before; and would have given such an impetus to the cause of freedom as would almost have enabled us to fix the very day when the good time should come. What retards the cause of republican freedom in Europe more than our abominable inconsistencies? Do not tyrants take courage at our position, and laugh us to very scorn? Were we a one with our professions, democracy could not lag in Europe. It would come quickly; and not only so, but be a fact, fixed, firm, immovable.

No good comes of the spirit of compromise, and compromising with right and duty. He who cannot read that fact in this country's history, is quite too stupid to be endured. Do not wise men begin to fear that unless we do something for slavery, soon slavery will do something for us? And is this fear ill-founded? Are they foolish who fear that slavery, in destroying itself, may destroy the nation, and that in a way the equal of which has never yet been written upon any page of human history? But I forbear to say more. May God help the weak; and give wisdom and power to those who are laboring to bring slavery and oppression to the dust, not only in Austria or Hungary, but wherever they may be found.

Faithfully yours,

WM. G. ALLEN.⁵⁵

MCGRAWVILLE, N. Y., Dec. 30, 1851.

I was very much pleased with Professor Allen's strictures upon the action of the New York Committee of Thirteen. Kossuth certainly knows little and cares less about the black people of this continent, and it seems to me to be wanting in self-respect for our people to run after such a man. Besides, we must do more for ourselves, before we can expect the self-liberators of the old world to pay much attention to our notices of them. Gentlemen who voted for the slaveholding tool of despotism, Millard Fillmore, and Washington Hunt, who has the hardihood to deny that blacks can live in the same community with whites without becoming extinct—a statement lived down every day in Canada—have yet to learn how to become consistent *voters* in their own cause, ere they can do much to aid other men to become successful *fighters* in theirs. The pro-

⁵⁵ *Liberator*, January 9, 1852.

slavery church relations of too many of the Committee of Thirteen are very much in the way of their doing a great deal for the oppressed, who are much nearer to them than Hungary.

But what are we to hope for, from the great mass of professed philanthropists who visit the United States from Europe? How many of them have paid any attention to our cause, while in Yankeedom? Jenny Lind, you know, proved herself one of the most heartless misanthropes that ever travelled through slavedom, and received the blood-stained gold of woman whippers. Fredrika Bremer boldly apologised for the slave system to your very face, in your own parlor. And just so have almost all of those Europeans who have been made lions and lionesses in your *very hospitable* country. Kossuth meddled not with the English method of treating or mal-treating Ireland, and, with a consistency worthy of himself, he meddles not with the American method of enslaving Americans. An aristocrat, the former owner of a princely fortune, a man of high office, civil and military at home, and the guest of the aristocracy wherever he goes, (except in Turkey,) he is not expected to show feelings in common with the poor of any country or color. To thrust ourselves upon the attentions of such a man and to expect aught from him were positively absurd. Such is my humble opinion. I shall be much mistaken if the Ex-Governor of Hungary does not show himself quite capable of leaving the United States without the utterance of a single syllable against the *Hay-nauism of America*,—the slavery thereof.

The extravagant notions of Mr. Thomas, I do not wonder at, knowing, so well as I do, that gentleman's habit of over estimating every thing that at all strikes him favorable. But I do wonder how even John Thomas could call Kossuth the greatest man of the age, or how he could suppose Kossuth to be finishing up the anti-slavery work of the age; or how Mr. Thomas could reckon upon any anti-slavery influence especially in New York, as resulting from the visit of the Great Hungarian. Beside Gerrit Smith Kossuth is but a child, a pigmy. The noblest ideas of the latter were long since avowed and insisted on by the former. International rights, free trade, the application of the fundamental principles of Christianity to our civil and international relations, pray to whom are these *new ideas*, who has read the writings or heard the words of the Man of Peterboro'? When Kossuth shall have learned to apply his principles to social life, and live at home, as Smith does, the

great doctrines of human equality, then he will get even the name of the imitator, or disciple, or coadjutor of the greatest man of the age, but not till then. Still, I repeat, I do not wonder at Mr. Thomas's extravagance in this matter, for it is so like him.

P. S. I agree with Wendell Phillips and yourself, exactly, about Kossuth. Mr. Thomas' whitewashing of the great Magyar, does not, after all, make him anything else than a political adventurer, with axes to grind, regardless of the woes of downtrodden Americans. The despots of Europe will hurl this in his face when he goes back, and most richly does he deserve the bitterest taunts of the worst enemies of liberty in the old world. What a pity it will be that he can reply, 'I had the approval and defence of one of the editors of the only organ of the Liberty Party, the most radical abolition party in the American Union!' Such an apology may very justly bring American Liberty Partyism into disrepute on the other side of the Atlantic. Much the better way, in our judgment, is to hold European and American apostles of liberty as alike hypocritical, unless they can see and feel the force of the application of the doctrine of inalienable human rights to others than those immediately connected with themselves. S. R. W.⁵⁶

Commenting here upon the review of his book, M. R. Delany not only shows his determination to have the rights of a freeman, but having become disgusted with this country, he hints at the necessity for colonization.

PHILADELPHIA, May 14, 1852.

MR. GARRISON:

MY DEAR SIR:—I thank you, most kindly, for the very favorable and generous notice you have taken of my hastily written book. This, to many, may appear singular, that the author of a work should send words of thanks to an editor for his notice of him, but this favor of yours came so opportune, that it seems like a God-send.

The errors and deficiencies, which you are pleased to pass by unnoticed—justly taking my prefatory apology as sufficient—I have corrected, and will so appear in the next issue, shortly to come out. The corrections you make concerning *yourself*, I shall add as a NOTE at the conclusion of the work.

⁵⁶ *Liberator*, Feb. 27, 1852.

I thank those editors of Philadelphia and elsewhere, who have favorably noticed this work, and would add, that the ever good, generous Gerrit Smith has sent me a letter of approval of the work in general.

I am not in favor of caste, nor a separation of the brotherhood of mankind, and would as willingly live among white men as black, if I had an *equal possession and enjoyment* of privileges; but shall never be reconciled to live among them, subservient to their will—existing by mere *sufferance*, as we, the colored people, do, in this country. The majority of white men cannot see why colored men cannot be satisfied with their condition in Massachusetts—what they desire more than the *granted* right of citizenship. Blind selfishness on the one hand, and deep prejudice on the other, will not permit them to understand that we desire the *exercise and enjoyment* of these rights, as well as the *name* of their possession. If there were any probability of this, I should be willing to remain in the country, fighting and struggling on, the good fight of faith. But I must admit, that I have no hopes in this country—no confidence in the American people—with a *few* excellent exceptions—therefore, I have written as I have done. Heathenism and Liberty, before Christianity and Slavery.

‘Were I a slave, I would be free,
I would not live to live a slave;
But boldly *strike* for LIBERTY—
For FREEDOM or a *Martyr’s* grave.’

Yours for God and Humanity,
M. R. DELANY.⁵⁷

VIII. CHARLES LENOX REMOND

Charles Lenox Remond, the most widely known Negro in the United States prior to the rise of Frederick Douglass, spent most of his time lecturing to antislavery groups while other prominent Negroes divided their energy between the platform and the pen. Mr. Remond never wrote an extensive sketch of himself and his glory waned so early in the midst of the increasing popularity of Frederick Douglass that no one found it profitable to undertake such a task.

⁵⁷ *Liberator*, May 21, 1852.

From his numerous letters, some of which are herewith presented, may be obtained sufficient data to make an estimate of his contribution to the uplift of his race and progress of his country.

WINTHROP, ME., July 3d, 1838.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I take advantage of the earliest opportunity to inform you, that on the third day after bidding you farewell, I met my friend Mr. Coddington, at Brunswick, at which place, on the following Sunday afternoon, I addressed the friends a short time, and was well received. On Tuesday following, left Brunswick for Alfred, to attend the formation of a County Anti-Slavery Society. There was not much interest taken in the meeting. On the following evening I was invited to address the meeting and complied. On the next day, I was invited to go into the country a short distance. I cut loose from Mr. Coddington very reluctantly, and commenced lecturing in my feeble way. Received requests to lecture in four different places on four successive evenings. I consented, and spoke in each place an hour and a half; and although my audiences were generally dark on the subject of prejudice and slavery, I received on every occasion the most marked attention, and assurances of good feeling for the cause, and wishes for the success of our enterprise. At one place, they resolved at the close of the lecture, to form a society and lend their assistance in the great work.

On Wednesday last I went to Saco, to attend the conference meeting of the Congregational denomination. The delegation of ministers was very numerous, and much interest was manifested to every great and good, and benevolent undertaking, save the cause of the poor slave in our own beloved but guilty country. On Thursday evening I was invited to speak on the subject in the Baptist meeting-house. My audience was almost entirely composed of ministers who were attending the conference, and a good number of interesting and intelligent ladies. At this place they have determined to do something forthwith for the slave, by forming a male and female society, and contributing to the cause. On last Sabbath afternoon, I lectured in the meeting-house in Bowdoin. Nothing special occurred.

I am now at the house of our kind and devoted friend, Rev. David Thurston, and the feeling manifested on every occasion by his wife and daughters in behalf of human liberty is indeed such as

may well make glad the hearts of our brethren in bonds. It is of no use for me to attempt to give you any thing like a description of the change which I believe is now taking place on the subject of slavery and the elevation of the nominally free. We have every thing, friend Thomas, to encourage us. Slavery is trembling, prejudice is falling, and I hope will soon be buried—buried beyond resurrection; and we will write over its grave as over Babylon—‘Prejudice, the mother of abominations, the liar, the coward, the tyrant, the waster of the poor, the brand of the white man, the bane of the black man, is fallen! is fallen!’ Yours truly,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁵⁸

MR. JOHNSON—I have just received an interesting letter from my friend Remond, who is an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and is now lecturing in various places in Maine with good success. The letter is cheering, because it furnishes evidence that prejudice is melting away, and that the cause of abolitionism is moving onward, and its friends rapidly increasing. The principles which abolitionists are promulgating are like the majestic oak, which strikes its roots deep in the earth. They cannot be prostrated by the blasts of sectional jealousy or party violence. Freedom is an inborn principle of our nature, emanating from the great Creator, and extending to all mankind indiscriminately. Slavery is the subversion of this principle.

As Mr. Remond is a colored man, and has been so well received in Maine, I have thought that the publication of his letter might cheer the hearts of those who are struggling to elevate themselves above the prejudices which now press heavily upon them. As a colored man, my own heart has been encouraged by its perusal.

Yours for the oppressed,

Boston, July 7, 1838.

T. COLE.

LONDON, June 30th, 1840.

MY DEAR FRIEND RAY:—Faithful to my promise, although in the midst of engagements, I steal a moment, not to fill this sheet, as my time will not admit, but to inform you of my safe arrival and good health at this time; and that this sheet may meet you with your wife, sisters and friends in possession of the same privilege is

⁵⁸ *Liberator*, July 20, 1838.

my best wish. In referring to the subject of anti-slavery on this side the Atlantic, permit me to say, as a silent listener, I was much interested in the discussions during the sitting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, (not World's Convention, as we had fondly and anxiously anticipated, which facts, with many others, forbid my taking a seat, and participating in its deliberations.) That on my arrival I learned with much sorrow of the rejection of the female delegation, I need not mention. And in few instances through life have I met with greater disappointment, especially in view of the fact, that I was almost entirely indebted to the kind and generous members of the Bangor Female Anti-Slavery Society, the Portland Sewing Circle, and the Newport Young Ladies' Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society, for aid in visiting this country. And I can assure you it was among my most happy reflections to know, that in taking my seat in the World's Convention, I should do so, the honored representative of three female associations, at once most praiseworthy in their object, and efficient in their co-operation. And sure I am, that could the members of these associations have had even a place in the imaginations of those who voted for their exclusion, the decision would have been otherwise, far otherwise. Thanks be to Providence, I have yet to learn, that the emancipation of the American slave, from the sepulchre of American slavery, is not of more importance than the rejection of females from the platform of any Anti-Slavery Society, Convention, or Conference. In the name of heaven, and in the name of the bleeding, dying slave, I ask, if I shall scruple the propriety of female action, of whatever kind or description. I trust not—I hope not—I pray not, until the bastard system is annihilated, and not a vestige remains to remind the future traveller, that such a system ever cursed our country, and made us a hissing and a by-word in the mouth of every subject of every Monarch, King, Queen, Despot, Tyrant, Autocrat and Czar of the civilized and uncivilized world!

My friend, for thirteen years have I thought myself an abolitionist; but I had been in a measure mistaken, until I listened to the scorching rebukes of the fearless O'Connell in Exeter Hall, on the 24th June, when before that vast assemblage, he quoted from American publications, and alluded to the American declaration, and contrasted the theory with the practice; then was I moved to think, and feel, and speak; and from his soul-stirring eloquence and burning sarcasm would every fibre of my heart contract in

abominating the worse than Spanish Inquisition system in my own, I almost fear, devoted country. Let it suffice to say, the meeting at Exeter Hall more than compensated me for the sacrifice and suffering I experienced in crossing the Atlantic, under circumstances which I shall make known at some future time. Until the facts are known, let no one envy me in my voyage or undertaking. A few words in relation to slavery's grand handmaid, in the States proclaimed to be non-slaveholding—I mean *prejudice*, that acts the part to slavery of second king at arms, and exercises its authority by assisting in kidnapping the innocent and free at the capital, disfranchises the citizens of Pennsylvania, proscribes the colored man in Rhode Island, abuses and gives him no resting place as a man in New-Hampshire, which murders in Illinois, cries out amalgamation in Maine, mobs him in New York, and stones him in Connecticut. I say this hydra-headed personage, thanks be to God, has but few advocates in this country; if any, I have it to learn; and if you would rouse the honest indignation of the intelligent Englishman, tell him of our school and academy exclusions. If you would enlist the sympathies of the pious, refer him to our negro pews in the house of worship, and when you tell him of the Jim Crow car, the top of the stage coach, the forward deck of the steamboat, as the only place for colored people to occupy, he at once, turning pale, then red, inquires if this is American republicanism, if this is the fruit of our many religious institutions; and as a West Indian remarked to me yesterday, that liberty in my country was, in its best estate, but the grossest licentiousness. I could not—I dare not contradict him, as my presence in England, at this time, proved too much for his argument. More hereafter. I was happy to meet R. Douglass and W. Jeffers, in the city, and especially to find William well situated in business, and his health much improved. I hope to receive a copy of the Colored American soon, and in the mean time I remain, desiring to be remembered most kindly to the several members of your family, and to my many friends in New York.

Most truly yours,

For truth and the oppressed,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁶¹

To the Rev. C. B. Ray.

P. S. I will not mail this sheet without saying that, notwithstanding the pleasant circumstances with which I am surrounded,

⁶¹ *Liberator*, Oct. 16, 1840.

I long to tread again the country of my birth, again to raise my feeble voice in behalf of the suffering, again to unite with you in razing to the ground, the system which is, and ever has proved too faithfully, the fell destroyer of our race and nation.

Again, yours,

C. L. R.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

LIVERPOOL, Aug. 25th, 1840.

MY DEAR FRIEND JACKSON:—On the departure of each of the friends for the United States, your solicitation on the day of our sailing, upon the Battery, in New-York, that I would write you during my stay in England, has not unfrequently reminded me of my obligations; and I regret exceedingly I have not time to give full vent to my feelings (if I may be allowed the expression,) on many topics in which I know you feel an interest, viz: the deliberations of the was-to-be World's Convention, recently held in London, for the overthrow of slavery throughout the world. Magnificent undertaking! most praiseworthy object! philanthropic motive! soul-stirring contemplation! Heaven-pleasing proposition! God-approving cause! But, friend Jackson, how far the action of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Conference will tend to the accomplishment of the same, is, to my mind, matter of conjecture. That I was surprised at the whole proceeding, I need not state; that I was disappointed in the character of the meeting, I need not say; that I was pained with the treatment which a part of the delegation of the American A. S. Society received, you may well suppose. Some may think it for the best: I think otherwise; unless the gratification of new organization is the life, sum and substance of the arduous undertaking. Who would have supposed, three years ago, the voice of a rational human being would have been stifled upon the platform of the World's Convention? Who would have supposed that the voice and sentiments of a Clarkson, and Buxton, and Phillips, and Adams, would have been hushed, and circumscribed, and put down, in a Convention similar to the one we have had in contemplation for the last year and upwards? No sane mind. Who would have supposed that the mention of William Lloyd Garrison's name would have been drowned by manifestations of disapprobation in the World's Convention, for the overthrow of slavery throughout God's entire domain? Who would have supposed that

George Thompson, the colored man's unceasing, devoted, and noble advocate, the West India slaves' deliverer, would be coldly looked upon by professing abolitionism? If this is the boon for which such men have labored, I have grossly mistaken the object; but may God *give*, and continue to them, health, and strength, and talent, still to prosecute the work in which they have engaged; and over the head of bigotry, pride, prejudice, party, denomination and politics, this holy cause shall yet be carried. The human work of erecting a tunnel across the Thames, may be stayed; the steamer across the Atlantic may fail the undertaker; Victoria, through man's perfidy, may lose Great Britain's diadem; Martin Van Buren may lose his election, and Daniel Webster may sacrifice northern interests and northern principles to southern policy; but God has commanded, and all nature cries out, undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free. The law is, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy strength, and with all thy might, and thy neighbor as thyself.' And who is my neighbor?

'Thy neighbor! 'tis he whom thou
 Hast power to aid and bless:
 Whose aching heart and burning brow,
 This soothing hand may press.
 Thy neighbor! Yonder toiling slave,
 Fetter'd in thought and limb,
 Whose hopes are all beyond the grave,
 Go thou and ransom him.
 Oh, pass not, pass not heedless by,
 Perhaps thou canst redeem
 The breaking heart from misery,
 Oh, share thy lot with him.'

Such, friend Jackson, is my view of this subject; and when the day shall roll round, that I am not willing to act upon such principles, I shall become unworthy the name of abolitionist, if my feeble efforts deserve the appellation,—and most sincerely do I believe the hour not far distant when many will feel and acknowledge the injustice they have done the pioneer of this cause—the man who, alone and unaided, first dared to grapple with American slavery, and called things by their right names—who desired no applause, and refused all favors which should make a sacrifice of principle the condition—who declared, in the face of heaven and earth, that he would publish the whole truth upon this subject, though every tile upon every house-top should be a devil, and bid

him hold his peace; he who was unawed by influence, and unbribed by gain—he who, on no occasion has failed to denounce northern oppression in the character of prejudice, branding the nominally free with infamy and shame, and condemning him to exile and misery; the man whose services and sufferings I would not overrate, but in the name of justice and the bleeding slave, I would claim for him that name to which his eminent and never-to-be-over appreciated services entitle him—the slave's first and firmest friend. But coming generations will do him justice, though those who were once proud to stand by his side during the days of persecution, shall now desert him and the old storm-proof platform of Massachusetts anti-slavery.

I must not omit to mention that portion of the colored people who acknowledge the genuineness of Mr. Garrison's abolitionism, but who would desert him as abolitionists, because he holds to doctrines with which they have no sympathy. Were they true in their first love, and consistent with their first adopted principles, they would adhere to the old platform, though W. L. Garrison turned Infidel or Socialist. No local jealousy should swerve us from our first position, unless that proves to be unsustainable in first principles, and this no one pretends to question. But when I commenced, I did not think of writing a letter, and the clock is now striking 12, P. M., and you will not only excuse me from saying more, but excuse my many imperfections and mistakes, together with the scribbling, as my light is very dim, as you may suppose, and I write with a steel pen, which to me is equal to a tenpenny nail. Remember, those who write, deserve an answer. Thy letter will be anxiously looked for. Please remember me in kindness to those who inquire, and believe me to be, most sincerely, ever

Your attached friend in bonds,

For the suffering and oppressed,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁶⁰

P. S. It was my purpose to have said something respecting the National Standard, and shall do so in my next, and will now say, may the Standard be one which shall make oppressors tremble in view of their conduct, and coming events. May the good and true give it their support. I wish it had a faithful agent in England: and from no consideration allow N. P. Rogers to excuse himself

⁶⁰ *Liberator*, Oct. 9, 1840.

from the editorial chair. He is the man, and must be its editor. The paper looks the man, and he can and will sustain it, God helping him. Direct letters and papers 27 New Broad Street, London. Again yours,

C. L. R.

MANCHESTER, England, Aug. 31, 1840.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND:

It affords me no small degree of pleasure in forwarding, through the kindness of our mutual friend George Bradburn, Esq. this hurried letter; entertaining the hope that you, together with friends Rogers and Fuller, arrived safe home, to the embrace of anxious and affectionate wives, children, relations and friends; and that, ere this, the American oppressor has been apprised of your return through the columns of the *Liberator*, *National Standard*, and last, but not least, *Herald of Freedom*. Your names have not remained dead letters since your departure from this country, I can assure you; nor will they be, although not enrolled among the members of the *was to be* World's Convention.

For some days after parting with you and friend Rogers, on the Clyde, I was confined with inflammatory fever at the house and truly hospitable home of my dear friend John Murray, Esq. Bowling Bay; since which, I find myself much restored, and hope my health may be adequate to my engagements for a few weeks to come.

The contemplated meeting on British India was held at this place, on Wednesday evening last. The tickets were all disposed of, and hundreds were refused admission for want of room, while the meeting was convened in the Corn Exchange, the most commodious hall in the place. That fearless champion, DANIEL O'CONNELL, M. P. and GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. the peerless advocate of oppressed humanity, stood forth on the occasion, each in his turn convincing, convicting, overpowering the vast assembly on the subjects of injured, wronged and abused India—as the almost thundering rounds of applause, at times shaking the very rafters of the large building, most clearly demonstrated. My feelings on the occasion beggar description, as the withering sarcasm, burning rebukes, scorching reproofs, astounding statements, and matchless eloquence, fell from the lips of the speakers. Would to heaven every slaveholder of our country had been present to witness with his own eyes, and to hear with his own ears, these as it were first movements in behalf of In-

dia, and in relation to the cotton trade in this the largest manufacturing town in the kingdom. England is beginning to see and feel her inconsistency upon this all important question; and when England shall be made acquainted with the entire facts, she will speak as one man, and in keeping with the language of the writer of a pamphlet now before me, which extract he will pardon me for quoting, as follows:

‘What must be the obduracy of those flinty hearts, what must be the malignity of those demon spirits, which are inaccessible to all the gentleness, and patience, and submission, and suffering of the simple-minded and kind-hearted negro; which cannot be allured to one solitary act of redeeming justice; which cannot be melted into kindness, nor softened into pity, nor attracted to virtue, nor deterred from crime, by such feelings and sympathies as touch and move the souls of other men;—not by the recollections of all the past, of all the atrocious felonies they have so remorselessly committed, of all the countless benefits they have so ungratefully requited:—not by the contemplation of all the present, of all that should elevate and humanize the spirit of men, of all the happy gratulations of ransomed thousands breathing forth their humble gratitude to their divine and human benefactors, and to them, too, their thankless oppressors, the scourge and curse of their name and race;—nor by the anticipation of all the future—a future, big with the promise of prosperity and happiness to their sable brethren, but which, to them, if they heed not its prophetic admonitions, and madly persist in the unhallowed course, can issue only in merited and unpitied destruction. Let them take warning from the tyrant’s fate: The horse and rider were thrown into the sea.’

Five years ago, it was said by abolitionists in America, that the days of the accursed system were numbered; and I may safely say, in British India also. Let O’Connell of Ireland, Thompson of England, and Garrison of America, take courage, and be strengthened. God, truth, and the oppressed, will ere long conquer, prevail and live. England will soon learn her duty, and, knowing it, with her is to perform. England can and will abolish East India slavery. England can and will abolish American slavery, the philosophy of George Mc’Duffie, the computation of Henry Clay, and the committal of Daniel Webster, to the contrary notwithstanding;—and let those base men who calumniate the disinterested O’Connell, and those cowardly ones who pursued and sought the life of the noble Thompson, know that these are the men destined, God helping them, to bring about this unlooked for change on this side the Atlantic. I say, let the American editor, who cast the epithet of *lying scoundrel* upon George Thompson, and he who more recently styles Daniel O’Connell a base and brutal abolitionist, know that were they in

this country, such abuse would be laughed to scorn. Very chivalrous indeed to speak and print these things some thousand miles distant! Shame on the name of such infatuated creatures, who disgrace the ashes of their ancestors, and bring dishonor upon the clods which cover their remains, by endeavoring to defame the men who advocate the principles for which their fathers pledged their *lives*, their *property*, and their sacred *honor*. American editors appear in great trouble, because the English believe human rights to be human rights, and more than skin-deep; because high-minded Englishmen, and Irishmen, and Scotchmen, pity their ignorance, and condemn their impudence, when they appear among them, mad with the colorphobia distemper.

It was my happiness on Wednesday of last week, to dine in Manchester in company with Mr. O'Connell, — Brooks, Esq. Borough-reeve, and six or eight gentlemen of high distinction and profession, at the house of my esteemed friend, Daniel Lee, Esq.; when Mr. O'Connell remarked, that, of all things in the United States, the prejudice against the free people of color was the most wicked and absurd. And when it was stated that not even merit of the highest character secured them from insult and proscription, and disfranchisement, two gentlemen at the table involuntarily exclaimed, they could not visit such a country.

As regards old and new organization, as it strikes me in this country, I should be glad to say much; but '*Tempus fuget*,' and I must close; but not without saying that it has been my privilege to enjoy, for the last few days, the society of your much regarded friends and esteemed coadjutors, Miss Elizabeth Pease, (who, with her father, have been in Manchester,) and Mr. George Thompson. You, with friend Rogers and all who have their acquaintance, will admit that the treat must have been no ordinary one. On the evening before last, Miss Pease said she wished to visit our country, that she might enter her protest against American prejudice. The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society would joyously welcome her among them, and extend to her at least the freedom of Boston anti-slavery. We speak of you and friend Rogers often, and, notwithstanding the many attempts made to now organize England's entire anti-slavery, there still remain not a few who may be called the Gideonites, storm-beaten and storm-proof, who will not bow the knee to Baal; who will think and speak for themselves; who believe women have hands, and should work; who believe women have

hearts, and should feel; who believe women have tongues, and should speak.

Please present my love to the many friends, and believe me to be,

Your very affectionate friend,

In bonds for God, truth, and the oppressed,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁵⁹

EDINBURGH, Sept. 21st, 1840.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND:

Upon the table before me is the *Liberator* of the 28th ult. ap-
prising me of your safe arrival home, together with friend Rogers,
Fuller, Grosvenor, and Galusha. It afforded me great pleasure to
learn of your safe return, and additional pleasure to notice the
promptness with which the colored citizens of Boston welcomed
you, with friend Rogers, on shore, and the reception they gave you
at the Marlboro' Chapel. Thanks be to Providence, they knew
their duty, and were ready and willing to perform it. It augurs
well for the cause in which you have been engaged for the ten
years past; and the proceedings of that evening at the Marlboro'
was proof conclusive, that you had not been engaged in vain. Such
a meeting, ten years ago, would have stirred, and I had almost said
would have moved the foundations of the Old Bay State. Think
of one of the finest and largest chapels in Boston being filled to
overflowing with much of the learning, wisdom, piety and philan-
thropy of the city, to receive Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Nathl. P.
Rogers, distinguished for their fearless advocacy of the colored
man's rights—and, above all, colored ladies and gentlemen sitting
promiscuously with this body. Think of it, mobocrats of Phila-
delphia! Look in upon that meeting, aristocrats of New-Haven!
Pass judgment, negro-haters of Bath and Hallowell! Reflect upon
it, humanity-scourgers of New-York, who prided yourselves in
compelling your superiors in every respect, save that of slavery-
ridden and debased human nature, to fly the public house kept by
Mr. Goss, as late as May, 1840! What will the priests, levites, at-
torney generals, senators and governors say to all this? What can
they say, other than that upon the question of slavery, our coun-
try is to be turned '*right side up*,' (with care,) if you please?
What, but that fanaticism has become sober truth, incendiarism has

⁵⁹ *Liberator*, Sept. 25, 1840.

become patriotism, recklessness has become solicitude for the country's weal, and last, but not least, amalgamation has become a right in the estimation of the wiseacres of 1835, 6, 7, 8 and 9, providing silence gives consent. So much for the march of truth. Another feather is soon to be placed in the cap of my native State, (Massachusetts,) the first to strike for the freedom of the country. May she be the first to banish from her soil and associations the corroding fetters of prejudice, which, if we may be allowed an opinion, from the experience of the past, the view of the present, and the prospects of the future, is soon to be the case.

Upon our young men, and young women, every thing (comparatively speaking) depends. Too long have many of this class been indifferent to this question. It is our cause, and if we are unwilling to promote it, we deserve proscription, and are not only deaf to the cries of the enslaved, but false to our trust. Too often have I been pained to see young men with growing families around them, almost from appearances ignorant of the efforts being made in their behalf. Shame on the colored father or mother, who can rest contented in their lot, or with the prospect staring them in the face, that their children and their children's children must be subjected to the condition through which our fathers passed, and which we daily experience!

It need not be, if we will it; otherwise, it cannot be. No nation can keep four millions of people in bondage to Slavery's Moloch, or its handmaid Prejudice, when they shall decree it otherwise. Then let us rally to the moral contest, and, being armed with the weapons of truth, soberness, industry and knowledge, we will present a Spartan front, through which no army, led on by Slavery's call, can penetrate, and, ere long, the American eagle shall bear on his back the olive-branch of freedom to every colored man, woman, and child throughout the American continent.

You will be glad to hear that it is my happiness, at this time, to be travelling with our mutual friend and coadjutor, GEORGE THOMPSON, who, I have every reason to believe, should he be spared, is destined to prove the successful advocate of suffering humanity in the *East* as well as in the *West* Indies. The growing interest in this country, upon the question of British India, is alike surprising and encouraging. I have accompanied Mr. Thompson as far north as Aberdeen, and he is every where hailed, and cheered, and honored. Every day fresh proofs of devotedness to the cause

he has espoused come in to him from every quarter; and if he possessed a hundred tongues, every one of them would be employed. As the British learn the three-fold effects of East India emancipation—viz: the enfranchisement of the East Indian, the prosperity of the working-classes of Great Britain, and the unavoidable overthrow of American Slavery—the universal shout will ring through the land. And shall America say, England shall buy and manufacture her blood-stained and tear-saturated cotton? No! Shall America say, Great Britain shall not carry out the god-like work she has so nobly begun? No! Then let American slavery perish—as perish it must, and that speedily; for survive it cannot long. It may live, for a time, by feeding upon its kind; but you and I may yet live to see its overthrow. Four out of six British papers, upon an average, speak favorably of the movement. Georgia may offer her rewards for the abduction of American citizens; but more mines must be discovered through the tears, and bones, and blood, and ashes of murdered slaves, ere she can hope to purchase the head of Old England, or intimidate her sons, or deter them from their work of philanthropy. No nation or people possess a superior to DANIEL O'CONNELL as a political advocate, or GEORGE THOMPSON as a moral advocate. Wo be to the system they combine against, Glad as we would be to see our friend Thompson on our side of the Atlantic, I feel convinced from observation since I have been honored with his companionship while travelling and lecturing for the advancement of the cause of injured Africa, that he is doing more for the overthrow of American Slavery, than he could possibly do were he in our country at this time. I fear we do not duly appreciate the services Mr. Thompson has rendered, and is at this time rendering in behalf of the oppressed and proscribed of our land. The debt of gratitude due him on our part is great indeed. I feel no hesitancy in saying that GEORGE THOMPSON is surpassed by no man in England or Scotland, in his persevering, consistent and successful efforts, both publicly and privately, for the emancipation and elevation of our people; and the more I mingle with the friends, and society at large, the more I am convinced of the truth of the statements. The first monument of honor erected by colored Americans to any living man should bear an appropriate inscription, demonstrative of their regard and affections for him. Could they, with me, listen to his appeals to English hearts, and English humanity, and English philanthropy, all thoughts of extravagance on my part would vanish.

In my next, I shall say something respecting the woman question in the north of Scotland. My departure from Scotland is attended with difficulty, owing to the many pressing invitations from different sources to visit and lecture in company with Mr. Thompson; but we intend starting for England soon. The family of Mr. Thompson are in the enjoyment of good health. With the anxious hope that our cause is prospering, and desiring to be kindly and affectionately remembered to the friends in Boston, I remain,

Ever your attached friend,

In bonds for the oppressed,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁶²

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

The following is an extract of a letter I received by the steamer Acadia from my esteemed friend C. L. Remond. If it contains any thing of interest, you are at liberty to publish it, though it was not written for the press.

Yours, for the slave,

THOMAS COLE.

‘EDINBURGH, Oct. 2, 1840.

MY DEAR FRIEND COLE:

My health is hardly what I could wish. Autumnal winds and rains do not well suit my constitution; but they are so unlike and so superior to the yearly winds and rains of prejudice in my own country, that I am not in the least inclined to murmur. So far from it, a wet jacket occasionally upon the road scarcely disturbs me, until I find myself suffering from a cold as a consequence.

England and Scotland, now, are every thing to me that they have been represented to be; and could I forget the poor slave and our proscribed associates at home, I should lose sight entirely of my own color—only when I chance to meet an American, who only dares look or show his teeth; for bite he must not in this country. Monarchical governments don't allow it. They leave such black-guard work for *republicans*.

On getting into one of the cars at Liverpool for Manchester, the other day, (I mean one of the first class cars,) who should I meet but one of the agents of the New-York and Providence steam-boat company. And why did he not request my removal? As the Scots

⁶² *Liberator*, Oct. 23, 1840.

say—Oh, ay—he knew better! He knew that to make such a request would have given him a seat upon the top of the cars; provided he preferred it to a seat inside with one having a skin not colored like his own.

I was glad to notice, by the last *Liberator*, your name as one of the committee to welcome home Wm. Lloyd Garrison and N. P. Rogers—the steel of anti-slavery. In reference to the meeting at the Marlboro' Chapel, and also the dinner at Chelsea, (sitting the remarks of friend Garrison and Rogers aside in regard to myself,) it afforded me no inconsiderable pleasure to learn that my course, which was followed from convictions of duty, at the Convention in London, was approved by my colored fellow-citizens in Boston. I feel myself flattered by the adoption of the resolutions regarding my feeble efforts in this country, to advance the cause of anti-slavery. I can only say, in return for their kind notice, I will not withhold those efforts, either at home or abroad, until brick-bats and rotten eggs shall fly about my head a thousand times more than they did in Hamden last autumn.

One thought more, and I have done. I notice by the anti-slavery papers, that the friends who differ with us on the woman question are determined, since their return to the United States, to make it appear, if possible, that, upon the decision of individuals on this question in England, hinges one's anti-slavery character. While this absurdly reflects discredit upon the English abolitionists, if true, it makes them occupy an unenviable position in believing it necessary to cross the Atlantic to have judgment passed upon the merits or demerits of the (to them troublesome) question—not a few of whom on this side of the water, put forth a hundred times more labor to gag the women, than was exerted for their admission and right of speech. So great are the fears of many who have crossed, as well as those who have not crossed, that they appear like haunted men, and make charges against myself and others, and take us to task, not for any crime we did commit, but which they fear we may commit. It is like hanging a man to save him the trouble of dying; or drowning woman, for fear she will become a witch. Happy as I should have been to see the ladies seated as delegates, I have not lost a night's sleep in consequence of their rejection; and I hope I am not far behind friend Garrison as a woman's rights man; at least, I don't mean to be. I would yield to them the same rights I claim for myself—and no man can do

more. I see no cause for alarm, or occasion for uneasiness. If those from our country, who voted against their reception, are satisfied, be it so; but, for them, or for any other person to say, that I have not, *as one of Mr. Garrison's associates*, been greatly honored, and kindly and hospitably entertained, is stating that which is incorrect, and doing many friends great injustice, some of whom differ with me on the question which has given birth to modern abolition in Massachusetts. * * * *

Your much attached friend,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁶³

Mr. Thomas Cole.

FRIEND GARRISON:

Prior to your departure from England, you were informed of the arrival of the gentleman whose name heads this communication. Of his movements in England up to his appearance in Glasgow, I am unable to speak; but, by the slip cut from one of many cards sent to different gentlemen in Glasgow, and which I have appended, (and as you may suppose,) I am put not a little upon the nettles.

MR. GURLEY,

Secretary of the American Colonization Society,

Will explain the views of that Institution as promotive of African civilization, and give an account of the present condition and prospects of the Colony of LIBERIA, in Western Africa, at the Royal Exchange, on Thursday next, at 3 o'clock, P. M.

You are very respectfully invited to attend.

Let the card be printed in the largest type, and a hundred extra *Liberators* struck off and charged to me, and forwarded to the nominally free people of color in every village, town, and city of our country; and let them forthwith call public meetings, and pass resolves, demonstrative of their views and feelings respecting the American Colonization Society; and let the same be forwarded to me, together with the work of my friends Wright and Cornish on the same subject, with all possible despatch. While I can find means to travel, and bread and water to live upon, and as God shall give me health, and strength, and speech, all shall be exerted to the best of my ability in counteracting such influence as the ac-

⁶³ *Liberator*, Oct. 30, 1840.

credited Secretary of the American negro-haters' scheme of cruelty and extirpation may exert in its favor. Let the people of color and our friends distinctly understand, that if I am promptly responded to, and sustained, there is little doubt of success in thwarting him, with their resolves and remonstrances. I ask but a fair chance, and no favors of Mr. Gurley, before a British audience. George Thompson lives, and is willing now, as ever, to enter the arena with the Rev. Mr. Gurley, and contest inch by inch the high-handed injustice done the colored population from the moment the Society came forth haggard and deformed, as it ever has been, from its secret session-room, some twenty years ago,—a bastard child; and it has never lost its first impressions, although it has appeared in a thousand garbs.

I am happy to state, upon unquestionable authority, that Mr. Gurley's meeting in Glasgow was a total failure, having some fifteen or twenty persons only present to hear his explanation, and account of the condition and prospects of Liberia. The name of the gentleman or Society seems to have explained the people away—if there was any explanation about it. Such a scheme would meet a similar reception in any other country, save the one from which he comes.

I also learn, upon the best authority, that Mr. Gurley intends revisiting London, and hopes to make a favorable impression. I hope to be there, and trust it may be favorable to his return to the land of slavery and prejudice.

Friend Thompson unites with me in much love to you and friends across the water. In haste, as usual,

I subscribe myself,

Ever affectionately yours for the suffering,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁶⁴

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, }
March 7th, 1841. }

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND:

I take advantage of the sailing of the next packet to forward a line or two, informing you that, in connexion with this sheet, I mail the London Chronicle, containing a report of meetings held by Messrs. Gurley and Cresson, from which you will learn that the fears entertained by me, at the time of the departure of yourself

⁶⁴ *Liberator*, Nov. 13, 1840.

and friend N. P. Rogers, from this country, were not altogether groundless. That Mr. Gurley has placed his standard high, no one will deny; that he will attain to it, is quite another question.

On Sunday, 21st ultimo, I was informed by a friend in Newcastle, that Mr. Gurley was to have a fourth meeting in favor of his wicked scheme; and, although engaged to lecture in Sunderland, 15 or 20 miles distant on the following (Monday) evening, I resolved, if possible, to be in London on the evening of his meeting. At the time of appointment, I appeared before a very large and intelligent assembly, in the Flag Lane Chapel, Sunderland. After addressing the audience 30 minutes, I gave them to understand why I wished to be in London on the Wednesday evening following; and, in order to do so, must beg to be excused, which excuse was readily granted by the usual demonstration. By the kindness of my friend Wm. Richardson, whose horse and gig were in waiting at the chapel door, I succeeded in reaching the depot for the 8 o'clock train, which immediately set off, and, at 8 o'clock on Tuesday evening, by travelling night and day, I was landed safely at the house of our friend Mrs. Moore, Queen-street Place; but, strange to tell, Mr. Gurley had left town that day for the Isle of Wight, in company with a sick friend. His return being a matter of much uncertainty, in two or three days I retraced my steps to this place, which has been for five weeks my head quarters of operations. Prior to starting for London, I had spoken twenty-three evenings out of thirty on the several subjects of slavery, temperance, prejudice, and colonization. At this time, I stand engaged to give a course of lectures in Sunderland and Durham, and am disappointed in doing so, from loss of voice and strength; but being in the hands of many kind and hospitable friends, I hope soon to be about again. From causes of which you doubtless are aware, I have not, for the past three months, been able to be heard (through the mist of new organization) for the poor slave; but hope now, during the remainder of my stay, to act unhampered.

Mr. Collins and myself separated in Darlington some six weeks since. I believe he is about proceeding to Ireland soon, if not already gone. Nobly do our Irish friends contest for truth and justice. I expect to go over in a few weeks to Ireland, and, before going, I hope to see a recent *Liberator*, or *Standard*. Either would be a treat. If either has been sent me for the last two months, I have failed in its receipt.

What can the Rev. N. Colver mean by sending such letters across to this country? Does he mean to brand every man as a scoundrel, who differs from him in sentiment or opinion? And would he charge infidelity upon every one who attended the convention recently held in Boston? Surely, such letters would lead me directly to question the genuineness of his christianity, as well as the sanity of his mind, to say nothing of his spirit. To cap the climax of absurdities, a printed letter is going the rounds of this country, over the signature of Capt. Charles Stuart, respecting myself. The charge is, first, that I am delegated to this country to collect aid for the American Anti-Slavery Society; and, secondly, that I am of the Garrison party! From this it would appear, that what was great, and good, and noble, and christian, and philanthropic, and *anti-slavery*—in 1835, has become small, and evil, and mean, and infidel, and slavish, and pro-slavery—in 1841! Indeed, may we not exclaim, 'How have the mighty fallen!' Surely, such inconsistency will never proselyte me to new organization at home, much less abroad. If the house, (old organization) is built upon the sand, it will fall; if upon a foundation of rock, it will stand; and that, too, in defiance of all the missiles envy, malice, sectarianism, calumny, falsehood and persecution can hurl against it, by those who wield such weapons even with remarkable dexterity.

In view of the conflict which appears to be waxing hotter and hotter at home, I can only trust and pray that the colored people will be true to themselves; and the *Standard*, around which they should rally as one man, will appear to them as plain as if written with a sunbeam upon yonder sky, if they are looking to the signs of the times. A crisis is fast approaching, when decision will indeed be necessary, and action the most prompt in character unavoidable. If they cannot trust their best friends in fair weather, they surely will be wanting in the hour of danger and of storm. If our people had spoken as they should have done, at the time of holding the first convention in Philadelphia, a work would have been done worthy of them and the cause they love. There is yet time for its accomplishment. We need more radicalism among us, before we can speak as becomes a suffering, oppressed and persecuted people. We have been altogether too fearful of martyrdom—quite too indefinite in our views and sentiments—too slow in our movements. These failings, (I will not call them faults,) the oppressor and the persecutor, together with the negro-hating colonizationist, have taken advantage of. Let every case where legal

rights are withheld, be legally investigated. Let every colored man, called upon to pay taxes to any institution in which he is deprived or denied its privileges and advantages, withhold his taxes, though it costs imprisonment or confiscation. Let our motto be—*No privileges, no pay.*

I had hoped to reach home in time to be present during the anniversaries in May. In this, I shall be disappointed, from causes beyond my control.

Wishing to be kindly remembered to your family, and to the friends who may enquire after me, and with wishes for your continued health, welfare, and success, believe me to remain, truly,

Your affectionate friend, in bonds for truth and the oppressed,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁶⁵

SALEM, March 5, 1842.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND MR. GARRISON :

A line from me has been delayed in the hope of seeing you before this; and since my disappointment, it may not be uninteresting to yourself and others if I intimate that, agreeably to the kind invitation of our mutually esteemed friend, the Rev. Samuel J. May, I visited South Scituate on Tuesday, 22d ultimo, arriving about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. I went immediately to the meeting-house, where I found a large audience assembled, and the children of Mr. May's parish engaged in reciting anti-slavery pieces, with which, I was informed, they had, in a very short time, made themselves acquainted; and my only regret was, that there were not thousands present from a distance to witness for themselves the highly interesting occasion. Many of the pieces were new to me, and never in my life have I seen a juvenile association acquit themselves more creditably. Among the pieces recited, familiar to me, was our friend J. G. Whittier's stanzas, 'Our fellow countrymen in chains,' 'The Yankee Girl,' two or three very pertinent dialogues, the letter of Dr. Rushton to General Washington, &c. The services continued about three hours. At the close of the recitations, I was requested, by friend May, to offer a few remarks; and I frankly confessed the scene was so new in kind and character in our pro-slavery country, that I scarcely knew how to express myself. However, I could not withhold the expression of my thanks, in behalf of the enslaved, to their friend Mr. May, for interesting the children in the worthy cause of suffering millions—and to the parents and

⁶⁵ *Liberator*, May 21, 1841.

friends, for the encouragement they had given by their presence. And what a burning shame it is, that many of the pieces on the subject of slavery and the slave-trade, contained in different school books, have been lost sight of, or been subject to the pruning knife of the slaveholding expurgatorial system! To make me believe that those men, or bodies of men, who have regulated the educational institutions of our country, have humanity in their hearts, is to make me believe a lie; and not less so, in making me believe those christian ministers who profess to love God in words, and hate their brother in works; and I ask, if school committees and school-masters,—if christian synods, conventions, ministers and Sabbath-school teachers had resolved and taught, preached and prayed for the proscribed and enslaved colored men, women and children, we should at this time find the rising generation shrinking from the mention of their name—repelling them from the lyceum and lecture room—scouting them from the museum and picture gallery—denying them admission to the white schools, seminaries and colleges—spurning them from the cabin on shipboard, and from artisanship and mechanism on land? I opine otherwise. ‘Judicious mothers will always keep in mind, that they are the first book read, and the last put aside, in every child’s library: every look, word, tone and gesture, nay, even dress, makes an impression.’ [Abbot’s Magazine.] And what is true of mothers, I believe also true of fathers, teachers and ministers. I therefore repeat the expression of my gratitude to our long tried friend May, for the excellent example he has set, while I cannot but exclaim, ‘Shame on the cant and hypocrisy of those who can teach virtue, preach righteousness, and pray blessings for those only, with skins colored like their own.’

But I have already extended this letter beyond my intention when I commenced, and will only add, that, on the evening of the same day of the anti-slavery recitations, a simultaneous temperance meeting was held, and addressed by the Rev. Mr. May, the Rev. Mr. Williams of Providence, and myself. I also passed the following day very happily in friend May’s family, and in the evening gave a lecture on slavery before a very respectable and attentive audience; and have promised to visit Plymouth County again, and spend a week or two for the furtherance of our high and holy enterprise.

Believe me, very sincerely,

Your obliged friend,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ *Liberator*, March 11, 1842.

SALEM, Sept. 16, 1842.

To the West Newbury Anti-Slavery Society:

ESTEEMED FRIENDS—Many thanks for your favor, inviting my attendance at the meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society, to be holden in your town on Thursday of next week. And in no small degree do I regret my inability to comply, from prior engagements in New-Hampshire about the same time; although I have faith to believe my place will be well supplied by older and abler advocates. It is matter of rejoicing with me that the day has gone by, when the success or interest of our meetings depends upon the presence of particular individuals; and I trust the hour is fast approaching when every person, feeling sufficient interest to attend anti-slavery meetings, will also feel the disposition to become themselves the speakers, regardless of age, sex, or acquirements; I long to see the trader from the market, the shoemaker with his apron, the farmer with his homespun frock, the ploughman with his vest, the seafaring man with his jacket and trowsers, the truckman with his white overhaul, and the operative from the factory, with the mason, carpenter and smith from their benches and anvils, standing forward, eager with feeling, thought and voice, to be heard in behalf of a common origin and a common liberty. From such sources, eloquence emanates spontaneously. Men, women and children, who never spent the better half of their best days in learning to speak, cannot fail to interest. They speak from the heart, and the natural heart seldom, if ever, when left free, proves traitor to its God, Liberty, or the Truth. I once loved to hang upon the lips of a favorite minister, the popular orator, and the prized student; but my taste, like their eloquence, was empty, heartless, and selfish; and painful experience tells me, it is a trade with them. Education and usage, together with the applause of aristocrats and oppressors, has well nigh rid them of their natural hearts. Hence their want of humanity, their destitution of liberality, their lack of honesty and toleration in the sacred cause of emancipation.

I need scarcely intimate that I am heartily sick of hearing and reading of the benevolence and humanity of ministers, and the patriotism and republicanism of 4th of July orators. The one is a mockery, and God, in my opinion, will so view it. The other is an insult, and man shall so resent it.

It amuses me to be almost daily reminded of my misfortune in being associated with Garrison, Wright, Rogers, Foster, Collins,

Pillsbury, and the like, in their heresies and denunciations of the Church and clergy. If my deeply interested friends knew the contempt I feel for their gratuitous cantings, and hypocritical pretences, they would cease to trouble themselves.—My banner of unceasing moral hostility upon the policy, or institutions constituting the 'Bulwark of American slavery,' shall ever, God helping me, hang upon the outer wall—the anxiety of many of them to throw this awful responsibility upon the politics of the country to the contrary notwithstanding.

Let none of the good and true be turned from the right by the pious cry after 'Liberty Party.' This is not the first snare set by the poor slave's clerical friends to ensnare the unwary, and change the tide of truth and right from its proper channel. Wooden nutmegs, spurious coin, and black coat asseverations, will hardly answer the purpose now-a-days, unless they are willing to change them for the Joseph's coat of old-fashioned anti-slavery, such as became the soldiers of '31, '33, '34, and '35. The coats worn by the true and consistent anti-slavery ministers of those days reflected too many complexions to make the pulpit (in the opinion of their hearers) their 'appropriate sphere.' Judge Birney is proverbial for his dignified bearing, his intelligent and investigating mind, cool temperament, and second-thought decisions; and I confidently believe that, in compiling the important and highly useful pamphlet on the connexion of the American Church with the system of slavery, he retained his characteristic discretion and sound judgment, as well as knowing whereof he affirmed.

Finally, my friends, of whatever faith, if you believe there is a God, the common Parent of the human race, who delights in justice, mercy and freedom, carry forward, I beseech you, the work in which you are engaged; and be it yours to enjoy His approving smile—the love and gratitude of the perishing and proscribed! And let American religion and wrong, American religion and cruelty, American religion and slave-breeding, American religion and prostitution, American religion and piracy, American religion and murder, cold-blooded, and calculated by America's largest measure, shake hands.

I am, your obliged friend, in bonds for God, truth and the oppressed,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ *Liberator*, Oct. 7, 1842.

WESTERN NEW-YORK, }
BUFFALO, Aug. 12, 1843. }

ESTEEMED FRIEND:

Presuming that my good friends and fellow-laborers, Messrs. White, Monroe, and Gay, have kept you informed of our principal movements, I take my pen more for the purpose of making good my promise than otherwise. Our appointments, you will perceive, have been tolerably punctually kept in this State, and with the exception of Albany, have all been much better attended and more interest awakened, than I anticipated, considering the means and measures used to prevent the people from coming out. I find many, apparently unhappy, and others affect to be shocked at the remarks reported to my account, on the Liberty party in New Bedford, not long since, by our worthy friend, E. Quincy, in the *Liberator*. The Albany Patriot and Liberty Press have opened their columns to anonymous communications, exercising the largest liberty of the press on me, upon the presumption the report is a correct one, since I have in no instance disclaimed it. Now I confess I am amused at the sensitiveness of the gentlemen on this subject, and who manifest large courage in their false statements, and more contemptible comments, but not enough courage to write over their true signatures, otherwise I should have noticed their 'Liberty party' highnesses at an earlier day. Though I did not use, without limitation, the language attributed to me by Mr. Quincy, yet as I don't know that I differ from the view very materially, I am willing the anonymous writers should make the most of the report, so far as the fate of Massachusetts is concerned; and I must go farther by adding that I differ some from our friends, in their idea that Liberty party in New-York differs so very widely from that of the same name in our State. For instance, I heard much of Lockport: in fact, my expectations ran high before my arrival, on the high-minded, liberal, free and thoroughgoing abolitionism of the Liberty party advocates of this village, and here, of all places, I expected we should be welcomed and presumed to be disinterested in our position, until proved guilty of holding and advancing doctrines irreconcilable with genuine anti-slavery, they being judges. But I was disappointed. [For particulars, see letter of Mr. Gay.]

Sydney H. Gay presented a very reasonable and simple resolution on the Church connexion with slavery, when a warm and somewhat protracted discussion ensued. Messrs. Bridgeman, Chace,

Southworth and Prudence, opposing very strenuously, and Messrs. Gay, Monroe, White, Pickard and myself, advocating, and here I must do Mr. Pickard the justice by saying his course was characterized by the same frank, honorable and truly liberal spirit manifested in his sojourn and attendance on meeting in Massachusetts during the last winter, and those friends who heard him during the Conventions and discussions on the Church and clergy, will be pleased to learn that he acquitted himself in Lockport in the 'trial hour' of truth struggling against error and sectarianism, in a manner not less worthy of his power, intelligence and eloquence. I regard him among the faithful few; and the poor slave is indebted to him for his unyielding advocacy of truth and principle. And I would not omit to mention our good and true friends Mr. Robbins, who presided over the meeting, together with Messrs. Mead, Kline, and Mott and family, the latter being the brother of our worthy friends, the Misses Mott, of Albany. My time will not permit me to add more than the intimation that our meetings resulted in much good, and in the advancement of free principles. The resolution alluded to, was lost by a vote of 27 to 18, being a signal victory over the expectations of our opponents.

Of the meetings being at this time holden by Douglass and myself, I will speak in my next. Frederick and myself intend remaining during the sitting of the Convention of the people of color, and shall then join our respective parties in Ohio with all possible despatch. Please to excuse this hurried and rambling communication—and begging to be affectionately remembered to the several members of your family, and the friends generally,

I remain, very truly,

Your obliged friend,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁶⁸

BUFFALO, August 30th, 1843.

ESTEEMED FRIEND:

My last letter from this city acquainted you with my intention to remain a short time in company with Frederick Douglass for the purpose of giving a series of lectures, thereby occupying the intervening time prior to the sitting of the National Convention of the people of color, which purpose I am happy to say, we succeeded in, beyond our expectations, making a strong interest in our cause. And as a consequence hundreds were in daily attendance upon the

⁶⁸ *Liberator*, Sept. 1, 1843.

deliberations of the Convention. And as a letter from a friend resident in this city, to the *Liberator*, will anticipate particulars on this subject, I will pass them by, adding the simple remark, that in no place since my return from Great Britain, have I labored with more satisfactory results, and cheering prospects. And this I doubt not will prove an adequate apology to our Ohio friends for our delay in reaching that State. What I have stated of Buffalo, I am warranted in stating is equally true of Rochester. The fact is, that most of the strongest men among the Western people of color were present; and they being extremely prejudiced from report more than anything against Eastern abolition, we had a grand opportunity of disabusing their minds before the public and the Convention; indeed it was a crisis, and one I felt called upon to meet, by every consideration. Frederick and myself have spoken to large and increasing audiences, more than twice a day for the last three weeks; of the good done, others must testify. On Sabbath morning last, I addressed a very large and highly respectable assembly in the green in Rochester, then rode in company with a small party of friends to Mendon, and with Frederick spoke to many in front of the Friends' meeting-house, which was closed against us; then passed on to another part of the same town, and addressed one of the most crowded audiences I ever saw, in the Christian meeting-house; and I think an excellent impression was made.

I sorely lament the misfortune of friend Garrison's family. And when you write him, you will confer a favor by making my affectionate remembrances to him and his dear family and friends; repeating the request of the same to the friends generally, in which Frederick cordially unites. Frederick and myself start for Oakland, on Friday morning next, should nothing unforeseen occur to disappoint.

Believe me to remain,

Very truly, your obliged friend,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁶⁹

SALEM, March 20, 1844.

*To the Members and Friends of the
Massachusetts A. S. Society.*

DEAR FRIENDS:

Agreeably to the request of your Board of Managers, I take advantage of this, my earliest opportunity, to state that much suc-

⁶⁹ *Liberator*, Sept. 23, 1843.

cess has attended our Conventions through Plymouth and Barnstable counties, if large gatherings, warm hearts, hospitable homes, and much excitement, are indicative of success; similar manifestations being true of every place where appointments were made, Cohasset, South Dennis, and Barnstable, being excepted. The heterodoxy of J. M. Spear, the infidelity of S. S. Foster, the odium of Garrisonism, and the impudence of C. Lenox Remond, seem to have preceded us in almost every place; but, with few exceptions, I think, we succeeded in dispelling very many of the prejudices entertained by individuals unacquainted with our hopes, purposes, and objects; and on no occasion have we failed to state, unequivocally, that it was no part of our object to promote any particular sect, or to establish a political party, but to press the grand, leading movement, viz. the 'immediate, unconditional abolition of American slavery,' as the right of the slave, and the duty of the master.

It may not be amiss to mention, in passing, that the arrangements for the Convention in Cohasset were given in charge of an officer under John Tyler; and as one of the objects of the meeting would have been to show the disgraceful position John Tyler, his cabinet, adherents, and apologists, occupy to our country and the world, we could hardly expect much assistance or sympathy from him. However, by the kind invitation of our good friend Job Bailey, we passed on to the village of North Scituate, and held an excellent meeting in the school-house, on the same evening. On the following day, we held a Convention in order at Scituate Harbor, in the Methodist meeting-house, and were not a little encouraged by the presence of eight or ten friends from Hingham. In the evening, there was a large attendance, and on the second morning, we were considerably amused on learning in the course of the discussions, that the house had been granted on the supposition that the Convention was under the care and guidance of Liberty party advocates, and not old organization; hence, some premised they 'caught a Tartar.' The meeting was a good one.

In East Abington, we found ourselves shut out from the Orthodox meeting-house, formerly open to anti-slavery; and were obliged to crowd into a small Hall as well as we could, a large portion of the audience sitting on shoe-boxes. Neither of us was sparing in our rebukes upon those taking the back track movement, of shutting the meeting-house doors in our faces, at this late hour of anti-

slavery controversy. The meeting was by no means the less spirited, and much wholesome excitement prevailed throughout the village at the time of our departure. The next day (Sunday,) there being no appointment, Mr. Foster addressed the good people of Hanson in the afternoon, and of Hanover in the evening. In the morning, I lectured in Hanson, and in the evening of the same day, in South Abington; my audience being estimated at some five or six hundred persons. I trust some truths were spoken, calculated to awaken additional investigation, and produce additional interest.

The appointment being altered by the advice of friends from East to North Bridgewater, we continued our meetings at the latter place two days, with gratifying effect. We put up at the tavern, kept by Edward Bennett, Esq., who attended the meetings from the beginning; and although considerably prejudiced against us from reports, and especially so towards S. S. Foster, he confessed, after giving us a fair hearing, (to use his own words,) that he was convicted and converted; and we esteem him a valuable acquisition to our righteous enterprise. We were hospitably entertained; every kindness was shown us; and at the close of the meetings, we were conveyed by Mr. Bennett to Abington, where the hall was crowded to excess each evening, many converts were made, and others confirmed in the true faith of old fashioned anti-slavery. In a word, taking into account the state of feeling previously existing there, it was by all pronounced a truly cheering meeting.

Our next Convention, at Pembroke, was also a good one. Although the people, as a general thing, residing in the immediate neighborhood, were extremely indifferent, many came from a distance, bringing with them lots of nice cakes, pies, puddings, apples, &c., and water being cheap and plenty, and a sort of thing which a bigoted, tyrannizing and selfish American gospel-dispensing clergy cannot conveniently monopolize, we partook freely of it, and every thing passed finely off. I would not, however, omit to mention, that the Rev. Mr. Allen, the Episcopalian minister of the parish, entertains a sort of holy horror of everything appertaining to the cause of the poor and oppressed; so much so, as we were told, that our very presence obliged him to take to his bed from its ill effects, which he retained until our departure,—and how much longer is matter of conjecture.

The Rev. Messrs. Hewitt and Whiting, of Abington and Hanson, were present, and took part in the debates, giving both influence and interest to the meeting. What a contrast!

On Friday and Saturday of the same week, our Convention was holden in Duxbury. Gershom Weston, Esq., was chosen chairman of the meeting. The objects of the same being stated in a clear manner, by Mr. Spear, and the ordinary preliminaries completed, Mr. Foster took the stand, and in one of his characteristic speeches of about an hour, it being at once free, bold and startling, gave the audience some little foretaste of what might be expected from succeeding sessions. For instance, among the measures for the completion of the unparalleled work in which we were engaged, he unequivocally demanded the dissolution of the union between Freedom and Slavery—charging the continuance of the world-desecrating system upon the North. A very lively debate ensued. Messrs. Weston, Stetson, Whittemore, Joycelin and Soule, of Duxbury, N. Whiting of Marshfield, S. S. Foster, L. Ford, J. M. Spear, and myself participated. A generous contribution in aid of the Hundred Conventions, was made; and the proceeds of the female contributions promised the Massachusetts A. S. Fair, for December next, I trust will give us an earnest of their regard and sympathy for the cause.

It has rarely been my lot to attend a series of meetings of more sterling interest than those of Duxbury; and the kindness, goodness and hospitality of Capt. Bradford's family will not be forgotten by us soon.

On Sabbath evening following, Mr. Foster and myself addressed a crowded assembly in the town house at Kingston, wherein our good friend J. B. Bartlett resides; and although a carpenter by profession, is worth an acre of a certain class of pulpit occupants in our country, who seem to have elevated themselves for the purpose of pouncing upon the weak, dumb, and enslaved of our guilty country, with destructive power.

On Monday morning, we passed on to Plymouth. Here, also, we were obliged to hold our Convention in the town hall, as the only place our friends could procure in the birth-spot of modern, social, civil, and religious freedom. The day was extremely unpropitious, and the travelling unusually bad, from the large quantity of snow fallen that morning; but we were agreeably surprised on seeing so many present. Bourne Spooner was chosen President, and Joseph Allen and William Thomas, Esqrs. Vice-Presidents. An invitation being given to all present to take part in the deliberations, L. Ford of Abington, who has not only accompanied us the

most of our journeyings, but has cheerfully carried us from place to place, commenced the discussion by one of his usually frank addresses, in depression of the pro-slavery position of the American church and clergy. There being a number of the clergy present, they took exception to his remarks, and controversy soon became the order of the day. The Rev. Mr. Tomlinson distinguished himself as a discriminating and shrewd reasoner—the Rev. Mr. Mann as knowing but little on the subject, and less of the actual connexion of the American church with the infernal system of slavery—the Rev. Mr. Pearsons appeared, to but little advantage, and was less honest and courteous; and I regret to say, the Rev. Mr. Briggs, from whom much was expected by both foes and friends, appeared worse than either, reminding one of the old man and his ass in the fable—in trying to suit all, he pleased none, and disappointed himself; and I have no doubt blasted his anti-slavery character in the estimation of many of his true friends and admirers. Much excitement prevailed during the meetings, and at times there were strong indications of disturbance and outbreak, which were overruled by the timely interference of influential persons present. Suffice it to say, I have been assured that great good has resulted from the meeting to our holy cause; and many strong and ardent wishes have been expressed, that Mr. Foster and myself would return to Plymouth, and follow up the work. So, it seems, truth is prevailing, and hope reviving; and being armed with the truth, ‘one shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight;’ whereby many shall learn in their wisdom, that to place more importance upon manner than matter, will prove a disastrous game to those who engage in it.

In conclusion, it is but justice that I express our indebtedness to Messrs. Spooner and sons, Thomas, Moulton, Allen, Rev. Mr. Lord, Harlow, and Stevens, for their prompt co-operation, sympathy and decision in the trial-hour of our cause.

Of our meeting in Barnstable county, I will speak in my next; meanwhile,

I remain truly yours for truth and the oppressed,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁷¹

DEAR FRIEND:

SALEM, Nov. 13, 1844.

I notice in the Boston Morning Chronicle of last week, and in the Emancipator and Weekly Chronicle of this morning, several

⁷¹ *Liberator*, March 29, 1844.

communications, purporting to be reports of meetings recently held in New-Bedford and Salem, and involving, in a prejudicial sense, the course pursued by my friends Douglass, Phillips and Buffum, and myself:—the first, signed by Wm. R. Pitman and Elihu Grant—the second, over the signature of P.—the third, over the signature of Viator—and the fourth, I presume to be editorial.

Permit me to say, through the medium of your paper, to those friends likely to be abused by the foul slanders, that each and every statement, representation, charge and insinuation, contained in the reports of the proceedings, are alike mean and unmanly—destitute of an approach to truth, the color of justice, the semblance of moral honesty, or the shade of moral courage—and pronounce the authors, whoever they may be, as wilful detractors and fabricators, or unpardonably ignorant of the doings of the meetings they have presumed to reflect upon. If the former, they prove, upon the face of such knavish traduceings, their Liberty party ship to be in a sinking condition, to require such desperate means to keep her afloat on the sea of public sentiment. If the latter, they ought ever after this to hold their peace. And without adding more, if my unequivocal denial of the truthfulness of the reports or communications shall be questioned, I pledge myself, not upon the honor of a Liberty party demagogue, but of a man, to hold them to the proof, upon names and characters not one of their maligning number shall dare to impeach.

Ever faithfully yours, for the Truth and Right,

CHAS. LENOX REMOND.⁷²

PHILADELPHIA, April 5, 1845.

DEAR FRIEND PHILLIPS:

I have deferred writing until the present time, presuming some account of the movements of friend Foster and myself would be given to the 'Pennsylvania Freeman,' or the 'National Anti-Slavery Standard;' and apprehending Stephen will yet do so at his earliest opportunity, I do not intend writing particulars.

Since arriving in this State, I have spent some time in Bucks and Montgomery counties, a portion of it in company with Stephen, and the remainder holding meetings and lecturing myself, and in most places mobs and rumors of mobs have been the order of the day; but receiving personal injury only in a single instance, I will pass them without comment.

⁷² *Liberator*, Nov. 22, 1844.

I held an excellent meeting at New Hope, and think a good impression was made upon the large and respectable audience present. At most places I have visited, I have found a few choice friends, intelligent, feeling, efficient, and determined to labor while the day lasts; in fact, I believe our good friends, the Lintons, Johnsons, Smiths, Irvings, Janneys, Beans, Parrises, Magills and Bowmans shall yet redeem their respective counties from their proslavery tendencies. The task to many may appear dark and doubtful, but those choice spirits are fully equal to the undertaking.

I have held a number of meetings in Philadelphia, principally among our colored friends, and am encouraged to believe there is an increasing interest among them, and that they would soon become generally co-operative and efficient again, could they be induced to subordinate their sectarian and political non-essentials to the great principles of free thought, free speech, and individual action—would they give Humanity a place over mere sect and party; and above all, would they resolve to enter no place where Anti-Slavery may not have free access, and kneel before no altar too sacred for the enunciation of the whole truth, and advocacy of the entire law.

I have also held public discussions, in a number of instances, on the merits of moral suasion and Liberty party, as instrumentalities for the overthrow of slavery; and I deeply regret to find among the young men of color of this city favoring the political side, the same want of honesty, magnanimity and fairness, so frequently characterising politicians every where, and often, without alluding to principles, denouncing, in unmeasured terms, the American A. S. Society, and asserting that Mr. Garrison and his coadjutors have caused the people of color to be mobbed from Dan to Beersheba; and I am sorry to say, no man has figured so largely in these unwarrantable attacks, unscrupulous assertions, and unmerited denunciations, as Frederick A. Hinton, who, at the lecture given on Monday evening last, in Rev. Mr. Collins' church, rose against the expressed wishes of the audience, and for the third time attacked the members of the American Society, distinctly stating that '*Garrison, for instance, advocated the abominable doctrine of men taking women for wives, and when tired of them, casting them off as they did their old shoes,*' &c. The principal portion of his remarks I was willing to have taken for what they were worth, taking into consideration the source from which they emanated; but the accu-

sation made as stated in the foregoing, was more than I could quietly sit under, without entering my solemn protest, and signifying to the large assembly my determination to hold him to his proof through the columns of some public journal;—and in the name of the poor slave, his righteous cause, and the Society of which Mr. Garrison is presiding officer, and myself a humble representative, I call upon Mr. Hinton to give the public his proof of the charge, or retract as publicly. I shall decline saying more at present, giving Mr. Hinton time to exonerate himself, or stand condemned to the public and the world as one guilty of wilful detraction and slander.

Make such use of this hastily scrawled letter as you think ———

————— my kind remembrances to friends,

Believe me to remain

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES LENOX REMOND.⁷³

SALEM, June 9, 1845.

MY DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

Ever since my right hand and arm were injured by my being violently thrown from a carriage in Ohio, I have found it both difficult and painful to write; and I would not trouble you with the publication of this imperfect communication, did I not feel it binding upon me, as a duty I owe to the enslaved, to those with whom I have acted in concert for many years, and to the cause at large, to bear my faithful testimony against the proceedings of Messrs. Rogers, French and Chandler of Concord, Folsom of Dover, Smith of Nashua, Clapp and Hutchinson of Lynn, at the recent meeting of the New-Hampshire A. S. Society;—and I have taken my pen more in grief than anger, in publicly appearing to witness against one who has been so dear to me as N. P. Rogers. I have long been aware that it cost white persons much to be my faithful and steadfast friends; and I have not only endeavored to appreciate their friendship, but my attachment has been proportionate.

It is well known that the meeting, as usual, was called in good faith, with the view and purpose of transacting its legitimate business, discussing any questions proposed, and finally to investigate the difficulties which have resulted in another unhappy division, attributable, I regret to say, to Messrs. Rogers, French, and their

⁷³ *Liberator*, April 18, 1845.

adherents. No impartial observer will deny their aiding and abetting policy with the noisy, insulting, and confusion-making portion of those present. It should go abroad that the meeting was disturbed, bawled down, gagged, and brow-beaten by the friends of Mr. Rogers, and not by pro-slavery persons. The conduct of those who feel no sympathy with our cause was decorous and honorable, and especially creditable to the town of Concord. 'Keep this before the people.'

Two years since, I went to Concord, to attend a meeting of the same Society, by invitation, and my expenses were paid by New-Hampshire friends, through J. R. French. Similar scenes transpired then as now; but over them no particular individual had any control. Not so with the last meeting. Every motion and expression of Mr. Rogers was understood, and advantage taken of it by the friends of 'The Herald of Freedom.' For the first time, I rose on the afternoon of the second day, desiring to be heard in behalf of the unhappy bondmen. Permission was denied me by the ready tools of Mr. Rogers, clamoring for free speech and no organization. We asked to be allowed to transact the business of the Society for the ensuing year, and Mr. Rogers scoffed at the idea of doing business in Society capacity. Every entreaty was made, and appeal offered, but in vain. We did not go into New-Hampshire experiment-hunting, and Messrs. Rogers, Folsom and French knew it. The meeting was not called to witness the buffoonery of Mr. Smith, and they were aware of it; neither did that large number assemble to listen to J. B. Chandler's eccentricities, well mixed with Tom-foolery, for Mr. Rogers was apprised that most persons presumed Mr. Chandler in Ohio, if he had any whereabouts at all; yet still, strange to say, at this stage of the meeting, when many were leaving for their country homes, and the Society on the eve of adjournment, Mr. Rogers asked *us* to be patient. Grosser insult—as if the error lay in our patience, and all was honorable and fair and just and decorous and true anti-slavery on the part of the miserable rabble supporting him, and insulting and blackguarding us. Patience indeed! It had ceased to be a virtue with better men than I claim to be. Let Mr. Rogers counsel me to patience when kicked and spit upon by drunken rowdies along the wharves of New-York city, or when scourged in Philadelphia streets, or when pursued by slave-hunting ruffians, armed with dirks, pistols, and rusty muskets, as I have witnessed them in Indiana, or when the straight-jacket

and iron weights are preparing for me on the banks of the Penobscot. But don't tantalize me by exhortations to patience, when abused by pretended anti-slavery men, by persons who have become tired of abolition drudgery. It is their fault, not ours, that they did not calculate upon crossing the moral Alps for the glorious cause; and that in winter weather as trying and destructive to our moral nature as it was trying and destructive to the physical natures of Napoleon and his army. We have deceived nobody; they have deceived themselves in supposing that at the expiration of fourteen years even, a beautiful climate, lovely landscapes, McAdamsed roads, and peace and plenty, would greet them. Hard fare and rough usage await the faithful and brave, to the end of the struggle.

Ever truly yours,

For justice, truth and freedom,

C. LENOX REMOND.⁷⁴

XI. WILLIAM C. NELL

The letters of William C. Nell, the first Negro to take seriously the writing of the history of the Negro race, are more than interesting. We are unfortunate in not having a large number of them, but those accessible illuminate certain aspects of the history of that time, and enable the reader to appreciate the worth of this man.

ROCHESTER, (N. Y.,) Jan. 23, 1848.

ESTEEMED FRIEND GARRISON:

Mr. Douglass and myself accepted an invitation to this anniversary celebration of Franklin's birthday; and accordingly, at the appointed hour, we wended our way to the Irving house, accompanied by Mr. John Dick and another friend. The company had assembled, and were marching into the hall to the inspiring music of Adams's Bugle Band. We arrived just in time to unite with the procession. I had myself received a slight intimation that some objection had been manifested by a few, to the participation of Mr. Douglass and myself. This, however, gave me but little uneasiness, believing that come what would, the result would prove no detriment to the cause of freedom.

⁷⁴ *Liberator*, June 13, 1845.

Mr. Douglass had no cause to apprehend opposition until we had delivered our ticket at the diningroom door; when the host laid an embargo on our further ingress, declaring that we could not be admitted. It was in vain that we protested against his insult, and asserted our claim to equal treatment with others. We were called *intruders*, and told, that 'it was a violation of the rules of society for colored people to associate with whites,' and were threatened ejectment by the police. By this time, our presence at the door, the lookers on in the entry, and the passing of words between parties, had attracted the attention of the company just seated. We retired to a drawing-room, where the pro-slavery point was contended for by the host, who declared that several gentlemen had expressed a determination not to allow us a seat with them. We were about entering the hall to test the question in *propria personæ*, intending that decision to supersede what the host had proffered us. Several of the company had now gathered, some of whom expressed regret at our treatment. It was now proposed to submit the question. JAMES KIRK, Jr., chairman of the committee of arrangements, briefly defined his position, and in a commendable manner advocated our rights. ALEXANDER MANN, Esq., editor of the Rochester American, and one of the Vice-Presidents, nobly came to the rescue, his remarks being loudly applauded—and when the question was called for by the chairman, almost the entire company responded *Aye*. The negative was represented by some six or eight, who must indeed have felt rebuked by this overwhelming vote. The host, who had, but a few moments before, manifested so bitter and hostile spirit towards us, now communicated the intelligence that 'there was a clean vote in our favor.' You may be sure that, after having been the victims of so much controversy, on entering the hall, we were 'the observed of all observers.' It was a painful as well as triumphant hour for Mr. Douglass and myself, for reasons which abolitionists hardly know how to appreciate. None but the *colored man*, the immediate recipient of American pro-slavery hate, can fully testify to the emotions excited by such a development. I care not to dwell upon it. Let me here state, however, that on being seated, the host offered a string of apologies for his conduct. Comment is unnecessary. After due attention to the work spread before them, preparations were made for the 'feast of reason and the flow of soul.' Wit and sentiment, music and poetry, each lent a charm to enliven

the scene. During the volunteer remarks, Mr. Douglass was called for, and briefly proposed his sentiment. Shortly after, Alexander Mann, Esq. announced to the company that he had a sentiment to offer, which he hoped and believed would be responded to by every gentleman present. 'Sir,' said he, 'on occasions of this kind, we should cheerfully lay aside all personal or political prejudices.' After speaking in this vein for a short time in a handsome and liberal manner, the best calculated to allay any unpleasant feeling, and preparing the minds of all, he tendered the following sentiment:—

Frederick Douglass—We recognize in the genius and cultivation of this orator and philanthropist, good augury of the elevation of his race.

Mr. Douglass, on rising, was warmly greeted. He confessed himself much embarrassed by the coincident circumstances of his present position; but would not control his gratitude, elicited by the sentiment just offered, and so heartily responded to by the company. He alluded to the treatment received by him while in England, where *merit*, and not *color*, was the passport to the highest circles; but that his feelings of present satisfaction were of another character from any previously enjoyed. He adverted to his connexion with the Press in Rochester, to the uniformly kind notice extended to him by the gentlemen connected therewith, as also from the citizens generally, contrasting it with the abusive and proslavery expression of the New-York Sunday Despatch, New-York Express, Bennett's Herald, and the Democratic Review, &c.—which he was proud to acknowledge this evening's tribute as an offset. Its recollection would be sufficient to alleviate the bitterness of much past experience, and fortify him with strength for the future. He wished to add, that whatever he had said or done in relation to slavery, he conscientiously felt it demanded by love to his country, and his oppressed and outraged brethren at the South and the North. His speech was received with evident attention, and with loud demonstrations of applause.

Philemon Canfield, Esq., who presided, testified his hearty satisfaction with the liberal spirit of the company, by rebuking by their vote the wicked prejudice against color. Mr. C. 'is an old Hartford publisher, who, though advanced in years, is still devoted to his profession in Rochester.' The anti-slavery war, waged for the last eighteen years, has indeed been prolific in these exhibitions,

and as remarkable for the succession of victories, always the reward of the faithful and persevering. To compare the present with the past—those dark hours when your bugle blast was first sounded among the hills and valleys of New England—we can hardly believe the evidence daily presented of the onward progress of those mighty principles then proclaimed to the American nation. The treatment of the colored man in this country is a legitimate illustration of ‘hating those whom we have injured,’ and brings to my recollection that chapter in *Waverley* where Fergus Mac Ivar replies to his friend, when being led to execution—‘You see the compliment they pay to our Highland strength and courage. Here we have lain until our limbs are cramped into palsey, and now they send six soldiers with loaded muskets to prevent our taking the castle by storm.’ The analogy is found in the omnipotent and omnipresent influence of American pro-slavery in crushing every noble and praiseworthy aspiration of the persecuted colored man. As in nature, the smiles of summer are made sweeter by the frowns of winter, the calm of ocean is made more placid by the tempest that has preceded it; so in this moral battle, these incidental skirmishes will contribute to render the hour of victory indeed a blissful realization.

So sure as night precedes day—war ends in peace, and winter wakes spring—just so sure will the persevering efforts of Freedom’s army be crowned with victory’s perennial laurels.

Yours, to the end of the struggle,

WILLIAM C. NELL.⁹¹

ROCHESTER, (N. Y.) Feb. 19, 1852.

ESTEEMED FRIEND GARRISON:

Inspired by reading, in the *Liberator*, the narrative of the Ladies’ Bazaar and the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, each so glorious in results, and so vivifying to me in reminiscences, I have at length obeyed the spirit prompting me to pen you a few lines, by way of most grateful remembrance. I believe Henry Martyn once recorded his conviction, that he who travelled far from home in pursuit of health, travels on a fool’s errand. How applicable this may be in the present case, deponent is unable to say. Though not having regained my usual health, the feeling is sometimes mine, that I may yet see the opening buds and sunny skies of coming spring.

⁹¹ *Liberator*, Feb. 11, 1848.

A glance at the popular lectures delivered in any locality, and the influences generated by them, to some minds present a significant item in a general summing up of character. The citizens of Rochester have this season listened (on the Athenæum and other rostrums) to several able lectures on miscellaneous subjects. The role commenced by a lecture from Henry Ward Beecher, who, for a manly vindication of the higher law, was applauded by the mass, and complimented by the Hunker press with what they intended for censure. He was succeeded by J. T. Headley, author of 'Napoleon and his Marshals.' On announcing his subject—Personal Freedom—the audience manifested both hopes and fears; some supposing that, from the premises laid down, sentiments would legitimately follow, which, if not radical, might at least have a direct reference, even by way of conclusion, to the millions of *persons* in this country, so signally deprived of *freedom*. Others, smarting from Mr. Beecher's denunciations of the Fugitive Slave Law, instinctively anticipated a little more of *that* 'same sort.' But both classes were disappointed, the lecture being made up in sketching the recent revolutions in Europe, while, in regard to freedom in the United States, a most memorable letting alone was exhibited.

Among other performances, of more or less acceptance, may be mentioned, the Historical Lectures of Rev. John Lord, and a characteristic poem by John G. Saxe; but, without disparagement of any, it may truly be said, that none have been better appreciated than the efforts of Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Pierpont, and Theodore Parker, enhancing the distinguished reputation long enjoyed by this trio of the Old Bay State literati. Your readers are conversant, through various mediums, with their matter and manner; yet I am disposed to mention what was specially true in this instance of the two latter. They did not sacrifice Humanity to the Muses, but alluded to slavery whenever its application would enforce a moral or confirm a fact. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, in his recent pulpit ministrations in this city, was also, as you are of course prepared to hear, faithful to the slave, whose cause he has so long, so triumphantly vindicated. The words so fitly spoken by these champions of truth, and the attentive ear given by the people, when emancipated from their would-be leaders, have only served to deepen the regret occasioned by the non-appearance here of New England's gifted orator and Humanity's eloquent advocate, Wendell Phillips, to facilitate whose lecturing visit a combination of

ways and means was hopefully put forth, but, most unfortunately, without success.

A most gratifying fact to me is the love and veneration cherished in many circles here for the name and fame of George Thompson, who, though beset by a rampant pro-slavery press, achieved a victory differing in some details, but none the less brilliant than those of Boston and Springfield. At a recent exhibition of a Young Ladies' Seminary, an essay was read on the Transatlantic Missions of Lafayette and George Thompson, eulogizing both in the loftiest strain for their services in the cause of freedom, which was but a just tribute awarded to each. Many, however, thought the former would have lost nothing, if the latter's claims to immortal honor had been more prominently dwelt upon; for while Lafayette's errand to this country was to assist a three-penny-tax-ridden people, George Thompson's sacrifices and efforts were consecrated, and in the face of fearful odds, to the advocacy of a race whose entire selves are held subordinate to a tyranny unparalleled in the world's annals. Let full justice, then, be awarded to Lafayette for the aid rendered these colonies in their revolutionary struggles; but to the strong hand and bold heart of George Thompson, whose life has been a battle-field—whose matchless eloquence and fearless manhood have been so potent in setting races free from bondage—to him will impartial history decree the chaplet of imperishable renown.

Sallie Holly held a large audience in close attention at Corinthian Hall, one evening last week, by her admirable lecture on American Slavery. Many who revered the late Myron Holly felt induced to hear his daughter in this, her first public address in her native city, though evidently not from their regard for anti-slavery truth, or faith in the propriety of woman's rights; but those who heard her without being deeply impressed, must be in a most unenviable state of mental and moral darkness. Her familiarity with the subject, her fund of argument and illustrative facts, and her fervency of appeal, constitute her a most valuable auxiliary to advance the anti-slavery cause. Impressed with this truth, my mind reverted to your early and constant advocacy of woman's equality. The seeds sown by you at a time when the public was indifferent have germinated, and now promise an abundant harvest. The fact of woman's equal participation in the lecture room, in the halls of science, and other departments hitherto monopolized by

man, has become an every day occurrence. In the perilous years of '33-'35, a colored woman—Mrs. Maria W. Stewart—fired with a holy zeal to speak her sentiments on the improvement of colored Americans, encountered an opposition even from her Boston circle of friends, that would have damped the ardor of most women. But your words of encouragement cheered her onwards, and her public lectures awakened an interest acknowledged and felt to this day. The world cannot rob you of the great satisfaction of having been mainly instrumental in securing an audience for the oppressed on account of sex or complexion.

The Fugitive Slave Law has made its ravages in Rochester; but without those exciting scenes enacted in Boston and elsewhere, there have been occasions when both the foes and friends of freedom were marshalling their forces. The first foe saving the Union, the others rescuing a brother man from human bloodhounds. But the proximity of this city to Canada has ensured a ready flight in the fugitive's emergency. Several who had resided here for years, sustaining good business positions, have been compelled to abandon home and loved associations, for fear of being dragged back to bondage. Fugitives are constantly passing through here, giving no rest to their feet nor slumber to their eyelids, until the protecting ægis of Queen Victoria makes them welcome freemen on Canada's shore. A party of fifteen thus rid themselves of republican slavery on Thanksgiving day—to them truly a day consecrated with sincere thanksgiving to the God of freedom.

Some very interesting facts might be given relative to these American Kossuths—those who have filled various stations, in the mechanic's work shop and slaveholder's dwelling, and have slaked their thirst for knowledge under towering difficulties, and at last seized the golden moment to unrivet the chain, and, through complex trials, reach a haven where they can realize that

—————'No sea
Swells like the bosom of a man set free.'

Some who were present at the Syracuse and Christiana battle-grounds, where either their hands embodied, tongues wagged, or eyes looked treason to slavery, are now enjoying, in a monarch's domain, the liberty denied them in the American republic. The colored citizens have systematically aided their hunted brethren, and have just held a donation festival, exclusively for the benefit of the fugitive.

I am yet a sojourner with Isaac and Amy Post, whose names are synonymous with truth and zeal in Humanity's cause, whose active sympathies are indeed a panacea to the invalid of body or mind.

With unbounded regard, I remain,

Faithfully yours,

WILLIAM C. NELL.⁹²

ESTEEMED FRIEND GARRISON :

During the past few weeks of a temporary sojourn in my native city, I have been somewhat an observer of those events, which, though in many respects but local, are nevertheless connected with the elevation of colored Americans generally; and as such, their record may, I trust, secure an insertion in the *Liberator*.

A series of public meetings has been held, under the auspices of colored citizens ranking with the Free Soil party. These gatherings have been characterized by great enthusiasm, and a willing ear for any citizen or stranger present whose voice could aid, directly or indirectly, the cause of human freedom. Though in the main intended as political meetings, yet every phase of an oppressed people's enlargement had its orator, and fervid, heart-stirring eloquence in the application of home truths, caustic denunciations of known delinquency, and warm approval bestowed upon the faithful, severally struck those chords, which, vibrating among the audience, have not yet ceased to bring forth abundant fruits.

Among the resolutions defining their position in the Presidential and State elections, the following served as a nucleus:—

Resolved, That as the Whig and so-called Democratic parties of this country are endeavoring to crush, debase and dehumanize us as a people, any man among us voting for their respective candidates, virtually recognizes the righteousness of their principles, and shall be held up to public reprobation as a traitor, a hissing and a by word, a pest and a nuisance, the off-scouring of the earth.

Resolved, That the candidates of the Free Democracy need no eulogy—they stand out in bold relief, as the representatives of principles which command the admiration and support of every lover of Truth, Justice and Humanity. Our hands, our hearts and our votes are theirs.

In discussing the first resolution, much sensitiveness was manifested by a few voters who were still wedded to the two great pro-

⁹² *Liberator*, March 5, 1852.

slavery parties. (Thank God, there were but a few so recreant to their highest duty!) The blended powers of argument and sarcasm were levelled at these men, who seemed to think it their duty to espouse the cause by which they eat and drink.

The second resolution concentrated the remarks of many speakers, and when the names of prominent liberty candidates were mentioned, they were received with prolonged and deafening applause. Aside from the associations surrounding them as candidates, there were remembrances of specific acts by certain individuals, which became signals for renewed plaudits. JOHN P. HALE was cheered as the eloquent and gifted advocate for the defence in the trials of the alleged Shadrach rescuers; CHARLES SUMNER for his elaborate and learned argument before the Supreme bench of Massachusetts, contending for equal school rights of colored children. The old war-horse, JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, for his bold defiance of the slave domination in Congress, was gratefully remembered, as were many others.

The disaffection of the colored citizens of New Bedford towards HORACE MANN, on account of some remarks of his construed by them as favoring our expatriation to Africa, did not materially detract from his quota of applause; for though there were those who feared such an inference *could* be drawn from his letter to the colored citizens of Ohio, yet the mass had too much confidence in his profession and practice to believe him guilty of that sin justly regarded by colored Americans as unpardonable. Opposition to the American Colonization Society is and ever should be a most vital element in the creed of colored Americans; and we cannot too jealously watch the sources from whence those influences emanate, corrupting public sentiment—though in the exercise of this duty, we may sometimes fail to discriminate between fidelity to our cause, and prematurely charging upon individuals a positive dereliction from truth and duty. Our vigilant friends at New Bedford have at least this merit, that their failing (if one) leaned to Freedom's side.

Regarding the Free Soil party as an offshoot from the old pioneer anti-slavery tree, the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution of unwavering confidence in the efforts of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, and of sincere gratitude to him and his noble coadjutors, invoking their continued warfare upon American slavery.

Lewis Hayden said he was happy to notice several clergymen

present, whose co-operation in this department of anti-slavery labor was in strong contrast with the conduct of the main body of their ministerial brethren among the dominant class. He regretted that truth demanded the confession, that even among colored clergymen were to be found those who sustain ecclesiastical relations wholly inconsistent with their position as aspiring leaders of an oppressed people.

Robert Morris, Esq., cautioned the people against the proposed plans of the American Colonization Society and the Ebony Line of steamers. He also spoke of the operations of the Fugitive Slave Law, alluding to recent decisions *pro* and *con*, and occasionally indulged in some graphic sketches of the Shadrach rescue.

Robert Johnson expressed his concurrence in the prayer offered at the opening meeting, that every colored man would be sure to pay his taxes, and not forego the opportunity, as he had done for some years after being eligible; but he now rejoiced in the right of a citizen, and would always exercise it. The Free Democratic party, he believed, would exert a powerful influence for the slave's emancipation. Correcting himself, he recalled the appellation. Our brethren at the South should not be called *slaves*, but *prisoners of war*.

Rev. J. C. Beman, of Connecticut, congratulated his brethren of the old Bay State that they could enjoy the elective franchise—a right denied seven thousand citizens of his native State, the land of blue laws and 'steady habits.' He narrated the fact that his father, when presented with his manumission papers, was asked what name he had selected. He replied, that he had always loathed slavery and wanted to be a man; hence he adopted the name of *Be-man*. He (the speaker) had inherited from that father a burning desire for the elevation of his oppressed countrymen here, on American soil, and was unalterably hostile to the American Colonization Society.

Rev. J. B. Smith, of Rhode Island, recounted some incidents of his early life, which he said he held in undying remembrance. He alluded especially to the persevering efforts of his father and uncle to burst the chains of slavery. His father took him by the hand, and on leading him from a master's domain, made him swear that he would never be a slave. They were pursued by an armed posse with bloodhounds, and in attempting to ford a river rather than surrender his liberty, his life was sacrificed by a rifle shot from his

merciless pursuers. That scene was even now vividly before him. He believed that resistance to tyrants was obedience to God, and hence, to his mind, the only drawback to the matchless Uncle Tom of Mrs. Stowe was his virtue of submission to tyranny—an exhibition of grace which he (the speaker) did not covet.

William J. Watkins eloquently enforced the duty of every colored voter to sustain the Free Soil party, when the most strenuous exertions of pro-slavery men were lavishly contributed to its defeat. It was recreancy in any colored man to be lukewarm during the contest. It had always been his pride to do battle for the right—a duty he learned from William Lloyd Garrison, who, on his liberation from a Baltimore prison, where he had been confined for his devotion to the anti-slavery cause, met him (the speaker), then a boy five years old, at his father's house, and told him to be always an abolitionist. In the light of that instruction he had ever endeavored to walk, and hoped to be faithful to the end.

Rev. James E. Crawford, of Nantucket, said he appreciated the importance of remembering the slave at the ballot-box, and cited some instances in his anti-slavery experience where it had been significantly efficacious. He would not, however, regard politics as an end, but merely as a means for securing a certain good. He would have them ever keep in mind, that moral power was a more exalted and positive lever for promoting the anti-slavery or any other good cause. He expressed, in substance, the sentiment of Mrs. Child, that he who gives his mind to politics sails on a stormy sea, with a giddy pilot. He informed the audience that he dated his conversion to anti-slavery from October 21st, 1835, when, landing from shipboard, and walking up State street, Boston, he suddenly encountered that mob of 'gentlemen of property and standing,' who, with a rope around Mr. Garrison's neck, were bent upon his destruction. On learning that it was for words and deeds in behalf of the enslaved colored man, his heart and soul at that moment became fully committed to the cause for which our noble advocate was so near sacrificing his life.

Wm. C. Nell remarked, that in behalf of 428,000 nominally free colored Americans, and nearly four millions of chattel slaves in these United States, he could not but commend those who exercised the elective franchise in favor of liberty. Remembering that in Pennsylvania that right had been stolen from her 52,000 colored citizens, and that in several States, falsely termed free, it was re-

stricted to property qualification, and in others absolutely denied, he rejoiced that to day it was our untrammelled right, in the old Bay State, and that its influences were felt not only in commingling with other citizens at the polls, but in every sphere of society.

But there were other ways of advancing the anti-slavery cause than at the ballot-box; and he concurred with other speakers in reference to the women, who he regretted were yet denied their right to vote, but their means of appeal to husbands, fathers and brothers, intelligently directed, were various and all-powerful. The emancipation of 800,000 slaves in the British West Indies was mostly attributable to the women's petition, two miles and a quarter long, which, as declared by members of Parliament, could no longer be resisted.

Among our white fellow-citizens participating, Dr. James W. Stone and Hon. Anson Burlingame were most prominent. The latter created much enthusiasm by his eloquent effort. He thought that the heroic, courageous and romantic escape of William and Ellen Craft from slavery had not its analogy in history; and that their refusal to retreat from the city, when hunted by the hounds of power, that others might be inspired by their example, was worthy of everlasting praise. He expressed the hope that when Thomas Sims should again fly for freedom, thousands of others might find it with him. After submitting an instructive narrative of the power wielded by the slave oligarchy over the tame and subservient North, he besought the colored citizens to remember that they too were a power on earth here in Massachusetts.

The first opportunity of hearing Rev. J. W. Loguen, of Syracuse, occurred at the conclusion of these meetings, and it was a treat which will long be remembered. His recital of the Jerry escape, and the reciprocal expressions between him and some of the *lookers-on* at the Shadrach rescue, elicited responsive cheers which made the welkin ring, and constituted a scene which slaveholding Commissioners would have groaned in spirit to witness.

Boston has indeed figured rather conspicuously in the history of fugitive slave cases. August 4th, 1836, two slaves of John B. Morris, of Baltimore, were spirited from the Supreme Court in Boston—mainly through the prowess of a few colored women; the memory of which deed is sacredly cherished and transmitted to posterity. Sheriff Sumner—the honored father of Charles Sumner, whose impulses for freedom are a choice inheritance—was severely

censured because he did not prevent their escape; an undertaking which those who were present knew he could not accomplish if he would, and believed he would not if he could. The stirring events connected with the Latimer war, the hunting of William and Ellen Craft, the escape of Shadrach from the lion's den, and the unparalleled excitement of Thomas Sims's arrest, are each so many eloquent themes of appeal for renewed exertions in freedom's cause.

Charles Lenox Remond followed, in one of his felicitous speeches, during which—though careful to note the improving signs of the times—he felt called upon to enumerate various short-comings on the part of residents in Boston, the capital of the old Bay State, who, considering that fact, did not occupy so high an anti-slavery position as the emergency loudly demanded.

Other voices helped to augment the interest of these meetings, but the foregoing must suffice.

The position of the colored citizens of Boston is in many features a peculiar one; for while with truth it can be said that they enjoy certain facilities denied to their brethren in nearly all other sister cities, yet the extremes of equality and proscription meet in their case, as indicated by the pro-slavery School Committee Board. While in every other city and town in the State, colored children have free access to the district schools, here they are debarred that right. To such an extent have the feelings of a large majority been outraged in this matter, that Boston is fast losing many of her intelligent, worthy, aspiring citizens, who are becoming tax payers in adjoining localities, for the sole advantage of equal school rights. These rights are fully appreciated, and with a result which the annual report of the Cambridgeport School Committee of last year testifies to as follows:—

‘In the Broadway Primary School, a singular fact was noticed; namely, the mixture of four different races amongst the pupils—the Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, Celtic and African. But by the influence of the teachers and of habit, there exists perfect good feeling among them, and there is no apparent consciousness of a difference of race or condition.’

Two independent schools are now supported by parents in the city, rather than send their children to the Smith School, upheld as it is against their long-continued protest. How much longer such a state of things will exist, who can tell?

But though *this* incubus yet bears upon the progress of society,

there are many visible signs of improvement in other departments. A few evenings since, it was my privilege to meet a company where happened to be present one young man upon whom had been conferred the degree of Master of Arts, he having passed through a course of theology, and being now engaged in reading law, with a prospect of an early admission to the bar of one of the Western States. In conversation with him were two young physicians, one just graduated from Dartmouth College, the other a student at Bowdoin, having perfected his medical education by three years' attendance at the hospitals in Paris. These gratifying features are multiplying much faster than many believe. In various cities and towns may now be found those Home Circles, where mental and moral worth, genius and refinement lend their charms, in giving to the world assurance that, despite accidental differences of complexion, here you behold a man, there a woman, competent to fill any station in civilized society.

It was my intention to have alluded to the vocal and instrumental concerts of the Excelsior Glee Club, and to the elocutionary and musical juvenile exhibitions, under the management of Miss Washington; also, to the interest manifested in a recent course of physiological lectures, volunteered by Dr. Archibald Miles; but enough has been detailed to show that the colored citizens of Boston are improving in some degree, though not so fast as their most sanguine friends could desire.

With increased faith in the 'good time coming,' I remain,

Faithfully yours,

WM. C. NELL.⁹³

Boston, December, 1852.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS AND HIS PAPER.

ESTEEMED FRIEND GARRISON:

Frederick Douglass, at Framingham, August 2d, remarked, 'that he held his columns free to any one who should think injustice had been done to any party.' Having myself been the victim of his injustice, in his paper of August 12th, I solicited a hearing therein, which has been denied me—August 19th—thus:—'The editor does not feel called upon to give his columns to the circulation of his [my] speeches or letters.' Will you promote the

⁹³ *Liberator*, Dec. 10, 1852.

cause of truth and free discussion by inserting in *THE LIBERATOR* the following rejected communication? W. C. N.

Boston, August 19th, 1853.

Boston, August 13, 1853.

MR. DOUGLASS:

In your paper of Aug. 12th, you have grossly misrepresented my sayings and doings at the meeting recently held in Boston. I, therefore, ask you to publish the following communication.

In the first place, I must express to you the surprise manifested here in view of the language of your editorial; for, at the meeting, you acquitted me of any dishonorable or personal motive in the presentation I felt called upon to make relative to your course, and, moreover, promised you would do all in your power to promote harmony and allay controversy; but the first development to your readers is applying to me the epithet, 'contemptible tool.'

You put words into my mouth which I never used. I did not say, 'I am the injured party here; I am on trial.' What I did say was, 'I am the persecuted party'—persecuted, I meant, by yourself and Mr. Morris. I made no allusion to being 'on trial,' there being no occasion for it. I have no fears of any trial before a Boston audience.

As to your holding me up as a practical enemy of the colored people, my pen smiles at the idea. When are you going to commence the task of proving your assertion?

I heed not your inuendoes nor your comments; I can wait the decision of an impartial community. But your readers should know what I said and did on that occasion, hence I submit my remarks, as offered.

REMARKS ON THE FIRST EVENING.

MR. CHAIRMAN,—Concurring, as I am happy to do, in the general train of remark which we have just heard from Mr. Douglass, I the more deeply regret his omission of another topic, which others beside myself anticipated his making some allusion to. But as neither himself nor any other person has done so, the duty seems to devolve upon me.

It is, of course, known to most of those present, that the time has been when Mr. Douglass sustained very friendly relations toward Mr. Garrison and the pioneer Society. It is also well known

that now that relation is changed, and within a few months past, his spirit seems more than ever alienated, and in his paper he has made use of language which to many, and certainly to me—when considering his former identity of interests with them—seems unkind, ungenerous and ungrateful. I say this more in sorrow than in anger; but as I have long and intimately known Mr. Douglass—been associated with him in the publication of his paper—familiar with him and the old Society in their day of harmony and coöperation—and, moreover, as I have, to persons present and elsewhere, in speaking of his paper, cheerfully commended, though not afraid to blame—it occurs to me that I am no less his friend than before, because I ask him to explain his new position. There are those here who desire it, and the words that he may offer may correct us if in error, and render his paper the more acceptable.

I have not risen to defend Mr. Garrison and his coadjutors; for, thank God! from me, and in this place, they need no defence. I have not risen to offend Mr. Douglass and his friends; to any thing of that kind, I am opposed by my whole moral, mental and physical constitution. But here, in the city where Mr. Garrison and the Pioneer Society are known and loved, it is fitting that an opportunity should be tendered for explanation.

SECOND EVENING.

MR. CHAIRMAN,—I disclaim any wish or desire to curtail the list of subscribers for Mr. Douglass's paper. I would not blot from the moral firmament one anti-slavery star. The colored people of Boston, like those of other places, are very delinquent in supporting anti-slavery papers, for even the pioneer sheet, *THE LIBERATOR*, has not from them a tithe of the patronage to which it is preëminently entitled. Let them all remain, to shed light on the slave's path to freedom. It is only because I would have Frederick Douglass's Paper emit a more friendly light, that I stand before you this evening.

Among the articles in Mr. Douglass's paper which I submit in justification of my statement, is that published by him May 27th, headed 'Infidelity,' followed with some of Mr. Garrison's comments, in *THE LIBERATOR* of June 10th.

This censure of the old Society, in consequence of the oft-exploded charges of infidelity against some of its agents, brings to my mind that most eloquent passage in the anti-slavery lectures of

Mr. Douglass, a few years since:—‘Commend me to that infidelity which takes off chains, rather than to the Christianity which puts them on.’

Mr. Douglass, on one occasion, dealt very unhandsomely with George Thompson; but as I have reason to believe he regretted the course he took and the language he used on that occasion, I will waive the reading of his remarks, and the comments of Mr. Thompson’s friends in England. But it seems appropriate that I should present, in this connection, what I then expressed in letters to my friends, and what I always feel when he utters an unkind word toward any of his old friends:—

‘My abiding feeling is one of sincere regret that George Thompson should have been attacked by a colored man, at least such an one historically as Frederick Douglass. He should have pondered *long and well*, before allowing his pen to indite or tongue to utter any thing disparagingly of George Thompson.

If there had been a crime committed, and a necessity for its exposure, the matter would present a wholly different aspect; as it is, I think an indecent haste was exhibited in the performance of a very ungrateful act.’

In Mr. D’s paper of July 22, he calls upon Geo. W. Putnam of Lynn, who has recently become disaffected towards the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, in a manner invoking a renewal of his warfare against them.

But I care not to enlarge, or go into details. My object is not controversy, but simply a presentation of facts, for all parties interested.

Mr. Douglass remarked, that two or three more such speeches as were delivered here by Mr. Foss would heal the wound, (which, after all, was not a very deep one,) between him and his old friends. Happy indeed would I be, Mr. Chairman, if my words on this occasion would be accepted in that light. Let us compare notes by the way-side—let Mr. D. cease his direct and indirect hostility toward his old friends, speak well of or laud to the skies any individuals or parties he may feel disposed to, discuss and argue with them, show his to be a more excellent way than theirs—all this is well and proper; but in doing this, let him not detract from and drag others down; for he and they, though honestly differing as to ways and means, can both work in a general way for the downfall of our common enemy, slavery.

WILLIAM C. NELL.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ *Liberator*, Sept. 2, 1853.

MR. EDITOR:—Rev. Theodore Parker administered, in a recent Sunday discourse, a well-deserved rebuke of the spirit of caste, which in the Puritan city is exhibited towards that portion of God's heritage whose skins are colored unlike the majority; and for an illustration, referred to the concerts of Monsieur Jullien, at Music Hall, from one of which respectable colored persons had been excluded.

It is gratifying, however, to be enabled to say, that this statement, though sadly true at first, has a sequel redeeming in its features, and which would have been cheerfully presented by the speaker, had he been apprized of the facts. They are briefly these:—

A correspondence ensued between the rejected party and Mons. Jullien, who promptly replied, through his gentlemanly agent, Wm. F. Brough, Esq., 'that the exclusion of persons and the proscriptive clause in the advertisement, were both unauthorized by them, and promised that the latter should be at once withdrawn, and the parties and their friends should have the same facilities as other ticket holders.'

Suffice it to say, these agreements were fulfilled to the satisfaction of all concerned, and afterwards, through the series, there were no skin-scanning sub-officials to insult and proscribe such as availed themselves of an equal chance for revelling in the world-renowned music of Mons. Jullien's orchestra.

To a very great extent, the enlightened public sentiment of Boston has rendered obsolete the exclusion of colored persons from places of public resort, (all honor to the Germanians for their course in this respect,) and therefore many might naturally wonder why the example of the Howard Athenæum management should be imitated by door-keepers elsewhere. The solution of this problem may be found in the fact that the colored children of Boston are yet prohibited attending school in their respective wards, but, through summer's heat and winter's cold, must wend their way to the Smith school in Ward Six, subjecting them and their parents to manifold inconveniences, (not to mention the subversion of their rights as citizens,) the only class in the community thus outraged, and which furnishes a pretext for those pro-slavery abettors, who act on the presumption that, as colored children are the victims of proscription in Boston, aggressions may be committed upon colored men and women with impunity.

A desire to tender the *amende honorable* to Mons. Jullien and Wm. F. Brough, Esq., has prompted this communication; and the belief that you, Mr. Editor, cherish the hope that Boston may soon conquer her prejudices against an injured and patient race, warrants its being forwarded to the *Commonwealth* for publication. I remain faithfully yours,

WILLIAM C. NELL.⁹⁵

BOSTON, Nov., 1853.

SOUTHFIELD, Oakland Co., Mich., }
Sept. 6th, 1858. }

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON :

The papers have already, I presume, informed you somewhat of the recent kidnapping case, and the consequent excitement in Cincinnati. I happened to be in Detroit, where the betrayer and his two victims (all colored men) resided, and when the news reached there, you can easily imagine the effect produced upon the colored men and women, many of whom were acquainted with all the parties.

Miss Frances E. Watkins already had a meeting announced for Thursday evening, Sept. 2d, in the Croghan Street Baptist Church, but the arrival of Rev. Henry H. Garnet, fresh from Cincinnati, prompted an attempt to secure the City Hall for a large gathering of the citizens to protest against kidnapping in Detroit; but the Buchanan Democratic Convention being held there, was of itself sufficient to put a veto upon any hope of ingress for an anti-Fugitive-Slave Law demonstration.

The Colored Methodist Conference adjourned its evening session, and thus augmented the numbers which crowded the meeting. The exercises commenced at an early hour by Mr. Garnet's reading the appropriate hymn of Mr. Follen, commencing, 'What mean ye that ye bruise and bind?' This was sung with thrilling effect; after which a fervent prayer was offered by Rev. J. P. Campbell, in which every reference to the traitor, his deserved punishment, his victims and their sad fate, elicited heart-moving responses from various parts of the house.

Rev. Mr. Davis, Chairman, then introduced Rev. H. H. Garnet, who in a graphic and eloquent manner detailed the history of the kidnapping case, tracing Brodie's connection with it under written

⁹⁵ *Liberator*, Dec. 16, 1853.

instructions from the slaveholders, until the imprisonment of the two captives in the jail at Covington, Ky. They had accepted Brodie's pledge to assist their return to the South, with a view to secure the liberation of some of their relatives from slavery. Instead of this blissful realization of their hopes, they were delivered into the hands of their self-styled owners, and by the very man in whom they had most implicitly trusted, receiving each one hundred lashes, and ordered to be sold further South, expressly to cut off all future chance of escape to the North. Mr. Garnet exhibited a pair of manacles, such as were worn by them on their way to jail, and a bull whip, as used in their severe flogging.

The young men of Cincinnati, on learning the facts, with that 'eternal vigilance' which is 'the price of liberty,' succeeded in getting possession of the traitor, and instituted measures for his trial. This occupied two hours, during most of which time Mr. Garnet was present, and it was mainly owing to his intercession that Brodie was not torn limb from limb. He escaped with life, after the infliction of three hundred blows with a paddle—one blow for each dollar of blood money which he had received for doing the infamous work of these Kentucky hunters of men. Two white men, in sympathy with the right, though pretending otherwise to him, acted as police men, and removed him from immediate danger of being killed. He breathed vengeance upon the colored people, threatened to expose the operations of the Underground Railroad, &c. &c.; but when a committee of colored men started for the purpose of hurrying him from Cincinnati, it was found that his gold had bribed the white men, who were endeavoring to screen him from further molestation. But the colored men were determined, and his whereabouts was made known. Brodie delivered himself into the hands of the authorities, who put him in jail to save his life.

It has since turned out that the slaveholding influences united for his defence. State warrants have been issued for the arrest of several colored men charged with participating in his trial and punishment; and the day I left Detroit, some of them had arrived there, to avoid that liability.

But to return to the meeting. Miss Watkins, in the course of one of her very best outbursts of eloquent indignation, charged the treachery of this colored man upon the United States Government, which is the arch traitor to liberty, as shown by the Fugitive Slave Law and the Dred Scott decision. A discussion ensued on the per-

minent question, submitted by Mr. Garnet, What shall be done with the traitor on his arrival in Detroit? A resolution embodying their detestation of the man was passed, and at a late hour, the meeting adjourned.

One of these betrayed men has left a wife in Detroit, and a babe born since his departure. A committee of ladies have called to administer to her wants, and to do what in them lies to save her from the clutches of the kidnapper.

Yours, for the speedy downfall of slavery,

WILLIAM C. NELL.⁹⁶

The following letter shows the keen conception of the significance of history characteristic of this intelligent man, a classmate of Alexander Crummell and James McCune Smith, a worker in the Underground Railroad system, and an ardent abolitionist closely connected with Charles Sumner. To William C. Nell, the first Negro historian of consequence, he gives some interesting facts.

NEWPORT, March 3, 1860.

W. C. NELL, Esq.:

DEAR SIR—I acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to attend the Attucks celebration at Boston, on the 5th inst. I have been cherishing the hope that I could be present; but I find it impossible. I would be with you, because it is an occasion of which I feel proud; proud, because it is to commemorate one, and a prominent one, of a number of incidents, in which colored Americans have played parts for liberty, which will cause their names to live. I might allude to many; I will mention Margaret Garner, who, when hotly pursued by ruthless slave-hunters, killed her little ones; calling upon her mother to assist her in sending their pure spirits to God, to make them really free, and not continue to breathe, and be slaves. Then the noble, nameless black hero of Tennessee; the slave who received seven hundred lashes, and died, refusing to disclose who his associates were, that were plotting for freedom. Then Leary, Copeland and Green, who risked and lost all, save immortal names, for liberty; and that liberty to be enjoyed by others.

As for the colored hero who is the subject of your celebration, I will leave him to the able array of speakers announced to speak; they will speak of him as his bright merits deserve.

⁹⁶ *Liberator*, Sept. 11, 1858.

I will allude to an idea, in connection with Crispus Attucks, which I would be proud to hear Wendell Phillips discourse upon. It is well known that, up to the 5th of March, 1770, there was a hesitancy and a dread felt by the Colonies' best friends, shared by Adams and others equally true to their interest, who hoped for concessions on the part of the mother country; this, though then deemed almost impossible, was nevertheless cherished. But the blow struck by Attucks; his bold defiance of all England; his intrepid leading on the populace, and the encounter—was the decisive blow that led to Independence. Had it not been *then* struck, there might have been delays; and delays, and some concessions following, resulting in a resolve to remain subjects of the mother country. And is it not possible that we might, in that event, now, like Canada, sustain such a relation to England? Then may we not say, that, but for the blow struck at the right time by a black man, the United States, with all that it of right and justice boasts, might not have been an independent republic?

May the moral blows now being struck for freedom by our friends, be as effectual in their consequences as were the blows struck by our forefathers, in so far as they struck off English shackles!

Yours, for the freedom for which Attucks died,

GEO. T. DOWNING.

IX. WILLIAM WELLS BROWN

William Wells Brown, a fugitive slave educated in the North, became a prominent factor in the antislavery movement. He lectured throughout most of the free States in this country, and, along with others, presented the cause to the liberal classes of Europe. Appreciating the value of the written record, he produced several historical works presenting the leading facts of Negro history. He also wrote to antislavery men and agencies a number of letters, some of which are presented below because of their value in studying the history of this country immediately preceding the Civil War.

DEAR FRIEND GAY:—I left Cadiz this morning at four o'clock, on my way for Mount Pleasant. Passing through Georgetown at

about five o'clock, I found the citizens standing upon the corners of the streets, talking as though something had occurred during the night. Upon inquiry, I learned that about ten o'clock at night, five or six men went to the house of a colored man by the name of John Wilkinson, broke open the door, knocked down the man and his wife, and beat them severely, and seized their boy, aged fourteen years, and carried him off into Slavery. After the father of the boy had recovered himself, he raised the alarm, and with the aid of some of the neighbors, put out in pursuit of the kidnappers, and followed them to the river; but they were too late. The villains crossed the river, and passed into Virginia. I visited the afflicted family this morning. When I entered the house, I found the mother seated with her face buried in her hands, weeping for the loss of her child. The mother was much bruised, and the floor was covered in several places with blood. I had been in the house but a short time, when the father returned from the chase of the kidnappers. When he entered the house, and told the wife that their child was lost forever, the mother wrung her hands and screamed out, "Oh, my boy! oh, my boy! I want to see my child!" and raved as though she was a maniac. I was compelled to turn aside and weep for the first time since I came into the State. I would that every Northern apologist for Slavery, could have been present to have beheld that scene. I hope to God that it may never be my lot to behold another such. One of the villains was recognized, but it was by a colored man, and the colored people have not the right of their oath in this State. This villain will go unwhipped of Justice. What have the North to do with Slavery? Ever yours, for the slave.

WM. W. BROWN.⁷⁵

MOUNT PLEASANT, Sept. 27th, 1844.

S. H. GAY,—*Dear Friend*:—I presume that it is not generally known that we are doing anything for the slaves' cause in Western New-York. We are not asleep. We are at present engaged in holding a series of Conventions; the persons attending these meetings are J. C. Hathaway, G. B. Stebbins, J. B. Sanderson, G. M. Cooper, and myself. We held a Convention at Farmington, pursuant to notice. It was a grand meeting,—one long to be remembered. The friends of the slave from a distance were in attendance—friends that had not seen each other for months. They met, all laboring for

⁷⁵ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Nov. 7, 1844.

down-trodden humanity, and each congratulating the other. The main question was Disunion. It was discussed freely for two days. Third party men were there and tried to prop up, or keep us from tearing down the Union, or in other words, to keep us from showing the pro-slavery features of the Constitution; but it was no go. Among the able speeches made, there was one from our esteemed friend, Joseph C. Hathaway, which, by the way, was one that would have done honor to the head and heart of any man in the nation. His powers, as a public speaker, are not known, but ere long, they will be known and appreciated. At the close of the Convention, the call for the annual meeting was announced, and a wish was generally expressed by those present, that some of the esteemed friends might be prevailed on to come out and attend the annual meeting. Should it be announced that William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, or some others of those devoted friends of the cause, would be present, our annual meeting would do double service in the cause of humanity. The main question which will occupy the attention at that meeting, will be the Disunion question, and the aid of such men will be needed. No man in the nation would call together a larger audience in this section, than Wendell Phillips, Esq. The cries of three millions of our countrymen and women are coming to us upon every breeze that comes from the South. The groans of Jonathan Walker, Charles T. Torrey, Burr, Work, and Thompson, are mingled with those of the slaves. Our own citizens cannot have the privilege of free locomotion; they cannot go to the South, and declare that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and apply it to American Slavery, without being thrown into prison, and compelled to drag out years in chains. Their groans should cause every citizen of the North to cry out, NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

Yours, for the cause,

W. W. BROWN.⁷⁶

WILLIAMSON, Jan. 13th, 1845.

WARSAW, (N. Y.) Oct. 24, 1846.

FRIEND GAY:—I never write for the public eye, only when I am compelled. The progress of the cause in Western New-York, or at least in this vicinity, demands that something should be said, and, as I am alone, I must give you some account of the progress of the cause.

⁷⁶ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Jan. 30, 1845.

You are aware that I am in Wyoming county, though I came into the county a few days later than I should have done, having been detained by an accident. Two noble-hearted friends of the slave, John W. Paney, and Rodolphus W. Hewitt, of Weathersfield, took their wives in their wagons, and travelled over thirty miles to meet and welcome me into the county.

Though the weather, for the most of the time, has been unfavorable, my meetings have been large. At Castile, I talked two evenings, and on the second evening I gave them the remedy (disunion); and, for ought that I could see or hear, it was well received. I left, in this place, a number of copies of the "Constitution, a proslavery compact," "disunion," and gave the Standard a large circulation, as you will see. The citizens of Castile are willing to give our cause a fair investigation, and that, you know, is more than the people generally are willing to do. Perry is called the Anti-Slavery town in this county, but I found Castile far in advance of it.

On the 21st instant, I held a meeting at Warsaw. This place is the county-seat for Wyoming county, and these county-seats are hard places; they are a kind of a little city for the surrounding country. Lawyers, doctors, priests, and rogues, are to be found in those places. Though the county court was in session in this place, and in session the evening I held my meeting, we had a good audience, and at the close of the meeting the Hon. Seth M. Gates, made a move, and it was seconded by a Democrat, "Resolved, That Equal Suffrage be extended to coloured citizens," and it was unanimously carried. The next morning I received an invitation from Judge Skinner, the first Judge of the county, to lecture in the Court-House the next evening, saying that he would adjourn the court, and give me up the Court-House, and come and hear me. I, of course, accepted the invitation, and on Friday evening I lectured in the Court-House to a very large audience. Judges, lawyers, doctors, priests, &c. all being present. Gen. Thayer was called to the chair. He is a member of the democratic party, and a distinguished lawyer. The meeting, I think, had a good effect. This adjourning the county court to hear a nigger, shows some progress in Anti-Slavery. This Mexican war has opened the eyes of the people; they begin to look at the American Union in its true light. The period has, indeed, arrived, the crisis has come, when the wise, the virtuous, the patriotic, and the philanthropic of the United States, and the world, must examine into this Americanism, this slaveholding, woman-

whipping, baby-stealing Republicanism. And when the people have examined it, as the members of the American Anti-Slavery Society have done, they will adopt our motto, and raise the cry of "No Union with slaveholders!" The cause is indeed progressing in Western New-York. How could it do otherwise under the management of Joseph C. Hathaway as general agent? He is just the man for the cause, and the cause is just the thing for him. His long and arduous efforts in the temperance cause, in this State, as well as his Anti-Slavery efforts, has gained for him a reputation and the respect and esteem of the people. Charles Lenox Remond, with his soul-stirring eloquence, has given an impetus to our cause in Western New-York. His labours here are appreciated by those who hear him. The people out here begin to see that the American Union is cemented together with the blood, the bones, and sinews of three millions of our countrymen; and they begin to hate the Union, and look upon the Constitution of the United States not only as slaveholding, but as a "Covenant with death and an agreement with hell," to keep our countrymen in chains.

Yours, truly,

W. W. BROWN.⁷⁷

Meetings in Western New-York.

WATERLOO, February, 1, 1847.

MY DEAR GAY:—I must give you some account of my meetings for the last two or three weeks. After the annual meeting at Rochester, I visited Steuben county, and spent some six or eight days in holding meetings in Avoca, Clisbee's, Mud Creek, and Corning, returning to Bath from most of the meetings, and putting up with our friends, Elias Leonard and Henrietta Jane Platt. Their house is humanity's home for Steuben county. All the meetings were well attended. At Corning the meetings were exceedingly large. I held three in the Presbyterian church. My last appointment in the county was at Hammondsport, a village at the head of Crooked Lake. The coloured choir at Bath, composed of eight or ten persons, accompanied me to Hammondsport, a distance of eight miles, on a cold evening, over a very bad road. We arrived at Hammondsport, but the notice of the meeting had not reached there; so we were disappointed in having a meeting. But, a few friends as-

⁷⁷ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Nov. 12, 1846.

sembled at the house of our friend, Joseph Shaut, and there the choir sung some of their melodious and soul-stirring pieces, and at nine o'clock we started for Bath. It is but justice to say, that this choir, composed of coloured persons, is the best in Bath, and said to be the best in Steuben county. My next appointment was at Penn Yan, the county seat for Yates county. This place is the residence of Henry Bradley, a gentleman who figured very conspicuously during the last election as candidate for Governor. I arrived at Penn Yan at half-past six o'clock in the evening, just in time to fulfill my appointment. This being Saturday evening, the meeting was small, it being also held in a small room. The next day, Sabbath, I attended meeting in the forenoon and afternoon in the Congregational church; understanding it to be an Anti-Slavery church. The minister's subject on both occasions was on the "declension of the Church," a very appropriate subject in my opinion at least, for that church. That church being represented to me as Anti-Slavery, I expected to have obtained it for the evening meeting. A good friend, Myron Hamlin, made exertion to get it, but the pro-slavery spirit within could not allow a fugitive slave to plead for his down-trodden countrymen in their house. After refusing to let me lecture in their house, the minister, Mr. Hawley, gave notice that on the next evening they would hold their monthly concert to pray for the slave!

I thought to myself, that if Jesus had been upon the earth, and in that house, he would have said to them as he did to the Scribes and Pharisees, of old, "Wo unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; for ye devour widows houses, and for a pretense make long prayers, therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation." And again, "Ye shall know them by their fruits." This church had gained quite an Anti-Slavery reputation in former years, under the preaching of the Rev. Mr. Minernone, of Syracuse. But I will say, that the Congregational church of Penn Yan, Yates county, N. Y. of which Henry Bradley is a prominent member, is as bigoted, sectarian, pro-slavery a church, as there is in the State of New-York. And yet this high priest of sectarianism has been stumping it through the State during the past fall, calling upon the Whigs and Democrats to leave their pro-slavery political parties and join him: while he remains in a church that shuts its doors against God's poor. I speak of Mr. Bradley because he was nominated by the Liberty party, and recommended by them to the Abolitionists of New-York

as the slave's friend. Mr. Bradley happened into a meeting that my friend, Giles B. Stebbins and myself were holding at Farmington last winter, and when it came to my turn to speak, I very cordially extended an invitation to Mr. Bradley, who came forward and occupied the balance of the evening. But when I met him in his own village, and in his own church, he passed me by like the priest and Levite of old. A friend remarked that Mr. Bradley was the leader of the Abolitionists in their village. As an American slave, then, I said, "save me from my friends." The next day, Monday, I left Penn Yan for Geneva, thence to Canoga, where I had a good meeting.

J. C. Hathaway, C. L. Remond, and myself, held a convention at Seneca Falls, which I think had a good effect. We go from here to West Winfield, Herkimer county, where our friends are to hold a fair on the 10th and 11th of February.

There was a mistake in the time for holding the Waterloo Fair, but the mistake was not yours. The Waterloo, as will be seen by the Standard, is to be held February 25th. I write this in the hospitable mansion of the McClintocks. They are working faithfully for the Waterloo Fair. You shall hear from us from West Winfield.

Yours for the slave,

WM. W. BROWN.⁷⁸

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON :

I have not forgotten the promise that I made you, before leaving America, to give you a letter occasionally for the *Liberator*. You have doubtless learned, ere this, that the steamer in which I came over made the shortest passage ever known. This, I need not inform you, added much to the pleasure of the voyage. Among the unusually large number of passengers on board were four or five slaveholders, and among these was a Judge Chinn, a Louisiana slaveholder, who had been appointed by our democratic government as Consul to Naples, and who was on his way out to occupy his post. The steamer had scarcely left the shore, before it was rumored that an American slave was on board, and that he was going out as a delegate to the Peace Congress at Paris. The latter part of the rumor gave additional interest to it, and soon there was no little anxiety manifested on the part of the passengers to know something of the history of the fugitive. My Narrative,—a few copies of

⁷⁸ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Feb. 11, 1847.

which I had with me,—was sought after, and extensively read, the reading of which produced considerable sensation among the passengers, especially the slaveholding and pro-slavery portion of them. This Judge Chinn had with him a free colored man as servant, and I was somewhat anxious to know what kind of protection he was to receive in travelling in this country, for you will recollect that I made application to the Hon. John M. Clayton, before leaving America, for a passport, which was refused me. So, upon inquiring of this servant, he showed me his passport, which proved to be nothing less than a regular passport from the hand of the Secretary of State. True, it was not from Mr. Clayton, but it was from his immediate predecessor, Mr. Buchanan. This proves conclusively, that if a colored person wishes the protection of the U. S. government in going into any foreign country, he must not think of going in any other capacity than that of a boot-black. Wherever the colored man goes, he must carry with him the badge of slavery to receive the protection of the Americans. The act of the government, in denying to its colored citizens the same protection that it extends to the whites, is more cowardly and mean, if possible, than any act committed for years. But it is entirely in keeping with American republicanism. I am glad to see that the English press generally has denounced this act of high-handed injustice and oppression.

After a pleasing passage of only nine days and twenty-two hours, we arrived at Liverpool. I remained there only long enough to take a view of the place, and then proceeded to Dublin, where I met with a warm reception from the Webbs, the Haughtons, and many other friends of the cause. I have become acquainted with none, since my arrival in this country, to whom I am more attached, than the hospitable family of Richard D. Webb. I remained in Dublin twenty days, but the friends of the slave there would not permit me to leave without adding to their many private manifestations of kindness that of a public welcome, an account of which you must gather from the newspapers.

On the 19th of August, I left Dublin, in company with R. D. Webb, for Paris, to attend the Peace Congress. So much has been said and written about the Congress, that I suppose any thing from me, at this late hour, would be considered stale, to say the least; but I will, however, venture to mention a circumstance or two, that may not have reached you through any other channel. As you are

aware, the Congress met on Wednesday, the 23d, at 12 o'clock, and, strange to say, among the first that I saw on entering the hall, were three slaveholders, who came over in the same steamer with me, one of whom was Judge Chinn; but whether they were members of the Congress or not, I am unable to say. At any rate, they were supplied with the same card of admission that members were. However, they did not show any symptoms of colorphobia so natural to the American taste. A circumstance occurred at the close of the first session, which shows how easily Americans can lay aside their prejudices when they reach this country. While I was in conversation with Richard Codden, Esq., member of the British Parliament, and Victor Hugo, the President of the Congress, I observed a man standing near us, whom I recognized as one of the passengers in the same steamer with me from America, and who during the voyage was not at all backward in expressing his belief in the inferiority of the 'niggers,' and who would not deign to speak to me during the whole passage. At the close of the conversation, and as I was leaving the parties with whom I had been talking, this man advanced towards me with his hat in one hand and the other extended out, and addressed me with, 'How do you do, Mr. Brown? I hope I find you well, Sir.' 'Why, Sir, you have the advantage of me—I do not know you.' 'Why, Sir,' said he, 'don't you know me? I was a fellow-passenger with you from America. I wish you would introduce me to Mr. Cobden.' I felt so indignant at the downright impudence of the fellow, that I left him without making any reply. The change from an American to an European atmosphere makes a wonderful change in the minds of Americans. The man who would not have shaken hands with me in the city of New York or Boston, with a pair of tongs ten feet long, comes to me in the metropolis of France, and claims that we were 'fellow-passengers from America.' M. de Tocqueville, Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave a splendid Soiree to the members of the Congress. I perceived no difference whatever in the attention paid to those of a fairer complexion than that paid to me. I could but contrast the feeling that pervaded that assembly of men and women from all parts of the globe, to the low, mean and contemptible prejudices so common in the U. S. Here were representatives and Ministers Plenipotentiary from all governments, including the United States. Messrs. Walsh and Rush were there, and you know that they are proverbial for their pro-slavery feeling. The whites and blacks were all together, and

I did not hear the word 'nigger' once. If there was any difference paid to one more than to another, that difference was certainly paid to myself, not on account of my complexion, but on account of my identity with the oppressed million in America. On being presented to Madame de Tocqueville, I was received with the same courtesy that characterized the reception of others; but as soon as it was mentioned to the distinguished lady that I was an American slave, all conventionalities were laid aside by a cordial shake of the hand, that gave me double assurance that I was not only safe from the slave-hunter in Paris, but that I was a welcome guest in the saloon of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. While there, I could but think of the bitter cold night in the winter of 1840, when I was compelled to walk the deck of the steamer *Swallow* on the Hudson river, on account of my complexion. I could but think of my being excluded from the saloon of the steamer *Huntress*, on the passage from Portland to Bath, in the State of Maine, but a few days before I left America, by which exclusion I was compelled to fast twelve hours.

The Peace Congress, though entirely different from our New England Conventions, was nevertheless a pleasant meeting, and was made doubly so to me by the appearance, at every session, of that noble band of abolitionists, the Chapmans and Westons. It was really pleasant to see six of them in the Congress at one time. I felt myself fortunate in being known as an abolitionist in America, if for no other purpose than that of sharing their society in France. At the close of the Congress, I paid them a visit at their summer residence at Versailles, and often while there, fancied myself in Boston. But a walk to the window, or the appearance of a French visitor, reminded me that I was in Versailles, and not Boston—in France, and not America. After remaining in France ten days, the most of which time I spent in visiting the monuments and public buildings for which Paris is so noted, I returned to London; where, for the first time, I had the pleasure of seeing that world-renowned philanthropist, George Thompson, Esq. I did not have to wait till he had read the letter of introduction that you were kind enough to furnish me with, before he knew who I was. He had read of the farewell meeting given to me by my colored friends in Boston, together with the announcement in the *Liberator* that I had left for England, and colored men are so scarce here, that as soon as I entered his room, he arose, and smilingly approaching me said—'I

presume this is William W. Brown'; and answering him affirmatively, he gave me a hearty shake of the hand, and bade me welcome to the soil of old England. His first inquiry was about yourself and family, and then about the progress of the anti-slavery cause in America. Mr. Thompson has rendered me signal service since my arrival in this country. You will see by the papers that I am overwhelmed with welcome meetings. I have just attended a very large meeting in the London Tavern, to consider the proposition of the government of Austria for a loan to enable her to pay off the vast debt caused by the late war with the Hungarians. I had been furnished with a ticket for the 'reserved seats' before I went to the meeting; but on entering the hall, instead of being shown to the reserved seats, I was conducted to the platform, and soon found myself surrounded by such men as Lord Dudley Coutts Stewart, M. P., Richard Cobden, Esq., M. P., J. Williams, Esq., M. P., &c. &c. If such a meeting had been held in New York or Philadelphia, I could only have gained access to it by appearing there with a pitcher of water or some stationary in my hands for the use of the meeting, and as soon as that had been deposited on the platform, I would have been saluted with the familiar American phrase, 'I say, nigger, it's time for you to be off.' Here the man is measured by his moral worth, and not by the color of the skin or the curl of the hair.

I forgot to mention to you, that the Rev. Wm. Allen, D. D., of Northampton, made a speech at the breakfast given to the American delegates at Versailles, and in his speech he apologized for our slaveholding government, declaring that it had nothing to do with slavery. His speech, instead of gaining applause for him, brought down the condemnation of nearly the whole audience upon his own head. It is too late in the nineteenth century for men coming from America to attempt to whitewash her slaveholding institution. I am more than ever convinced, that some sterling abolitionist should be in this country at all times, if for no other purpose, to watch American Doctors of Divinity, who may happen to be here.

Yours for the slave,

WM. WELLS BROWN.

LONDON, October 12, 1849.⁷⁹

The following letter from William Wells Brown is significant in that it shows how the abolition movement progressed in Great Britain by virtue of the stimulus which Americans visiting that country gave the cause.

⁷⁹ *Liberator*, Nov. 2, 1849.

DEAR MR. GARRISON :

I forward to you, by this day's mail, the papers containing accounts of the great meeting held in Exeter Hall last night. No meeting during this anniversary has caused so much talk and excitement as this gathering. No time could possibly have been more appropriate for such a meeting than the present. Uncle Tom's Cabin has come down upon the dark abodes of slavery like a morning's sunlight, unfolding to view its enormities in a manner which has fastened all eyes upon the 'peculiar institution,' and awakening sympathy in hearts that never before felt for the slave. Had Exeter Hall been capable of holding fifty thousand instead of five thousand, it would no doubt have been filled to its utmost capacity. For more than a week before the meeting came off, the tickets were all disposed of, and it was understood that hundreds were applying every day. With those who may be classed as Mrs. Stowe's converts, that lady was the centre of attraction for them; while the elder abolitionists came for the sake of the cause. I entered the great Hall an hour before the time, and found the building filled, there scarcely being standing room, except on the platform, which was in charge of the officials, to keep places for those who had tickets to that part of the house. At half-past six, the Earl of Shaftesbury appeared upon the platform, followed by the Committee and speakers, amid the most deafening applause. The Noble Earl, who has many more nobler qualities than that of a mere nobleman, made the opening speech, and, as you will see, a good one. While his lordship was speaking, Her Grace, the Duchess of Sutherland, came in, and took her seat in the balcony on the right of the platform, and an half hour after, a greater lady (the authoress of Uncle Tom) made her appearance, and took her seat by the side of the Duchess. At this stage of the meeting, there was a degree of excitement in the room that can better be imagined than described. The waving of hats and handkerchiefs, the clapping of hands, the stamping of feet, and the screaming and fainting of ladies, went on as if it had been in the programme, while the thieves were at work helping themselves out of the abundance of the pockets of those who were most crowded. A few arrests by the police soon taught the latter that there was no room there for pick-pockets. Order was once more restored, and the speaking went on. Many good things were said by the different speakers, who were mostly residents of the metropolis. Professor Stowe, as you might

expect, was looked upon as the lion of the speakers; but his speech disappointed all, except those of us who knew enough of American divines not to anticipate much from them on the subject of slavery. For my own part, I was not disappointed, for I have long since despaired of anything being done by clergymen; and the Professor's speech at Glasgow, and subsequent addresses, had prepared me to look for but little from him. He evidently wishes for no agitation on the subject, and said it would do no good as long as England purchased America's cotton. I look upon this cotton question as nothing more than to divert the public from the main subject itself. Mr. Stowe is not very young, yet he is only a child in the anti-slavery movement. He is now lisping his A, B, C, and if his wife succeeds in making him a good scholar, she will find it no easy thing.

The best speech of the evening was made by our countryman, Samuel R. Ward. Mr. Ward did himself great credit, and exposed the hypocrisy of the American pro-slavery churches in a way that caused Professor Stowe to turn more than once upon his seat. I have but little faith in the American clergy—either colored or white; but I believe Ward to be not only one of the most honest, but an uncompromising and faithful advocate of his countrymen. He is certainly the best colored minister that has yet visited this country.

I recognized in the audience several of our American friends. Among them was Mrs. Follen, Miss Cabot, J. Miller M'Kim, Miss Pugh, Professor Wm. G. Allen and lady, and Wm. and Ellen Craft. Upon the whole, the anti-slavery cause is in a more healthy state than it ever was before, and from all appearance much good will be done by the present excitement. The fact that no American clergyman has dared to appear at any of the anniversary meetings without professing anti-slavery principles, and that one at least (Rev. Mr. Prime) was denied a seat as a delegate at one of these meetings, shows the feeling already created in Great Britain; and I hope it will soon be understood in America, that no man will be welcomed here, unless he is an out-and-out abolitionist; and then the days of the slave's deliverance will be close at hand.

Yours, very sincerely,

WM. WELLS BROWN.

22 Cecil Street, Strand, London, May 17th, 1853.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ *Liberator*, June 3, 1853.

LONDON, Aug. 29, 1854.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

Having failed in getting a passage in the next Boston steamer, owing to the berths being all occupied, I have taken passage in the steamship 'City of Manchester,' which leaves Liverpool on the 6th of September, and unless some accident occurs, I shall arrive at Philadelphia on or about the 20th of the month. After an absence of more than five years from the United States, I look with a degree of interest to the time when I shall again have the privilege of shaking hands with those noble spirits whose faces I have so often seen in public meetings, and whose voices have so often welcomed me in private. But, oh! the change that must have taken place during these five years! When I look round me here, and see so many who were children when I came, and who are now grown up, and many who were enjoying health that are now in their graves, it causes me to feel that, on my return to America, I shall look in vain for numbers of faces that I have so often seen, and hands that I have so frequently pressed. Although I have travelled more than twenty thousand miles, through the British empire, and delivered more than a thousand lectures, besides attending public meetings, the time seems short. I have been more than once in nearly every town in the kingdom, and have made the acquaintance of some of the finest spirits of the age; and it is with a palpitating heart that I look forward to the day when I must bid farewell to a country that seems like home, and a people whose hospitality I have so long enjoyed. Whether my visit has been of any service to the cause of my enslaved countrymen or not, others must determine. At any rate, it has been of great service to me in enabling me to give my daughters an education, that I could not have given them in the United States, and affording me an opportunity of forming a more just idea of the governments and people of Europe than I could otherwise have done.

I leave my daughters here for a time; the youngest to continue her studies in France, the eldest as a teacher in England. In quitting Great Britain, I am glad, however, to leave behind me so able a representative as PARKER PILLSBURY. There never was a time when the people of this country were more eager to hear of the wrongs of the American slave than at the present time; and should Mr. Pillsbury's health permit, I am sure he will accomplish much for the cause.

I regret that ill health has for some months deprived the cause of the services of JOHN B. ESTLIN, Esq. Of all philanthropists whom I have met in this land, I know of none more devoted, or who would make greater sacrifices for the slave, than Mr. Estlin. I need not say, that in all his good works, he has a valuable coadjutor in his amiable and accomplished daughter. Theirs is indeed a life of usefulness. But when I see you, I can tell you more of them and their sacrifices, than I have time now to put on paper.

With the hope that I shall in a few days take you by the hand, I must conclude with Yours, very truly,

W. WELLS BROWN.⁸¹

Referring to William Wells Brown, May 23, 1854, the *Liberator* said:

The friends of Mr. BROWN in England have kindly contributed the amount necessary to secure his ransom from bondage, so that he can return to his native land without being subjected to the terrible liability of being seized as a fugitive, and scourged to death on a Southern plantation. In a letter to Mr. NELL, he intimates that he may arrive in Boston in June or July. At whatever period he may come, he will find many to give him a most friendly greeting. Our cause never needed his presence and his labors so much as at the present crisis.

The following letter from his daughter JOSEPHINE, addressed to Mr. MAY, we have solicited for publication, as it exhibits the world-wide difference between England and America, (to the eternal shame of the latter,) in the treatment of the colored race. We print it without the alteration of a single word. Its chirography is uncommonly legible and graceful. Only think of the youthful daughter of an American fugitive slave at the head of a school, as teacher, of more than one hundred white young English ladies! Let the fact be published far and wide.

EAST PLUMSTEAD SCHOOL, PLUMSTEAD, }
Woolwich, April 27th, 1854. }

MY DEAR MR. MAY:

I am much obliged to you for the copy of 'A Sabbath Scene,' that you were kind enough to send me, and which my father has

⁸¹ *Liberator*, Sept. 22, 1854.

just forwarded. There is no countryman of mine, whose poems I read with more pleasure than Whittier's, for he always writes something for the slave, and to the purpose.

I read very attentively the anti-slavery papers which come to my father, and often think I should like to be in my native land again. Yet the treatment I receive from the people here is so different from what I experienced in the United States, that I have great admiration for the English. While we resided in Buffalo, I did not go to school, owing to the fact that colored children were not permitted to be educated with the whites, and my father would not send me to the colored school, because it would have been, to some extent, giving sanction to the proscriptive prejudice. And even after coming into Massachusetts, where we were allowed to receive instruction in the same school with white children, we had to occupy a seat set apart for us, and therefore often suffered much annoyance from the other children, owing to prejudice. But here we have found it totally different.

On our arrival in this country, we spent the first year in France, in a boarding-school, where there were some forty other young ladies, and never once heard our color alluded to in disrespectful terms. We afterwards returned to London, and entered a school where more than two hundred young ladies were being educated; and here, too, we were always treated with the greatest kindness and respect. As we were trained in the last mentioned school for teachers, we were somewhat afraid that our color would be a barrier against our getting employment as teachers; but in this were happily disappointed. My sister is mistress of a school at Berden, in Essex, about forty miles from London. I have a school here with more than one hundred pupils, and an assistant two years older than myself. My pupils are some of them sixteen years of age, while I am not yet fifteen. I need not say to you, that both my assistant and pupils are all white. Should I return to America, it is scarcely probable that I could get a school of white pupils, and this makes me wish to remain here, for I am fond of teaching.

If my father and sister were with me, I am sure they would join in kind regards to you.

Believe me to remain,

Yours, very respectfully,

JOSEPHINE BROWN.

Wm. Wells Brown writes to Frederick Douglass, from London, under date of September 1st, that he had recently had interviews with West India Agents and Proprietors, who are not only willing but desirous to secure the emigration of colored citizens to Trinidad and Jamaica. He says:—

Knowing that there were many proprietors and agents dissatisfied with the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, and that a species of slavery had been carried on under the name of emigration, I frankly told these men upon what conditions I thought our people would go to the West Indies.

But as to going there to be bound or fettered in any way, I assured him that no fugitive slave would ever consent to. And although I was assured that the utmost freedom would be enjoyed by all who might consent to go, I understand that a secret move is on foot in London to induce our unsuspecting people in Canada to go to the West Indies, and that agents are already in Canada for that purpose. The Rev. Josiah Henson is said to be one of these.

As my letter in the *Times* first brought this subject before the people, and fearing that some might be entrapped by this new movement, I take the earliest opportunity of warning all colored men to be on their guard, how they enter into agreements, no matter with whom, white or colored, to go to the West India Islands, least they find themselves again wearing the chains of slavery.

A movement that is concocted in secret, and that, too, by men, many of whom would place the chains upon the limbs of the emancipated people of the West Indies to-morrow, if they could, and which is kept from the knowledge of the abolitionists of this country, should find no countenance with our oppressed people. He who has made his escape from the cotton, sugar and rice fields of the Southern States is ready to finish his life among the cold hills of Canada, and, if needs be, to subsist upon the coarsest of food; but he is not willing to enter into a second bondage.

Then I would say again, Beware lest you are entrapped by the enemy!

Yours, for our people,

W. W. BROWN.⁸²

SIR: Had not your many changes and rechanges prepared me to be astonished at nothing that you might say, or do, I would

⁸² *Liberator*, Oct. 20, 1854.

have been somewhat surprised at the attack made upon me by you, in your paper of the 2d of March. You commence by saying "we do regret that he should feel called upon to show his faithfulness to the American Anti-Slavery Society by covering us with dishonour." Let me say to you, Frederick Douglass, that my difference with you has nothing whatever to do with the American Anti-Slavery Society, and no one knows that better than yourself. And I regard such an insinuation as fit only to come from one whose feelings are entirely lost to all sense of shame. My charge against you is, that, just before I left the United States for England, you wrote a *private* letter to a distinguished Abolitionist in Great Britain, injurious to me, and intended to forestall my movements there. In a note which I forwarded to you, to your address at Rochester, on the 20th of January last, I gave you to understand that I had been made aware of your having acted in that underhand manner. The following is a part of the note I sent you more than a month ago. "During my sojourn in England, and several months after my arrival there, and while spending a few days with a friend of yours, the post brought me a letter, which had been re-mailed in London, and it proved to be from you, dated at New Bedford. After I had finished reading the letter, your friend seemed anxious to learn its contents. I handed it to her, with the request that she would read it; your friend appeared much astonished at the kindness expressed by you to me, and exclaimed, 'Douglass has done you a great injustice,' and immediately revealed to me the contents of a letter which she had received from you, some months before, and which was written a short time previous to my departure from America. I need not say that the very unfavourable position in which your letter placed me before your friend, secured for me a cold reception at her hands. I need not name the lady; you know to whom I refer, unless you wrote to more than one." Your attack upon me, in your paper of the 2d inst., in which you ask for "facts," when my note containing the above had been in your possession more than a month, shows too well your wish to make a sneaking fling at me, instead of seeking for "facts," and acting the part of an honourable man. Why did you not give my note a place in your paper, and make such comments as you thought best? No, that would not have suited you. But, anxious to heap insult upon injury, you resort to the mode most congenial to your feelings and sense of justice. Had I not

thought it due to the public to state the above "facts," I would have treated your scurrilous paragraph with that silence and contempt that all such articles so justly deserve. However, no future insinuation of yours, no matter how false or unjust, shall provoke from me a reply.

WILLIAM WELLS BROWN.⁸³

Correspondence of The Anti-Slavery Standard.

SALEM, Ohio, March 19th.

MESSRS. EDITORS: After a fatiguing journey of three days, I find myself in the town of Salem, somewhat noted for being the centre of radical anti-slavery in the Buckeye State. I left Springfield on the morning of the 10th inst., and came very near getting my neck broken before I had arrived at Albany. When within ten miles of Pittsfield, the train run off the track, smashing and otherwise damaging several of the cars, but without injuring any of the passengers. The jolting of the car in which I was seated, until the classic Dante that I was reading was fairly shaken out of my hand, was the first intimation I had of the approaching catastrophe. The next moment, my head was unceremoniously introduced to the top of the car—which, but for its hardness and its being insured, would have been seriously damaged. As our car plunged head first into the snow-bank, an indescribable scene occurred. A tall man, and of otherwise large dimensions, was thrown forward and succeeded in breaking to pieces four seats, before he found himself on all fours. Eight or ten other persons were emptied out of their seats, while the stove was upset. When it was ascertained that all was over, a rush was made for the doors, by those who were not too frightened to run, or could regain their self-possession. But those who attempted to escape found that the doors could not be opened. At this juncture, a scene of rather an amusing character took place. A Frenchman, who spoke very bad English, in trying to get out by one of the windows, became fastened, so that he could neither get in nor out. The tall man that had broken down so many seats, in his exploring expedition, instead of getting up, cried out, "Let's have a word of prayer," and immediately commenced repeating the Lord's Prayer. As I was trying to set the stove right, I heard the cry, "water, water—a lady had fainted," and saw a number of persons crowding to a seat oc-

⁸³ *The National Anti-Slavery Standard*, March 10, 1855.

cupied by the only lady in our car. As the doors could not be moved, neither water nor snow could be procured; and, there being no other women present, of course camphor bottles were scarce. However, an admirable substitute was introduced by the big Scotchman, who, by this time, had finished his prayers. Seeing that neither water, camphor or anything else could be obtained, the Highlander took from his pocket his box of snuff, and at once put a pinch to the lady's nose, which, by the bye, had the desired effect. A moment more, and the lady, with open eyes, exclaimed, "Don't crush my new bonnet." As the engine had not run off the track, it started for Pittsfield for a new set of cars. The day was one of the coldest we have had this winter. The windows of the cars were covered with frost, while the pelting snow was driving in through the ventilators. The trees, with their branches covered with snow and ice, looked like so many chandeliers hung in the forest, and the reflection of the sun upon them, and the snow-birds twittering in their tops, gave them a splendid appearance. The return of the engine with other cars relieved us from our unpleasant position, and enabled us to reach Albany a few hours after the time. Our friends gave me a large and attentive audience at Albany. The next night I spent at Buffalo, where I met some old and attached friends, who would only allow me to go through without a meeting upon condition that I should give them more than one lecture on my return in May. I was met at Cleveland by William H. Day, one of the most promising and intelligent coloured young men in the West, and one who, at some future day, will fill an important position among his oppressed race. You will, no doubt, remember that Mr. Day was editor of the *Aliened American*, published at Cleveland. Last winter, he was, by a vote of the Legislature of the State, excluded from it as a reporter. He is now the Librarian of the Cleveland Association. Mr. Day is about twenty-five years of age, has a fine forehead, expressive eyes, and a mouth beautifully cut, and indicative of decision and energy. Having gone through a regular course of studies at Oberlin, he has a polished education, and is qualified to fill, with credit to himself, the highest place to which he may be called.

Wm. H. Day is one of the few coloured men of this country who are capable of appreciating the anti-slavery cause. Indeed, the movement is too vast to be comprehended by the majority of whites, with all their education. In Ohio, Spring has fairly set in.

Yesterday was a dreary, wet and uncomfortable day, with melting snow and high wind. I cannot give a better idea of the state of the roads here than to assure you that, while I write, a horse with an empty cart is sticking in the mud before my door. But remember I am in a town.

Yours, very truly,

W. W. B.⁸⁴

NEW RICHMOND, Ohio, April 10, 1855.

AFTER lecturing, in most instances to large audiences, in a number of towns between New Lisbon and Massillon, I came on to Cincinnati, by way of Crestline and Dayton, over a new and rather rickety railroad, which made me feel that although my head was insured, it was not entirely out of danger. The long journey was made pleasant by the fine weather and the sun pouring its effulgent beams of warmth and radiance over the fertile country through which we passed. When I inform you that it was at Cincinnati that I escaped from my old master, twenty-one years ago, you will believe me when I tell you that no language which I am master of can adequately describe the strange feelings with which I entered the Queen City of the West. How different the scene now! Twenty-one years ago, Cincinnati had only a population of about 35,000 or 40,000, now it numbers nearly 200,000 souls; then, many of its streets run through swamps and low lands; now, they are beautifully paved and will compare, in point of splendour, with some of our Eastern cities. In company with our friend W. W. Watson, I took a walk to the wharf, to view, once more, the spot where my old master's steamer lay when I leaped on shore, with an empty pocket but a full heart. A few buildings, still standing, enabled me to point out the identical place. The long string of steamers lying, apparently, as I saw them, when, with a throbbing heart and trembling limbs, I started for the land of *freedom*, carried me back to the days when I was a victim to the hydra-headed system that pollutes our moral atmosphere and stigmatizes the national. The lowness of the river brought me more to the Kentucky side, and the mean looking buildings in Covington, and its deserted streets, told too well the want of enterprise which slavery has entailed upon its inhabitants. In the afternoon of the same day, I strolled through the back part of the city, to see if I could recognise the place which was a marshy wood-land when I escaped, and in

⁸⁴ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, March 31, 1855.

which I hid on the memorable day, until night-fall; but the swamp had disappeared, and where trees then stood, now are to be seen the beautiful brick dwellings with their green painted window-blinds. When I escaped, there was no Underground Railroad. The North Star was, in many instances, the only friend that the weary and foot-sore fugitive found on his pilgrimage to his new home amongst strangers, and, consequently, the means of getting away from slavery was not as easy then as now. During my first day at Cincinnati, the Rosetta slave-case was before the Court, and, although I did not see the girl, I saw her claimant, the Rev. H. M. Dennison, and the distinguished lawyers engaged in the suit on both sides. I was pleased with the appearance as well as the speech of ex-Senator Chase. Mr. Chase's successor (George Pugh, Esq.) was Dennison's counsel, and the Reverend slaveholder could not have secured a more devoted tool to the Slave Power than this newly-elected Senator from the State of Ohio. Mr. Pugh is of small stature, with a thin face and a receding forehead; hair, dark brown; nose, long; and eyes rather deeply set. He is a good lawyer, an eloquent speaker, but said to be a most unprincipled man. What a fall Ohio took when she elected this man to take the place of S. P. Chase. I met the Donaldsons, Blackwells and a few others of the slave's devoted friends there, and with whom I was much pleased. It was not intended for me to speak at Cincinnati until the Convention. But our coloured friends would not let me off, so I lectured in the Baker street Baptist church, Bishop Paine in the chair. The following day, Monday, I came to New Richmond, on board the steamboat *Bostona*, and lost my dinner, or rather failed to get it, because I would not eat with the *servants*. However, I enjoyed the trip, although hungry. One can scarcely pass through a more picturesque part of the country than when on a steamer gliding up or down the Ohio river. The beautiful valleys have been made to bloom, new arteries of commerce are filling up every avenue made vacant by the disappearance of the injured red men of the forest. Splendid mansions now sit where the Indian once roamed. The glorious scenery on both sides of the river, the soft and lovely valleys through which the waters of the Ohio linger, with a thousand coquettish wanderings, as if unwilling to leave, and upon whose bosom is here and there a splendid steamer with its steam and smoke curling towards the clouds, gives the whole an indescribable appearance.

A large meeting welcomed me to New Richmond, from which place I visited Laurel, Filicity and Bethel. You will remember that the latter town was the birth-place and residence of Thomas Morris, who first "bearded the lion in his den" at Washington, in his reply to Henry Clay. Mr. Morris lies buried in a sweet spot about a quarter of a mile from the town, where a beautiful monument, with a fitting inscription, points out his grave, and where, like watchful sentinels, the lofty trees stand around.

I have just had the pleasure of shaking the hand of another passenger by the Underground Railroad. He was a young man of fine appearance, and had with him an only child of eight months. The poor man's wife had been given to her young mistress, who was just married, and the young lady wanting the waiting-maid without the "incumbrance," as they say in Britain, the child and disconsolate husband were left behind; and the injured man was told to select another wife. However, he thought the surest way to guard against such another outrage, was to escape. But the determination not to leave his child behind, shows a degree of attachment that cannot be surpassed by the most refined and educated whites. His trembling voice, and eyes filled with the deepest emotion, while he related the story of his wrongs, was an index to a heart filled with the keenest grief. We cannot conceive of deeper, deadlier wrongs than these. There is but little doubt that this poor fugitive, ere this, is safe on the other side of Jordan. The anti-slavery feeling here, so near the slave territory, seems to be more favourable to Free Soil than Free Men. From the window where I am seated, I see the slave toiling on the Kentucky side of Mason and Dixon's Line. Nature could scarcely throw together more picturesque scenery than that which surrounds Frandon, the home of the Donaldsons, from which this is written. Situated in this lovely valley, with the murmuring Ohio running at the foot of the garden, I see the rafts and flat-bottomed boats floating down the river, with the children playing and "roosters" crowing on the tops. From present appearance, the coming Convention at Cincinnati, on the 25th, 26th and 27th of this month, will be well attended. The late slave-case has, no doubt, created a feeling in the Queen City of the West that will give additional interest to the cause at the approaching meeting.

Yours very truly,

W. W. B.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, April 21, 1855.

DEAR MR. GARRISON :

I have been in the State of Maine three weeks, having visited Portland, Bath, and some other towns in their immediate vicinities. In Portland, on Sunday, the 15th inst., we had a good audience at 3 o'clock, and the City Hall crowded to excess in the evening, and on both occasions, the people gave good attention. Just as I took my seat on the platform in the evening, a rather tall, slim, wiry-walking, empty-headed, thin-faced, cunning-looking colored man, came to me, and introduced himself as 'John Randolph, son of John Randolph of Roanoke,' and inquired if I did not want him to introduce me to the meeting. Having, however, become pretty well acquainted with the audience by the afternoon lecture, and not altogether liking the son of the Virginia statesman, I declined the honor of his favor. Nothing daunted, Mr. Randolph took his seat by my side, and remained there during the lecture. Being requested by the committee to stop for a moment or two, to give them an opportunity to take up a collection, I did so, near the close. Mr. Randolph now made himself especially handy in receiving the contribution boxes, and emptying their contents into his own hat, and then busied himself in looking over the funds. I went on and finished up the meeting without interruption, except the clinking of the money. At the close of the evening, and as we were about leaving the Hall, Mr. R. handed me the money, already tied up in his white handkerchief,—which, by the by, was exceedingly highly scented with musk, rose water, or something else, which made it very uncomfortable for me to keep near me. On arriving at Mr. Foster's and opening the handkerchief, we found that John Randolph the younger had picked out the bills and large silver coin, and left us only the three cent pieces and the coppers. A more daring, barefaced theft was never committed than by this impudent scamp, whom I have heard of in nearly every town I have visited, as having been round getting subscriptions to a book he intends publishing, to contain an account of the life of his father. Of course, no such book will ever be forthcoming, and those who give him their money will be victimized by this impostor. Randolph calls himself a doctor, and attempts to lecture on Phrenology. A few days before I was in Portland, he attended the meetings held by Sojourner Truth, and made himself very officious with the collections on these occasions, by which she was the loser. I need not say that 'who steals my purse steals trash,' but he who steals from poor Sojourner Truth is even worse than a common thief.

From Portland, I went to Buxton, and to Bath. At the latter place, we had meetings morning, afternoon and evening. I believe it was the first attempt to hold meetings in the hours of service on Sunday, yet each of the sessions was well attended, and especially in the evening, when the City Hall was very full.

At Bangor, I lectured on Sunday evening, the 29th, and again addressed the citizens on the First of August. On both of these occasions, the City Hall was filled. Tracts were distributed at all the meetings, and the people seemed to take a special interest in the series. I was not a little surprised at the advanced state of public opinion on the subject of slavery in Maine. The prejudice against *condition*, which prevails in most other States, is scarcely noticeable here. I stopped days at the Bangor House, in Bangor, and received the accommodation that was given to those of a whiter hue. Indeed, I could not have been better treated in any hotel in England. This I always regard as a test, as far as the public is concerned.

There is to be a hotly contested election in this State next month. A great effort will be made to get the State to endorse the present pro-slavery, or rather, slaveholding, administration; but I think Maine will repudiate, at the ballot-box, President Pierce and his slaveholding coadjutors. I listened to an able and eloquent speech, last evening, from Hon. Mr. Washburn, M. C. from this State. He has bolted from the old Whig party, and is now doing all in his power to destroy it. With any thing like half the labor that has been given to the cause in Massachusetts, by our Society, I feel sure Maine would be the first anti-slavery State in the Union. This is not because the people are better, but because they are further from the South, and have not so much dealing with slaveholders, as in Massachusetts. The people here appear to be more attached to freedom than to the Constitution or the Union. I have held some dozen or more meetings in the State, many of them on week day evenings, yet they were well attended. The churches in Maine open their doors more readily, and religion does not fit so tightly to the people, as in some other States. Unless the return of my daughters should call me out of the State, I shall spend the remainder of the month here.

Yours, very truly,

WM. WELLS BROWN.⁸⁶

August 6th.

⁸⁶ *Liberator*, Aug. 17, 1855.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

The Convention held at Collins Centre, Erie county, N. Y., on Saturday and Sunday, October 3 and 4, was the most numerously attended of any of the meetings yet held by us. Being within thirty miles of Buffalo, the pro-slavery influence of Millard Fillmore and the Silver-Greys, under the name of Native Americanism, shows itself there without disguise. The Convention came together at ten o'clock, and was addressed by Mr. POWELL and Miss ANTHONY, but no organization was effected until the afternoon, when GEORGE F. RING, Esq., of Collins Centre, was chosen President, and Mr. GEORGE WING Secretary. No resolutions were presented, but the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the subjects which were to be discussed, were fairly laid before the Convention, and the ball set in motion.

After remarks by Miss ANTHONY and Mr. POWELL, Mr. H. A. HEATH, a Republican Methodist, formerly a Houston Know-Nothing, made a short speech upon patriotism in general and the Union in particular, in which the heroism of the dead fathers and the sacredness of the Constitution were eulogized to the utmost capacity of the young speaker. He was, however, answered in a manner that taught him he was only a novice in anti-slavery matters, and hushed him during the remainder of the meetings.

In the evening, the house was crowded in every part, and the meeting lasted till ten o'clock. But the most interesting sessions and the largest audiences were reserved for Sunday, when farmers and others came in from a distance of twenty miles. The sheds and grounds around the church were filled with wagons and other vehicles, and the whole produced such an unusual appearance in that quiet neighborhood, that it called forth the remark from a pious sister, 'This looks like *camp-meetin'* times.'

The political parties, the Union and the Church, were held up before the vast assembly in all their hideous deformities. Our Methodist brethren seemed somewhat annoyed by the picture of their denomination, as painted by Mr. POWELL and Miss ANTHONY; however, they stood the fire far better than I expected.

Three meetings were held during the day, each session several hours in length; yet the people appeared but little disposed to leave when the Convention was brought to a close, at 10 o'clock at night. Mr. POWELL, Mr. DAVID BAKER, of Washington co., N. Y., Miss ANTHONY and myself occupied most of the time. No one ventured to

take sides for either of the political parties or the pro-slavery religious societies. A Mr. Hodge-Podge, the deputy post-master at Collins Centre, a rabid Know-Nothing, and one who his nearest neighbors say had a claim to the name of 'know-nothing' long before such a party came into existence, insultingly inquired what the Garrison Abolitionists could do by their 'blatting.' Mr. POWELL replied, and settled the Buchanan official, so that he did not open his mouth again. Mr. HEATH, the patriot of the first day, excused himself from speaking, upon the ground that he was not equal to the combat with such practised speakers, and that he did not wish to discuss politics on the Sabbath. But it was evident to the audience, that it was the truth we uttered that the Methodist brother was afraid of, and not the eloquence of the speakers.

The Collins Convention was indeed an interesting and important meeting, and already its influence is felt for good.

Mr. POWELL goes to Jamestown, Miss ANTHONY to I don't know where, and I to Buffalo. We all, however, are to meet at Girard, Pa., next week, where we are to attend another Convention.

Yours, for the right,

WM. WELLS BROWN.⁸⁷

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

After attending the New York State Fair at Buffalo, on the 9th instant, and lecturing in the Rev. Dr. Prime's church, on Sunday evening the 11th, I visited Cataraugus county, and held meetings at Bagdad and Cataraugus, where I had large audiences. From the latter place I made my way to Girard, a village in one of the extreme counties in Western Pennsylvania, where Miss Anthony, Mr. Powell and myself were to attend a Convention. For want of interest in Girard, our friends changed the arrangements, and advertised us to lecture in separate places, which, upon the whole, worked well, for we found crowded houses and willing listeners in all of the gatherings. The strictest attention was paid to the most radical doctrines upon the Government and the Church. Although settled several years, this seems a comparatively new country, the log cabins of the early settlers still being occupied. To a New Englander, this part of our 'glorious Union' appears very strange. The people are generally kind and hospitable, but wonderfully green. But the oddest feature in our meetings is the swarms of

⁸⁷ *The Liberator*, Oct. 23, 1857.

little ones. O, the children! I never beheld so many babies in so short a time, since the commencement of my anti-slavery labors. At one meeting last week, I counted *twenty-seven* babies in their mothers' arms or in their laps. And such music I never before heard. Take an untuned piano, a cornstalk fiddle, a Swiss hurdy-gurdy, and a Scotchman with his bag-pipes, put them all in one room, and set them agoing, and you will have but a faint idea of the juvenile concert we had that evening. I waited till a late hour before commencing the meeting, with the hope that the little ones would stop; but I waited in vain. After being reminded by the dusty clock on the wall that it was ten minutes past seven, I counted five babies, whose open mouths were sending forth delicious music, and then commenced my lecture. I raised my voice to the highest note, and the little ones and I had it, 'which and tother,' for some time. At last, I was about giving it up as a bad job, when an elderly gentleman near me said, 'Keep on, sir, the babies will get tired by and bye, and will go to sleep.' This encouraged me, and I continued with renewed vigor; and sure enough, a half an hour more, and I realized the advice of the old man; for, as the clock struck 8, I found the babies all asleep, and I master of the field. It is astonishing how little the people out here are disturbed by the noise of the children; but I presume they have become used to it.

Mr. Isaac Brooks, one of the most devoted friends of freedom in this section, met us at Lockport, and took Mr. Powell and Miss Anthony to Linesville, some twenty-five miles, while I remained and lectured a second time. We could not have wished for a more enthusiastic or better attended meeting than we had at Linesville. The place of meeting was a double school-house, with the partition opened, and the two rooms thrown into one. The Baptist church, the only religious building in the town, was shut against us. The Convention commenced on Saturday morning, and continued till Sunday night at half past 10, and was addressed by Miss Anthony, Mr. Powell and Myself. Unfortunately for the cause, Mr. Powell was indisposed, having taken a severe cold, which threatens to be serious. Nevertheless, he did good service, and the Convention was one of the best of the series. The Church, the Republican party and the Union claimed most of our attention. The Republicans in Pennsylvania are less anti-slavery than in any of the places I have yet visited. Mr. Wilmot, in a speech made at Erie just before the election, said—'The Democrats call us an abolition party, but I hurl

the foul slander back into their teeth.' We find but little difficulty in most places about getting up meetings. The better portion of politicians of the Republican or Free Soil stamp attend our Conventions, and some help in getting up meetings. While I write, two or three Republicans are in the adjoining room, arranging for future lectures in other towns.

At Linesville, we found another large crop of children. The scene on Sunday beggars description. The house where we held the meeting was jammed in every part, except a small space in the centre of the room, where there were no seats. On their mothers' laps lay a dozen or two babies, while five or six who were old enough to run alone were let loose on the unseated spot on the floor. The latter were supplied with various articles to keep them quiet. One had its father's cane; a second a tin horn; a third its mother's bonnet; and a fourth its father's jackknife. One little boy, seven or eight years old, was lying on the floor, nibbling at his younger brother's toes, while the latter lay in its mother's arms, nibbling at something more substantial. One bright-eyed boy was chasing a dog about the floor; while another, with two caps on his head, was sailing about to the amusement of the other little ones. In different sections of the room were children standing on the tops of the desks, or hanging around their fathers' or mothers' necks. At this juncture, the house looked as if Barnum's baby show had adjourned to our meeting. Miss Anthony seemed very much amused at a little woman in a pink bloomer, seated on the front bench, with her feet, not long enough to reach the floor, hanging down, while a child a few weeks old, in her arms, nibbled away at its *dinner*.

O, the noise! I will not attempt to describe it. Suffice it to say, that some babies were crowing, some crying, and some snoring, while mothers were resorting to all sorts of means to keep their babies quiet. One was throwing her child up, and catching it; another patting her foot, and another singing 'bi-lo-baby.' You may guess how difficult it was to be heard in such an assembly. My head aches now, from the great exertion that I made to be heard above the noise of the children. And poor Powell, I pitied him, from the bottom of my heart, for he had not strength to speak to a still audience, to say nothing of such a noisy one as this; and while he was speaking, as if to make the scene more ridiculous, a tall, brawny man walked in, and, the benches being full, seated himself on the stove, which he thought had no fire in it,—but he soon found it too

peppery for comfort. Just then, a child tumbled from the top of one of the desks, and Mr. Powell made his bow and retired. But they give us rice pudding out here for breakfast, and that gives me strength to meet the babies.

We are to hold meetings at Albion, Lockport, Coneautville, and one other place, the name of which I have forgotten, and then we go to Painesville. The people here are all alive for the Cleveland Convention, and we anticipate a large gathering and a glorious time.

Yours, truly,

W. W. BROWN.⁸⁸

Linesville, Oct. 20, 1857.

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

Previous to attending the Painesville Convention, I lectured at Conneautville, Wellsburgh and Lockport. At the first-mentioned place, the meeting was held in the Baptist church, and I was followed the next evening by Mr. Powell and Miss Anthony, who intended to speak two evenings, if a place could be found in which to hold the meetings. But their faithfulness to the slave caused the church officials to *suspend* after the first night. At Wellsburgh, I had a very large and enthusiastic audience, and the meeting lasted till a late hour. Miss A. and I spoke at Lockport, where she made one of the most impressive speeches I ever listened to, which raised her high in the estimation of that little 'one horse village.' The Painesville Convention was well attended throughout, and left a good impression in the place. The illness of Mr. Powell, however, threw a damper over the feelings of his travelling companions, and his being compelled to return home fills us with apprehension and fear for his future health. We must hope for the best. He is too self-sacrificing and too eloquent an advocate of the slave to leave the field so young. To know him, is to love and admire him. Now that he has left us and gone home, I can speak of him the more freely. It was never my lot to travel with a more devoted or a more companionable person.

We left Painesville at half-past 2, but were late in reaching our places of meetings. Miss Anthony left us at Mentor, where she found a warm welcome at Mr. Clapp's, and had a full house. I went on to Kirtland, the place where Joe Smith and his followers started a colony twenty-four years ago. The Temple built by them

⁸⁸ *Liberator*, Oct. 30, 1857.

still stands. It is made of rough stone, two stories high, and the roof pierced with five windows on either side, and looks very much like Faneuil Hall, and is about the size of that venerable pile. I stopped with Mr. Martindale, an old and unsophisticated farmer, who was glad to extend to me the hospitalities of his home. The meeting was held in the Baptist church, and, owing to the shortness of the notice, was small, but we were cordially invited to return.

On our way to Cleveland, our horse lost a shoe from one of his hind feet, which impeded our progress, and we did not reach the city till after 12 o'clock, when Dr. Brooke took charge of his aged friend, and relieved me of a not very interesting looking racer. Seeing in the *Bugle* an advertisement that the Bennet House was the best place for delegates to stop at, I went there—was told I could be accommodated, registered my name, and feeling a little hungry, prepared for dinner. When 'dinner' was sounded, I joined our anti-slavery friends, and started for the dining room; but, to the surprise of our party, I was met at the door and told that I must wait, and eat at the second table. To this proposition I said, 'No.' Some of our party, in their hurry for dinner, and being in the crowd, and not aware that I was excluded, took seats at the table, and partook of the viands. But Mr. Powell, Miss Anthony, Mr. Foss and Mrs. Colman, knew too much of the negro hate in the country to leave me until they saw me safely seated at the table. Therefore, when I was turned out, they followed me. As we left the dining-room, I heard a strong voice say—'If you turn my friend Mr. Brown from your table, you are a scoundrel.' I was not near enough to see who it was that uttered that sentence, but I should not wonder if he who thus gave vent to his justly indignant feelings was somewhat related to Andrew T. Foss. We soon assembled in the sittingroom for consultation, and had scarcely taken our seats, when the landlord (for the proprietor himself was from home) entered, and endeavored to still the troubled waters. He proposed to sit a *side table* for our party, let us take our meals in our rooms, or any thing except my going to the table. But he found us true to principle, and he called to his aid a friend of the proprietor. The conference lasted an hour, and finished with the landlord asking my pardon, throwing off all justification, and allowing me to take my seat at the first table. For the accomplishment of this, too much praise cannot be given to Miss Anthony,

Mrs. Colman, Mr. Foss and Mr. Powell, especially the last, whose judgment is always good, and whose moral courage is of the stamp of Luther. I remained three days, and was never better treated than while at the Bennet House.

I have only a word to say about the Convention, and that is, to express a regret that the Committee should have thought fit to postpone the Northern Disunion Convention. That act threw a wet blanket over the meeting that we held, which kept us cool during all the sittings. However, the meeting was not without its good results.

Yours, truly,

WM. WELLS BROWN.⁸⁹

DEAR MR. GARRISON:

I spent four or five days in Cleveland after the adjournment of the Convention, and discovered the almost only redeeming feature about that priest-ridden city. That redeeming feature is the intelligence, industry and respectability of the colored citizens. Though not large, the colored population of Cleveland surpass in thrift the same number in any other place in the North. Indeed, they will compare most favorably with an equal number of whites in any portion of Ohio. Most of them are from the South, where they were free, but were driven out by the tyrannical and oppressive laws of slavery, which they were unwilling longer to endure. Some of them are in good circumstances, and are engaged in business, employing their own capital. Messrs. Oliver & Henderson have a large and well-stocked store on Erie street, and appear to be liberally patronized by their white fellow-citizens. They are from Richmond, Va., and reside in their own dwellings. Mr. Oliver, though a resident of a slave State, managed to educate his children, and to bring them up with far more credit than most whites of the South. His two daughters are highly cultivated, and would grace any drawing-room in the land. The youngest is a sweet singer, and performs beautifully on the guitar. They feel deeply interested in the Anti-Slavery cause, and need only to become better acquainted with our movement to embrace it most cheerfully. Mr. Morris is from North Carolina. He is a merchant tailor, and has a fine run of custom. He is an educated man, and Mrs. Morris would do honor to any society in which she might appear. Mr.

⁸⁹ *Liberator*, Nov. 6, 1857.

Parker keeps a provision store, and resides in a fine brick house, owned by himself. He is employed on the Mississippi river, and leaves the management of the store to Mrs. Parker, who possesses what Fowler calls 'goaheadativeness' to a far greater extent than most women. She would be a fortune to any business man. Mr. Swing and Mr. Stanley are tin manufacturers, and each has an establishment of his own. Mr. Marshall keeps a grocery, and another man, whose name I did not learn, has a blacksmith shop, and is doing well. Miss Allston, an accomplished young lady, is a teacher of music, being very proficient on the guitar and piano. Miss Stanley is a teacher in one of the day schools, and her education places her in the front rank of her profession.

There are many other colored persons in Cleveland who are doing well, and whose elevated positions will contribute much to the cause of the slave.—Amongst these are Mr. Vosburgh and Mr. Leech. The former rents out houses to his white neighbors, and the latter is a physician. Mr. Vosburgh deserves great credit for his industry.

The colored citizens of Cleveland took decidedly more interest in the late Convention than the whites; and the respectability and high tone of morals that characterize them have opened the doors of the public schools to their children. This fact alone speaks volumes for the colored citizens there. There are nearly seven million dollars' worth of property owned by this proscribed people in Ohio. Some of their farms are the finest I have seen. Colored mechanics are numerous here, and I write this letter under the hospitable roof of a black man who owns forty acres of land, and the grist-mill that stands upon it. Still, this man is shut out from the polls on election day, and his children kept out of school by law, while Ohio has been governed the last two years by a Republican State administration. Shame upon the party! for, like the Democrats, they believe that colored men 'have no rights that white men are bound to respect.' There is much negro hate, or what is called 'prejudice,' here, against all who have a drop of African blood coursing in their veins, and they need line upon line and precept upon precept.

A few evenings since, I met with a quaint old couple, who raised my mirthfulness to its highest pitch. The old man talked about little, except Andrew Jackson, and the wife thought that the greatest man that ever lived was Lorenzo Dow. All the sayings of

General Jackson were rehearsed by the former, with the tobacco juice flying in every direction. The old lady thought, that 'if we only had such preaching now-a-days as Lorenzo Dow used to give us, slavery would soon die.' She feared that I had not religion enough, and got out Dow's life and sermons. As an offset, I took out a copy of *THE LIBERATOR*, and showed her a paragraph in a Southern paper, giving an account of the burning of a slave in Alabama. She read it, and seemed much moved. I told her that my religion was to help do away with the curse of American slavery. She drew up her face in an indescribable shape, and said, 'Well, it is too bad to burn people in that way. If the blacks commit murder, they ought to hang them *decently, and in a Christian-like manner*, and not act like barbarians.' I left the good people the next morning, knowing more about Gen. Jackson and Lorenzo Dow than I had thought it within the possibility of man or woman to teach me.

Having accepted an invitation to lecture again at Kirtland, I returned to that place on Thursday, the 15th, and spoke in the Baptist church to a large audience. I lectured in the same place the following evening, to an increased assembly.

At Euclid, I stirred up a hornet's nest among the Democrats, by saying that the present Administration was only a tool of the Slave Power. A supporter of James Buchanan produced the *Day Book* as an anti-slavery paper, and claimed that his party always intended to keep slavery out of Kansas. Finding that reason could have no influence upon such a man, I turned his whole course into ridicule, and the audience laughed him out of the hall. There is an old adage, that 'you must scorch a Muscovite to make him feel.' So it is with an inveterate supporter of the 'peculiar institution.'

A Convention was advertised to be held at Windsor on Saturday and Sunday, the 7th and 8th inst., where I was to meet Mr. Howland and Mrs. Colman; but the meetings were nearly washed away by a five days' storm. My almost iron frame yielded to the fatigues of a twenty-seven miles' ride over a rough road, through a drenching rain, that took us eight hours to accomplish the journey, and I was compelled to give the meeting up to my friends,—with the exception, however, of the morning, when I spoke half an hour or more.

I am now with a new company. Mr. Howland takes the place of Mr. Powell, who returns home on account of ill health, and Mrs.

Colman fills the post made vacant by the absence of Miss Anthony, whose labors are needed in Eastern New York.

From Windsor, I visited Bloomfield, where I found that the reading of my drama a year ago in an adjoining county had created an impression in my favor, and I was hospitably entertained in the princely mansion of Charles Brown, Esq., who obtained, at his own expense, the Disciple Church for my second lecture, the first having been held in the vestry of the Presbyterian church. I could not have wished for better audiences or more patient listeners than I had at Bloomfield.

Upon the whole, I think our work goes on prosperously out here. In country places, the people come many miles on horseback and in wagons to attend the Conventions and meetings; and though they differ from us, they give good attention to what is said.

Next week, I shall be back in the edge of Pennsylvania, where I expect the *little ones* will welcome me with shouts of applause, in their way. But Dr. Johnson once said, 'Catch a Scotchman when he's young, and you may make something of him.' So I think, if we take the little people here, we may train them up in the way they should go. My great trouble now, however, is, mud. In many places, the roads are almost impassable.

Faithfully, yours,

WM. WELLS BROWN.⁹⁰

Green, (Ohio,) Nov. 12, 1857.

⁹⁰ *Liberator*, Nov. 20, 1857.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Aftermath of the Civil War. By WILEY BRITTON, author of *The Civil War on the Border*. (Kansas City, Missouri, Smith-Grievess Company, 1924. Pp. 312. Price \$2.00).

The author's claim as an historian rests largely upon his interesting story entitled *The Civil War on the Border*, a fascinating narrative of the adventures of guerillas, in which he himself was a participant. This experience made it possible for him to produce also this volume of a slightly different tenor. Written from a point of view of a factor in the events which the book presents, moreover, it is also an informing work of special concern to those desiring first-hand information of this section. At the same time, the author interweaves so many references to the national history that the book will attract the attention of a large number.

The writing of this book was suggested while the author was conducting an investigation of war claims as a representative of the government. Having had an opportunity to examine more than 15,000 witnesses and claimants covering a period of upwards of twenty years, and having these people sitting down before him, replying to questions touching every conceivable subject, the account of this effort of the government is naturally valuable. He travelled by rail and team in nearly every township in West Tennessee and over the greater part of northern and southern Arkansas. He kept, too, the old dockets, names and post office addresses and other data of the persons whose claims were investigated.

The students of Negro history would probably be interested in his references to the Negro participants in the Civil War (166). He has much to say in chapter IX on Negro witnesses brought into the investigation of the war claims to prove taking and use by the army of the property charged for. How these witnesses were drilled by the interested claimants that they might tell a well-connected story is informing. He states, however, that not very many Negro witnesses were used to prove claims, for most of the slave holders were secessionists in the Confederate

Army or connected with it and were not entitled to the benefits by the act of July 4th, 1864, for the further reason that those who could conscientiously claim pay from the government for property taken from them were not slave owners. After the country was occupied by the Federal forces, moreover, nearly all the able-bodied Negroes left their masters and early in 1863 enlisted as soldiers.

Speaking of the Negro witnesses, the author was especially struck with evidences of race admixture. He says "there had been some miscegenation of the races in all the Southern States, and now and then there were met with individuals who were classed with the Negroes, and yet who had so little Negro blood in their veins that strangers could not detect it. They might have passed in other parts of the country for Caucasians. In the investigation of a claim, the Special Agent had the name of a witness who lived in the country five or six miles northwest of Jackson and drove out to call on him and take his deposition. In the course of the examination, he mentioned the fact that he had served in a certain regiment of U. S. Colored troops in the war, and that his name was different from that of his master and explained the reason. Looking up at him, the Special Agent was surprised, for he could not see any indication of Negro blood in him. Besides he seemed fully as intelligent as the average white man met with. His associations, however, were altogether with the colored people. Even where it was generally known that the mulatto children of a slave owner were his children, it did not seriously affect his social standing in the community.

Population Problems. By EDWARD BYRON REUTER, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology in the University of Iowa. (J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, London and Chicago, 1923. Pp. 338. Price \$2.00.)

This is a work of Lippincott's Sociological Series edited by Edward Cary Hayes, Professor of Sociology, University of Illinois. Volumes of this series include such works as *Social Work in the Light of History* by Stuart A. Queen, *Political Action* by Seba Eldridge, *Recent Developments in the Social Sciences* by seven representatives of the field, *The Structure and Function of Primitive Social Systems* by Alexander Goldenweiser, *Sociological Foundations*

of *Education* by David Snedden, *Group Conflicts* by Herbert Adolphus Miller, *Social Progress* by Ulysses G. Weatherley and *Criminology* by E. H. Sutherland.

This particular book undertakes to state the problem of population, its composition and distribution, the pre-Malthusian doctrine, and the Malthusian together with other theories. It treats of the growth of population, the tendency toward increase, the birth rate in contradistinction to death rate, emigration, immigration, the quality of differences in population, native ability, race mixtures, inferiority, and superiority. In the development of the subject, the author makes an effort to be scientific, and he has certainly done a much better piece of work than in the case of his *Mulatto in the United States*. *Population Problems* as a whole, however, is merely a summary of various theories and opinions with respect to the elements of our population. After bringing all of these questions into the work, one would expect an answer in the light of scientific investigation. While at times the author discounts a good many of these opinions which have been advanced, the facts are presented in such a way as to lead the layman to think that some of these unwarranted conclusions are accepted by serious thinkers as the truth. Considered, then, from the point of view of a summary of the problems of population which have arisen, it may be regarded as a useful book; but for adequate information as to what history has shown to be the best method for solving such problems and what science has determined to be fallacy rather than reason, the book is not up to the standard.

In the chapter on "Race and Race Mixtures," the author has much to say about the Negro. He observes that in spite of the confident assertions of certain psychological experts to the contrary, and the testimony of men of long association with the Negro people, there is probably "no sufficient ground for the general opinion that the race is so inferior by natural endowment as to be forever incapable of reaching the level of white culture and destined, therefore, always to remain an inferior group in the population. That the culture differences between the races are, at least in the main, matters of custom and tradition is coming more and more to be the consensus of scholarly opinion. A longer period of contact and opportunity will obliterate peculiar habits of mind, and members of the race will reach in increasingly large numbers the higher levels of modern culture."

While this statement with respect to the natural endowment of the Negro is accepted as the present consensus of opinion among scientists, the student of present day conditions will hardly agree that the author has stated the actual condition of the Negro when he says the amount of vice and criminality, as measured by police and court records, is high, that as a result of poverty and ignorance they live under conditions that make mental and physical efficiency well-nigh impossible, and that the group as a whole is backward, discouraged and lacking in pride of race or achievement. The word *criminality* here in referring to the Negro should not be used, for the Negro is the victim of brutal police and hostile courts, and he is denied a voice in the government. What is considered crime in the case of the Negro, moreover, would be commended as an act of humanity if accredited to a white man. The mental and physical efficiency of the Negro, the author should know, is not made impossible by poverty and ignorance so much as it is by an organized effort to keep the Negro in a certain place.

It is a mistake, moreover, to think of the Negro race as a whole as being backward, discouraged and lacking in pride of race or achievement. It is difficult, also, to harmonize this statement of the author with another that "the Negro is making advance and with every advance becomes less tolerant of injustice and abuse and more insistent that he be allowed the rights and opportunities of other members of the society. And every advance that he makes quickens the prejudice of those persons who are convinced of his native inferiority and determined to keep him socially inferior. The problem is to maintain a friendly working relation between the races during such time as may be required for the disappearance of the handicapping prejudice, through the enlightenment of the whites, and the ultimate disappearance of the problem through the disappearance of the Negro himself."

Here the author actually concedes the truth that the uplift of the Negro is more a problem of converting the white man than it is to arouse the Negro himself. This prophecy of the author, moreover, is interesting: "Artificial barriers to the acquisition of culture must everywhere break down as a result of the influence of civilization. The line of color seems destined to cease to be the line of caste. Approximately equal opportunity would create an aristocracy on other lines than that of skin coloration. Increasing communication and contact and the consequent in-

creasing uniformity of ideas, customs, and standards would minimize racial differences. Competition eliminates, selects, and brings men together on other bases than those of tribal marks. Above all, personal competition must supersede caste competition, which puts groups rather than individuals in positions of inferiority and superiority."

The Basis of Racial Adjustment. By THOMAS JACKSON WOOFTER, JR., Ph.D., Commission on Interracial Cooperation. (Ginn and Company, Boston, 1925. Pp. 258. Price \$1.40.)

A much less valuable work than that of Mr. Reuter is this of Mr. Woofter, dealing with many of the same problems, and intended for the similar use of the dissemination of information bearing upon racial adjustment and interracial cooperation. The author has been concerned with these questions in his capacity as a worker with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. He hereby endeavors to speak out of his experience.

The book is intended to meet a well-recognized need of emphasizing "the vital and ever-present nature of the Negro problem and the danger of leaving its solution to mob violence and blind prejudice." This work is indorsed by the Commission of Interracial Cooperation in the belief that it will check race antagonism and lay the foundation for intelligent action. It is claimed that its opinion reflects the general recognition among thoughtful persons that problems of racial adjustment can and should be attacked in the same detached spirit as problems of engineering. The aim of the author, too, is to supply a text for college course, the lack of which has been an obstacle in the introduction of the study of the Negro problem in courses in sociology. Observing that the facts usually presented in such courses now being offered have been widely scattered and that the literature for the most part has been colored by special pleading or prejudice, the author feels that he has removed these difficulties by assembling concrete facts in accessible form. To facilitate further study, moreover, he has added topical bibliographies to supplement each chapter and has given topics for study and discussion to stimulate individual thought and first-hand observation.

The book is based on the misinterpreted doctrine of Booker T. Washington that the races might be "as separate as the fingers yet united as the hand." Although there is no evidence that

Booker Washington had the idea of preaching segregation, the author believes that the races may develop separately and distinctly along lines very much as it has happened in the case of the Jews and Gypsies (page 3). But the increasing race prejudice against the Jew is at present making him decidedly uncomfortable and the Gypsies are not generally thought of by the whites in any sense as a desirable class. Booker Washington's idea was merely that in spite of the fact that race prejudice was such that for years to come the races would remain separate and distinct, the antagonism was not and should not become such as to prevent them from cooperating along lines in which friction would be improbable. It is a reflection on the wisdom of the great educator even to hint that he looked upon the separation as ideal when he was merely suggesting a plan for making the most of an undesirable situation. If the author contends that this is merely a matter of opinion and that his is entitled to as much weight as that of the reviewer, we have the life of Booker T. Washington himself as evidence to the contrary; for he socialized with best people in this country and with the crowned heads of Europe. History does not show that there has ever been any such thing as continuous racial cooperation with the two races remaining forever separate and distinct in things social. Cooperation in the one has always led to cooperation in the other.

The very plan and purpose of the book, therefore, are all worked out on the basis of opinion rather than of science. In support of these ideas, moreover, the author clearly shows that he is uninformed with respect to the facts of Negro life and history. Some of the sources upon which he depended are known to be questionable, and facts which he collected were too often misunderstood. In many cases, too, he left unsaid facts far more eloquent than those which he presented. Some of these omissions, however, may be justified on the ground that space did not permit a more extensive treatment under any one heading; but this very excuse itself deprives the book of its claim that it is suitable for a text in college courses. The average student of social science taking such a special course as one in racial relations is about already as well informed as to the status of the Negro in this country as the author seems to be himself. The book may justly claim the merit of bringing together interesting information in handy form, but it is inadequate as a text for college.

Toussaint Louverture. By GEORGIANA R. SIMPSON, Ph.D., Instructor Dunbar High School, Washington, D. C. (Washington, D. C., the Associated Publishers, Inc., 1925. Pp. 139. Price \$1.10.)

This is Gragnon-Lacoste's biography in French edited by Dr. Simpson. The writer of this narrative was a member of the Académie des Sciences, Belles Lettres et Arts of Bordeaux, of the Académie de Legislation of Toulouse, and of the Commission on Historical Monuments. He also wrote several works on San Domingo. He had in some respects that interest in the Negro manifested by the "Société des Amis des Noirs" founded in 1788 under the presidency of Condorcet, and composed of such members as La Rochefoucauld, Brissot, La Fayette, Robespierre, and the Abbé Grégoire.

Dr. Simpson's purpose in editing this work is to present this interesting story as stimulating reading matter for French classes. While thus planned for teaching a language, the work is intended at the same time to increase the student's knowledge of history. The work will, therefore, prove to be useful not only to the teachers and students but will make a useful volume for anyone interested in studying Western civilization as it affected the Negro rising in the French colonies more than a century ago.

This work, then, is a stepping stone to the radical change in the purpose and aim in our educational publications. The education of any group should be liberal. The student in the United States suffers from the lack of such opportunity in that from his youth up he is taught from books proclaiming the achievements and virtues of heroes and heroines of one race only. If such students had the opportunity to learn something of men and women of distinction of other races, there would be more toleration and more appreciation of the achievements of persons of all groups.

In this story, however, one will not find propaganda. It is merely the narrative of the unusual deeds of an exceptional man. With little opportunity for development, the hero of the story made himself a leader of men. Against tremendous odds he hurled his ill equipped soldiers at the military force of France, representing the proudest blood of Europe. He humiliatingly defeated these Frenchmen, and laid the foundation of an independent republic. No story is more fascinating than this. Few writers have written a narrative as gripping as this of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the warrior, the hero, the savior of his country.

NOTES

The Tenth Anniversary of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History will take place in Washington, D. C., on the 9th and 10th of September. Believing that it is a distinct achievement to come to the end of a decade of this undertaking to embody the civilization of the Negro, the management is making a special effort to attract national attention to this meeting. Persons of distinction of both races living in the North and in the South will attend this celebration.

The program will doubtless be the most interesting of any meeting so far held. There will be a session of a reminiscent nature surveying the failures and successes of the work, a presentation of the Negro in Africa as an inviting field, the civilization of the Negro as influenced by the transition from Africa to the West Indies and from the West Indies to the United States, Negro labor since the Civil War, a century of Negro migration, the Negro Church and the development of the Negro in business. There will also be a banquet free for all members of the Association who will notify the management in time to make the necessary preparation.

The Editor is now making a collection of letters written by Negroes during the crisis from 1800 to 1860. Persons having letters of the sort on hand will greatly aid this effort by supplying the Editor with authentic copies of them. Persons knowing of the existence of such documents will kindly inform him as to where they are found and how they may be obtained.

The Société Royale d'Égypte has published in two volumes *La Découverte de l'Afrique au Moyen Age* by Charles de La Roncière, librarian of the Ministry of Marine in Paris.

Le Myre de Villiers, Duchesne, Galliéni: Quarante Années de l'Histoire de Madagascar, 1880-1920, by M. Guillaume Grandidier has been published by the Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Paris.

Mgr. Augouard, Archevêque Titulaire de Cassiopée, Vicaire Apostolique du Congo Français: Sa Vie, the life of an heroic missionary by a friend who endeavors to show how he conquered African territory for civilization and France during his ministrations covering forty-four years, has been published by Paul, in Paris.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SPRING CONFERENCE OF THE
ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE
AND HISTORY HELD AT DURHAM, NORTH
CAROLINA, APRIL 1 AND 2, 1925

This meeting was in some respects the most interesting and profitable hitherto held by the Association. From the time of the first suggestion that the conference be held in Durham, the citizens of both races of the State manifested much interest in the convocation. By the time of the meeting, therefore, thorough preparation had been made for the entertainment of the visitors. Homes of public-spirited citizens were placed gratis at the disposal of the members of the staff and representatives attending the Conference. Everything possible was done to make pleasant the stay of the participants in this work.

Dr. James E. Shepard, presiding at the first session, warmly welcomed the Association at the Durham State Normal School, placing at the disposal of the visitors the facilities of the institution. The delegates were then registered, visitors introduced, and the work of the Association briefly reviewed with respect to its research efforts, the promotion of the studies through schools and clubs, and the effort of other learned societies.

As President John R. Hawkins could not remain later than the afternoon of the first day, he was called on to deliver in the morning, his address on "The Importance of the Past of the Negro" which was scheduled for the evening session. Speaking in a persuasive manner of the need for directing more attention to the records of the Negro, he deeply interested the audience in this subject. Having served in North Carolina for many years as a co-worker of many of the delegates present, he could easily illustrate from the life of the persons themselves the importance of saving the records of the Negro. The address was both timely and wholesome and elicited favorable comment. After introducing for brief remarks some visitors among whom were Professor E. E. Smith of the Fayetteville Normal School, the session promptly closed that all might repair to the dining hall of the Durham State Normal School, where President James E. Shepherd had ordered an elaborate luncheon which was immensely enjoyed.

At 2:30 P.M. the Conference reassembled at the Durham State Normal School for a symposium on the teaching of Negro history. Mr. W. A. Robinson, in charge of High School Teacher Training in the Department of Negro Education of North Carolina, presided. Opening the meeting with introductory remarks, he connected the importance of the teaching of Negro history with his own experience in education. He expressed his regret that because of the way in which the Negro is referred to in the textbooks which Negro students have to study, the race is usually presented in such an unfavorable light that Negro children themselves receive the impression that they belong to an inferior race handicapped by undesirable qualities sufficient to discourage almost any group. A slight change in the point of view and a little enlightenment here and there to disabuse the minds of children of these wrong ideas will do much to supply them with the stimulus which they must receive from within. The teaching of Negro history through well-chosen textbooks, he believed, will decidedly aid such a movement.

The chairman then introduced Professor D. M. Jarnagin of the Fayetteville State Normal School who presented "Valid Claims for Teaching of Negro History." The speaker, looking at history from the liberal point of view, endeavored to show its importance in the curriculum. What can be claimed for the teaching of general history may, with just as much reason, be advanced for the teaching of Negro history. Why such a little has been done in this field, what the prospects may be for renewed vigor in this direction, stood out as striking features of this address. The question must be kept before the school authorities until they are convinced as to the justice of these claims for handing down through the coming generations the record and traditions of those Negroes who have wrought well in the uplift of their people and the progress of this country.

Mr. Jarnagin was followed by Mr. N. C. Newbold, the head of the Department of Negro Education of the State of North Carolina. Mr. Newbold made some reference to the teaching of history but he was more concerned with the making of history. He, therefore, devoted most of his time to a resumé of the activities of the Department of Education for the liberal education of all of the Negroes of North Carolina as is now evidenced by the large appropriations of the State legislature making possible a

progressive program for the development of the Negro school in that State. The remarks were illuminating and evoked general discussion as to the history of Negro education in North Carolina with special reference to the persons who figured conspicuously in the beginnings of the schools following upon the Civil War.

The first evening session of the Association was held at the White Rock Baptist Church at 8:15, the same day. The two speakers of the evening were Professor William K. Boyd of Duke University and Dr. R. C. Woods, President of Virginia Theological Seminary and College. Professor Boyd gave in outline his very thorough study of the Negro in Durham, social and economic. He had not advanced far with his subject before he easily convinced his audience that this effort had been made in a scientific manner and that he has thus established himself as the best authority on the settlement and the development of the Negro in that city. It was interesting, also, to observe how closely the history of the whites in Durham parallels that of the Negroes. The whites seem to have followed the leadership of one outstanding man, and so did the Negroes. While this parallelism did work out well in the case of schools and churches, it did not appear, however, in the development of public facilities in respective quarters in which the two races live.

Professor Boyd was followed by Dr. R. C. Woods, who delivered an address on the Negro church. The aim of this speaker was to show how the church has figured in the very beginning of our history as well as how it functions today as the most important agency in the life of the Negro. It was a forum exercising more freedom than any other institution then enjoyed; it could speak for the Negro when other institutions dominated from without had to remain silent; and it served as a center decidedly influencing the social condition of the race. In our time it has been an economic factor out of which has come most of the business and business men who are effecting the economic regeneration of the Negro. The speaker presented as the outstanding factor in the church the Negro preacher, who, in spite of some waning influence and the increasing popularity of the professional man, is still the recognized leader of the Negro. With this instructive address, the session closed.

The morning session of the second day was held at the auditorium of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company

upon invitation from the president of this firm, Mr. C. C. Spaulding. Being unable to preside as scheduled on account of the necessity of going to New York City, he designated Mr. J. M. Avery, the Vice-President of the company, who conducted the exercises in a most becoming manner and extended the Association every courtesy possible. Addresses were delivered by Mr. T. E. McKinney of the Agricultural and Technical College of Greensboro and by Dr. Roscoe C. Brown of Durham. Mr. McKinney spoke on "Our Uniting Forces," emphasizing the necessity for more organization and cooperation. Presenting his point of view, he brought forward several illustrations from history to discount many of the theories which have been advanced as to the best methods for rallying the scattered forces of the Negroes. His paper, therefore, although he differed widely from the points of view of many present, was interesting, showing thought and preparation. As he did not seem to think very well of geographic influences in the development of a people, there ensued a general discussions in which several persons freely participated. Among these were Mr. Charles E. Epps.

The next speaker, Dr. Roscoe C. Brown, undertook to survey "The Present State of Things with Respect to the Negro." Having much ground to cover, he devoted some time to the social, economic, and political aspects of the situation. The address was informing, well delivered, and acceptably received. It elicited some remarks, especially for the reason that the speaker undertook to present not only the causes of the successes of the Negro, but the causes of the failures, especially in business. Presented from that angle, it helped many to think.

Mr. Leonard Outhwaite of the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial was especially interested in knowing something of the preparation of the administrative staffs of Negro business enterprises which have figured in the economic development of the country. Upon being introduced, he spoke along these lines and made certain inquiries which the speaker answered.

At the end of the session, the delegates to the Conference were escorted through the building to observe the operations of the company and then were entertained at a well-prepared and much appreciated luncheon. While in this festive mood, Mr. Avery called upon several visitors who lauded the pioneer work done by the company and expressed their interest in the efforts of the

Association which it was then entertaining. Among those thus expressing themselves were President Frank Trigg of Bennett College and Professor S. G. Atkins of the Slater Normal School.

In the afternoon at 2:30 P.M. at the Durham State Normal School, Professor R. H. Taylor of the University of North Carolina and Professor William T. Laprade of Duke University delivered addresses. Professor Taylor discussed "Plantation Economy" from a strictly scientific point of view. Although his paper was largely statistical, he presented it in such a way as to make it informing and at the same time entertaining. He showed what provisions were made for the food, shelter and clothing of the slaves. He mentioned also the work in which they were engaged, what they produced, and what profit it was to their masters. On the whole, he did not find evidence that slavery was a profitable institution in spite of all the claims that have been made for it.

Professor Laprade delivered an address on "The Negro in the District of Columbia before the Civil War." He began with a discussion of his sources which at once convinced the audience that his study was thorough. He then spoke of slavery in the District of Columbia in contradistinction to its status elsewhere. From this he showed that the institution did not have a very strong hold at the capital of the nation and that the rapidly increasing free Negro class was largely recruited from a diminishing slave class. The free Negro, then, was at his best in the District of Columbia just as slavery was in its mildest form. The speaker then showed how the actual condition of the Negro in the District of Columbia may be easily misunderstood by persons who protested against slavery in the capital of the nation, not because it was worse than it was elsewhere but because they objected to the very idea of slave-holding in the capital of the nation itself.

The closing session of the Conference was held at the White Rock Baptist Church Thursday evening. The speakers were Dean W. S. Turner of Shaw University and Dr. C. G. Woodson, the Director of the Association. Dean Turner emphasized the importance of a new Negro leadership. He believes in the value of the past and the popularizing of the records of the race, but there must be no contentment with past achievement. There is need for thorough reconstruction of our ideas, of our plans and our methods of execution. All of these things depend very much

upon the type of Negroes who will shape and fashion the policy for the large group. As the race has not at all times been fortunate in some of the persons who have advised it and determined its action, the development of a new type of leader is the thing essential at the present time.

The next speaker, Dr. C. G. Woodson, spoke of the Negro in history. He passed in rapid review the achievements of most of the races of consequence, placing the achievements of the Negroes along with them. Evaluating the contributions of the various races of civilization, he undertook to show that civilization is the heritage of the ages, that it cannot be appropriated to any particular race or nation as its own contribution. It is not necessarily ancient and not necessarily modern. Mankind has merely improved upon what the primitive man did. The Negro once played his part nobly, although he lost his connection in the upheaval resulting in the commercial revolution and in his debasement as a result of the industrial revolution. This stimulated slavery and the slave trade to the extent that the liberal movement was not sufficiently influential to effect a great change in the condition of the Negro at the time when it tended to better the condition of the lower elements of the whites.

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 George Liele and Andrew Bryan, Pioneer Negro Baptist Preachers, by JOHN W. DAVIS.
 Fifty Years of Howard University, Part I, by D. O. W. HOLMES.
 Fifty Years of Howard University, Part II, by D. O. W. HOLMES.
 More about the Historical Errors of James F. Rhodes, by JOHN R. LYNCH.
 Slavery in Kentucky, by IVAN E. MCDUGGLE.
 The Beginnings of the Miscegenation of the Whites and Blacks, by CARTER G. WOODSON.
 Gerrit Smith's Efforts in behalf of the Negroes in New York, by ZITA DYSON.
 The Buxton Settlement in Canada, by FRED LANDON.

(Continued on next page)

It contains also about 135 pages of documents of the following series:
California Freedom Papers.
Thomas Jefferson's Thoughts on the Negro.
Letters of Governor Edward Coles bearing on the Struggle of Freedom and Slavery in Illinois.
What the Framers of the Federal Constitution thought of the Negro.

Volume IV contains 260 pages of dissertations entitled:

Primitives Law and the Negro, by ROLAND G. USHER.
Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negroes, by CHARLES H. WESLEY.
Lemuel Haynes, by W. H. MORSE.
The Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, by FRED LANDON.
The Conflict and Fusion of Cultures with Special Reference to the Negro, by R. E. PARK.
The Company of Royal Adventurers trading into Africa, by GEORGE F. ZOOK.
The Employment of Negroes as Soldiers in the Confederate Army, by CHARLES H. WESLEY.
The Legal Status of Free Negroes and Slaves in Tennessee, by WILLIAM LLOYD IMES.
Negro Life and History in the Schools, by CARTER G. WOODSON.
Abbé Gregoire's Sketch of Angelo Solimann, by F. HARRISON HOUGH.
Labor Conditions in Jamaica Prior to 1917, by E. ETHELRED BROWN.
The Life of Charles B. Ray, by MONROE N. WORK.
The Slave in Upper Canada, by WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL.

In the volume appear also 222 pages of documents designed as:

Benjamin Franklin and Freedom.
The Proceedings of a Migration Convention and Congressional Action respecting the Exodus of 1870.
Letters of Negro Migrants of 1916-1918.
Notes on Slavery in Canada.

Volume V contains 322 pages of dissertations entitled:

The Negro in Education, by LORETTA FUNKE.
The Negro Migration to Canada after 1850, by FRED LANDON.
Richard Hill, by FRANK CUNDALL.
The Relations of Negroes and Indians in Massachusetts, by CARTER G. WOODSON.
The Development of the Negro Public School System in Missouri, by HENRY S. WILLIAMS.
Religious Education in Negro Colleges and Universities, by DAVID H. SIMS.
The Aftermath of Nat Turner's Insurrection, by JOHN W. CROMWELL.
Slavery in Canada, by WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL.
Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Great Britain bearing on the Return of Negro Slaves, 1783-1828, by ARNETT G. LINDSAY.
The Negro in Politics, by NORMAN P. ANDREWS.
Henry Bibb, a Colonizer, by FRED LANDON.
Myrtilla Miner, by G. SMITH WORMLEY.

(Continued on next page)

It contains also 93 pages of documents of the following series:

An Act concerning the Indians of Massachusetts.

Some Negro Members of Reconstruction Conventions and Legislatures and of Congress, compiled by Monroe N. Work.

John G. Thompson, the Original Carpet-bagger.

Additional information and corrections in Reconstruction Records.

Speech of William H. Gray in the Arkansas Constitutional Convention, 1868.

A letter addressed to the City Council of Washington, in 1833.

A Prince William County, Virginia, Court Record of 1756. Letters on Reconstruction.

Volume VI contains 361 pages of the following current articles:

Fifty Years of Negro Citizenship as qualified by the United States Supreme Court, by CARTER G. WOODSON.

Remy Ollier, a Mauritian Journalist and Patriot, by CHARLES H. WESLEY.

A Negro Colonization Project in Mexico, 1895, by J. FRED RIPPY.

The Economic Condition of the Negroes of New York Prior to 1861, by ARNETT G. LINDSAY.

Making West Virginia a Free State, by A. A. TAYLOR.

Canadian Negroes and the John Brown Raid, by FRED LANDON.

The Negro and the Spanish Pioneers in the New World, by J. FRED RIPPY.

The Material Culture of Ancient Nigeria, by WILLIAM LEO HANSBERRY.

The Negro in South Africa, by DAVID A. LANE, JR.

The Baptism of Slaves in Prince Edward Island, by WILLIAM R. RIDDELL.

The Negro Migration of 1916-1918, by HENDERSON H. DONALD.

Volume VI contains also 144 pages of the following documents:

James Madison's Attitude toward the Negro.

Advice given Negroes a Century ago.

The Appeal of the American Convention of Abolition Societies to Anti-slavery Groups.

Reports of the American Convention of Abolition Societies on Negroes and on Slavery, their Appeals to Congress, and their Addresses to the Citizens of the United States.

Volume VII contains 315 pages of the following current articles:

Slave Society on the Southern Plantation, by FRANCES L. HUNTER.

The Evolution of the Negro Baptist Church, by WALTER H. BROOKS.

Early Negro Education in West Virginia, by CARTER G. WOODSON.

First Negro Churches in the District of Columbia, by JOHN W. CROMWELL.

Negro Congressmen a Generation After, by ALRUTHEUS A. TAYLOR.

The Priority of the Silver Bluff Church and its Promoters, by WALTER H. BROOKS.

The Negroes in Mauritius, by A. F. FOKER.

The Anderson Fugitive Case, by FRED LANDON.

A Negro Senator, by G. DAVID HOUSTON.

Lincoln's Emancipation Plan, by HARRY S. BLACKISTON.

(Continued on next page)

The Journal of Isaaco, by L. N. FEIPEL.

Brazilian and United States Slavery compared, by HERBERT B. ALEXANDER.

The Origins of Abolition in Santo Domingo, by GEORGE W. BROWN.

Canadian Negroes and the Rebellion of 1837, by FRED LONDON.

Lott Cary, the Colonizing Missionary, by MILES MARK FISHER.

Volume VII contains also 84 pages of the following documents:

The Experience of a Georgia Peon—My Escape from Bondage. Extracts and Letters collected by R. E. Park and Booker T. Washington.

Extracts from Newspapers showing the Disorders of Reconstruction, collected by R. E. Park.

Materials from the Scrapbook of W. A. Hayne, collected by M. N. Work.

Letters, Addresses, and the like throwing Light on the Career of Lott Cary.

Volume VIII contains 360 pages of the following current articles:

The Educational Efforts of the Freedman's Bureau and Freedman's Aid Societies in South Carolina, 1862-1872, by L. P. JACKSON.

The Religion of the American Negro Slave: His Attitude toward Life and Death, by G. R. WILSON.

Prudence Crandall, by G. SMITH WORMLEY.

The Teaching of Negro History, by J. W. BELL.

Negro Biography, by PAUL W. L. JONES.

Haiti and the United States, by GEORGE W. BROWN.

Paul Cuffee, by H. N. SHERWOOD.

Negro Servitude in the United States, by T. R. DAVIS.

Three Elements of African Culture, by GORDON B. HANCOCK.

Methodism and the Negro in the United States, by J. C. HARTZELL.

Notes on the Slave in Nouvelle France, by WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL.

Abram Hannibal, the Favorite of Peter the Great, by ALBERT PARRY.

Movement of the Negroes from the East to the Gulf States from 1830 to 1850, by ALRUTHEUS A. TAYLOR.

Negroes in Domestic Service in the United States, by ELIZABETH ROSS HAYNES.

Volume VIII contains also 60 pages of the following documents:

Extracts from Newspapers and Magazines.

Anna Murray-Douglass—My Mother as I Recall Her, by ROSETTA DOUGLASS SPRAGUE.

Frederick Douglass in Ireland.

The Will of Paul Cuffe.

Banishment of the Free People of Color from Cincinnati.

First Protest against Slavery in the United States.

A Negro Pioneer in the West.

Concerning the Origin of Wilberforce.

Documents and Comments on Benefit of Clergy as Applied to Slaves, by WILLIAM K. BOYD.

Volume IX contains 381 pages of the following current articles:

Elizabethan Seamen and the African Slave Trade, by L. P. JACKSON.

- The Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 and its Antecedents, by C. W. A. DAVID.
- Further Notes on the Slave in Canada, by WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL.
- The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, by M. W. OVERTON.
- The Urban League Movement, by L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD.
- The Young Men's Christian Association among Negroes, by J. E. MOORLAND.
- Feeding Slaves, by R. H. TAYLOR.
- The Negro in South Carolina during the Reconstruction, by A. A. TAYLOR.
- Volume IX also contains 128 pages of the following documents:
- How I Hid a Union Spy, by HANNIBAL ARMSTRONG.
- Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830.
- Dispatches of Spanish Officials bearing on the Free Negro Settlement of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, Florida, collected by IRENE A. WRIGHT.
- Absentee Ownership of Slaves in the United States in 1830.
- Volume X contains 313 pages of dissertations entitled:
- Amherstburg, Terminus of the Underground Railroad, by FRED LANDON.
- A Carpet-Bagger in South Carolina, by LOUIS F. POST.
- The Leclerc Instructions, by CARL LUDWIG LOKKE.
- Liberia after the World War, by FREDERICK STAR.
- The Origin of Hampton Institute, by L. P. JACKSON.
- The Negro Policy of Christopher Codrington, by C. S. S. HIGHAM.
- Le Code Noir, by WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL.
- The Kidnapping of Dr. Rufus Bratton, by FRED LANDON.
- Aphra Behn's Oroonoko, by EDWIN D. JOHNSON.
- Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro, by C. G. WOODSON.
- The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade, by JANE ELIZABETH ADAMS.
- The Bustill Family, by ANNE BUSTILL SMITH.
- It contains also the following valuable documents:
- Letters of Negroes addressed to the American Colonization Society.
- Letters of Negroes to Antislavery Workers and Agencies.

Persons who preserve their single numbers in good condition may obtain any one of these volumes by returning the corresponding numbers with \$1.00. This means that the subscriber receives full credit for the subscription fee of \$4.00 in making this exchange.

On January 1, 1926, the subscription fee of *The Journal of Negro History* will be advanced from \$2.00 to \$4.00 a year. Foreign subscriptions will cost 25 cents more. Single numbers will thereafter cost \$1.25 each. Volumes I and II in bound form will cost \$7.50 each. Other volumes in bound form will cost \$5.00 each.

The reason for this increase in prices is that the fee has never been more than half of the actual cost of producing the magazine, while in recent years the amount of matter appearing in the publication has been about doubled.

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY

VOL. X—OCTOBER, 1925—No. 4

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING,
THE CELEBRATION OF THE TENTH AN-
NIVERSARY OF THE ASSOCIATION
FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE
AND HISTORY, HELD IN
WASHINGTON, D. C.,
SEPTEMBER 9
AND 10, 1925

Unusual enthusiasm marked the celebration of this Tenth Anniversary. Scholars, editors, business men, educators, and ministers attended in large numbers to show their appreciation for the work done under the direction of Dr. Carter G. Woodson, and to join the ranks of those determined to give the work that support which it must have to treat the records of the Negro scientifically. Plans were formulated to carry forward the present program and, in addition, to make a study of the economic condition of the Negro. A committee was appointed to raise an endowment of \$250,000 for the Association. The meeting was one of the most important ever held in the history of the race.

The very first session set a high mark of interest which the remaining ones had difficulty in reaching. Mr. John R. Hawkins in calling the meeting to order carefully reviewed the work of the last ten years, paying high tribute to Dr. Carter G. Woodson, the founder, and to those who

have stood by him and enabled him to do the work so efficiently. He then presented Dr. Alain Leroy Locke, who directed attention to Africa as an inviting field so long neglected by students of archaeology and anthropology. Then appeared Dr. James H. Dillard who gave his experience of a recent trip made in Africa from Port Said to Cape Town. Dr. Dillard spoke in a popular vein and deeply interested his hearers in paying such high tribute to the physical, moral and spiritual development of the Africans. Mrs. F. R. Givens, of Louisville, and Mr. W. O. Hart, of the Louisiana Historical Society, took part in the general discussion.

After the annual business session in the afternoon at which the present corps of officers reported on their work and were unanimously reelected, the Association devoted a session to a discussion of the Negro of today. This discussion centered around papers on typical conditions of Negroes in the cities of Baltimore and Pittsburgh by Mr. R. Maurice Moss and Mr. Abram L. Harris and around an address of Mr. E. T. Attwell on recreation facilities for Negroes in cities. Mr. Harris being absent, his paper was read by Mr. J. W. Scott of Huntington, West Virginia. There were present many prominent social workers and teachers of sociology, who freely participated in the general discussion. Among those were Mrs. Laura B. Glenn, of Washington, and Prof. G. B. Hancock, of Virginia Union University.

The Association then heard of the conditions with respect to education from noted men of the country. Among others Mr. R. S. Grossley, representing the Department of Education of Delaware, Dr. G. E. Davis, representing the Department of Education of West Virginia, Dean S. H. Archer, of Morehouse College, and President J. L. Peacock, of Shaw University, reported the plans and purposes for the uplift of the Negroes in their respective States that the present undesirable conditions of the race may no longer obtain.

The first evening session was a rare occasion. Two of

the most distinguished scholars of the country discussed the history of the Negro before the Civil War. Prof. William T. Laprade, of Duke University, delivered a most illuminating discourse on the Negroes in the District of Columbia prior to 1862. Speaking to an intelligent audience of many of the descendants of these very Negroes, the speaker easily interested his hearers in his logical array of facts interpretative of the initiative and development of the antebellum free Negroes in the District of Columbia. Then came Dr. C. H. Wesley, of Howard University, who acquitted himself with honor in the masterly fashion in which he showed how before the Civil War the South unwisely tried to develop industrialism along with slavery. Dr. Wesley's accurate knowledge of the economic aspects of the history of the South favorably impressed every one and aroused further interest in this neglected aspect of Negro history.

One of the most important sessions was that of the morning of the tenth devoted to the Negro in business. The aim here was to emphasize the importance of making a survey of the Negro in the economic world. Preliminary remarks were made by Mr. John Pinkett, representing the National Benefit Life Insurance Company. Mr. William G. Pearson, president of the Banker's Fire Insurance Company of Durham, North Carolina, then delivered an elaborate address showing why the Negro business man often fails. This discourse had been worked out with care and restraint and was delivered in a convincing manner. The speaker treated the subject from two points of view, that of the business man himself and that of the community with which he has to deal.

Mr. W. Gomez, secretary-manager of the firm which Mr. W. G. Pearson heads, then delivered an address further emphasizing the necessity for this survey and suggesting the ways and means for carrying out this important program. His address was delivered with the unusual force characteristic of the earnestness which is all but peculiar to

this successful business man. He was more concerned, however, with finding the means than with discussing the necessity for the effort, for in the very beginning he easily convinced the audience that it is urgently needed.

These addresses evoked further discussion in which participated Mr. C. T. Taylor, of the Federal Life Insurance Company of Washington, Prof. Kelly Miller, of the same city, Mr. C. E. Mitchell, of the Mutual Savings and Loan Company of Charleston, West Virginia, and Mr. T. K. Gibson, of the Supreme Life and Casualty Company of Columbus, Ohio. All of these gentlemen further illuminated the question and warmly endorsed the plan. Out of this effort came a motion to the effect that the survey be authorized and that the committee be appointed to decide upon the *modus operandi*.

The next feature of the celebration everybody apparently enjoyed to his fullest capacity. This was the luncheon which the Association tendered the visitors. When the repast had been sufficiently advanced Prof. Kelly Miller, who presided, made a short speech of wit and humor, and then proceeded to call on others for short addresses. Among those speaking were Dr. George E. Haynes, of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, Prof. T. E. McKinney, of the Agricultural and Technical College at Greensboro, Mr. W. W. Sanders, State Supervisor of Negro Schools of West Virginia, Prof. L. P. Jackson, of the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, Prof. M. M. Fisher, of Virginia Union University, Bishop C. H. Phillips of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. Thomas I. Brown and Dr. Pezavia O'Connell, of Morgan College, Mrs. Amanda V. Gray Hilyer, Prof. John W. Cromwell, Mr. J. A. Jackson, and the Rev. Mr. Taylor, of the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church, of Washington, D. C.

The Director was then called upon to make some remarks. His words tended to be of the reminiscent nature and decidedly changed the atmosphere from joviality to seriousness when he briefly discussed the trials and tribula-

tions of the first years of the effort. He made a deep impression upon the distinguished guests, who, before leaving the banquet hall, declared that they would go back to their respective homes determined to enlist the support of a larger number of persons to place the work above pecuniary embarrassment.

The Negro press rightly had its share of attention at the afternoon session of the second day. The fact that Mr. R. S. Abbott, the owner of the largest Negro newspaper in the world, and Mr. R. L. Vann, the proprietor of another pushing its way into the same class, would speak, attracted an interesting audience. Mr. Abbott delivered a few remarks introductory to the program of the day and then spoke out of his valuable experience in the development of the *Chicago Defender*. His words were both stimulating and inspiring to the youth with the ambition to struggle and achieve. Everybody seemed to think of Mr. Abbott's part as a distinct contribution to the success of the meeting.

Then followed Mr. R. L. Vann, of the *Pittsburgh Courier*. In a scholarly and well-delivered discourse, he showed exactly what the province of the newspaper is and pointed out the peculiar situation of the Negro newspaper in the world in which the races in the main live apart. How the press may cooperate with the people and the people with the press for the common good of all will depend largely upon a better understanding of the problems of the newspaper world and a keener appreciation of the valuable service which it renders the public. This address evoked favorable comment.

Mr. Vann was followed by Mr. E. Washington Rhodes, of the *Philadelphia Tribune*. He opened the general discussion. Mr. Rhodes briefly extended the contrast of the Negro news-sheet man of yesterday with the Negro editor of today. Whereas the former merely eked out an existence, the latter finds himself at the head of a large printing and publishing establishment representing a stride in Negro business almost as important as the large Negro insurance companies. Mr. J. A. Jackson, of the *Washington*

Tribune, continued the general discussion, going a step further into the history of the Negro press. Helpful comment was made by the Rev. George F. Bragg, of Baltimore, Mr. Rayford Logan, of Washington, and Prof. M. M. Fisher, of Union University. The last mentioned speaker emphasized the importance of preserving complete files of the Negro newspapers that there may be something in print to tell the story of the Negro when the present generation is no more.

The second evening session, the last of the celebration, was devoted to the consideration of the Negro church. Rev. Wm. L. Imes, of New York City, began the program with an eloquent and instructive address on the American pulpit and the Negro. The discourse showed evidence of thorough preparation and mature thought. It was well received and loudly applauded.

Bishop L. W. Kyles, of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, then delivered a scholarly address on the Negro's contribution to the religious life of America. The main point in his discussion was to make proper evaluation of man's emotion when given intelligent expression. Viewed from this point of view, the spirituality of the Negro as expressed in his songs must be considered a most valuable contribution to the development of religion in this country. While the present plight of the Negro may be far from satisfactory, and his past has been characterized by oppression and even torture, the Negro is emerging therefrom with a spiritual contribution which this ordeal has produced. This elaborate address deeply impressed the audience as to the proper method of understanding the religion of the Negro.

The closing address of the occasion was that of Bishop R. A. Carter, of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, on what the Negro church has done. Bishop Carter made a survey of the rise of the Negro to the point of self-sufficiency and independence in religion and explained how the efforts of the Negro to get from under the religious domina-

tion of his master and ex-master not only saved the souls of men but saved the soul of the race. Out of the church thus established leaders have been encouraged to proceed along independent lines in doing other things when supported by the Negro church, the example of which they merely followed. In this way the speaker accounted for a large part of the progress of the Negro during slavery and freedom.

At the close of this session Bishop John Hurst, the presiding officer, made an appeal in behalf of the Association, emphasizing the many sacrifices made by the Director during the early years when he was compelled to make up the deficits of the Association himself. Thereupon a number of members led by Dr. George E. Haynes sprang to their feet to endorse heartily this appeal and to urge that something definite be done to secure permanent support for the Association. After much discussion there was raised in pledges and money about \$1,000, and there was authorized the appointment of a committee to secure for the Association an endowment of at least \$250,000.

Among the pledges received were \$100 from Bishop L. W. Kyles, \$100 from Bishop R. A. Carter, \$100 from Bishop John Hurst, \$50 from Edward Waters College, \$50 from Mr. R. S. Abbott, \$25 from Mr. W. W. Sanders and \$25 from the West Virginia Parent-Teacher Association. Mrs. Ida Gibbs Hunt, Mrs. Elizabeth Mitchell, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, Miss Lavinia Black, and Mr. William T. Ferguson pledged themselves to become life members, paying \$50 each.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

INCOME

At the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1925, the Association finds that its income has been practically the same as that of the preceding year. That it has not decreased is evidence of more effort in this direction, for during the period it has been more difficult to raise money for the Association than in previous years. In conformity with the well-established policy of keeping the obligations of the work within the limits of its revenue, however, its debts have decreased rather than increased. The receipts and disbursements for the year appear in the following report:

COMPLETE FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF ALL DEPARTMENTS OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE AND HISTORY ¹

JULY 1, 1924, TO JUNE 30, 1925

<i>Receipts</i>		<i>Disbursements</i>	
Research Fund	\$ 5,000.00	Printing and stationery ..	\$ 2,304.60
Interest on reserve	118.08	Research and its printing..	6,659.42
Subscriptions	1,500.41	Stenographic service	1,827.75
Memberships	687.50	Rent	600.00
Contributions	7,210.00	Salaries	2,000.04
Advertisements	159.30	Sundry expenditures	3,270.15
Sundry income	410.10		
<i>Total Receipts</i>	<u>\$15,085.39</u>	<i>Total Disbursements</i>	<u>\$16,661.96</u>
Balance on hand for Research, June 30, 1924..	5,000.00	Balance on hand, June 30, 1925, appropriated for printing and research ..	3,458.66
Balance on hand, General Expense Fund, June 30, 1924	<u>64.08</u>	Balance on hand, General Expense Fund, June 30, 1925	28.85
<i>Grand Total</i>	<u>\$20,149.47</u>		<u>\$20,149.47</u>

Respectfully submitted,

S. W. RUTHERFORD,
Secretary-Treasurer.

¹ In keeping with the regulations of the Association the books have been duly audited by a certified public accountant, who states that the receipts and disbursements herein reported are correctly taken from the records and that the balances in the banks agree with the records of the institutions in which these funds were deposited.

AN URGENT NEED

As soon as possible the Association should find means of permanent support. At present it has no endowment. The work is supported altogether by subscriptions, membership fees, advertisements, and contributions. As these vary according to the impression the work makes upon the public they cannot be considered a guarantee of adequate support. The annual income during the last three years has been about \$20,000; but one-half of this has come from annual allowances from two appropriations for special purposes, and the Association has no assurance that these grants will be renewed. Even if such temporary grants were renewed, moreover, at the expiration of the specified time, the Association would find itself exactly where it is now.

The necessity for taking this step becomes more urgent when it is borne in mind that so far the work has succeeded largely at the expense of the Director. During the first five years he not only received no compensation whatever from the Association, but made up all of its deficits amounting to from \$1,200 to \$1,500 a year. When he passes from the stage it is hardly likely that his successor will assume any such responsibilities. The next worker to take up this task will be a hired man.

The Director, therefore, recommends that there be appointed a committee to secure for the Association an endowment of at least \$250,000. The income from such a fund together with the smaller sums coming from various sources would be sufficient to meet the present needs of the work and to provide for its gradual expansion from year to year.

FIELD WORK

Continuing the effort to stimulate the study of Negro life and history through clubs and institutions of learning, the Director has succeeded in interesting a larger number of persons in giving more serious consideration to the Negro's achievements. Persons desiring to know about the

Negro have multiplied so as to open a new field for use for books supplying information as to what the Negro has thought and felt and attempted and accomplished. The demand for the reprints, special works, and volumes of *The Journal of Negro History* in bound form, therefore, has continued to increase. Having recently published a number of volumes developing special aspects of Negro history, the Association has tended to grow upon the public mind as the institution in a position to meet these needs.

Through such travel as the many duties of the Director have allowed he has delivered at various points the message of cooperation in acquainting the world with the civilization of the Negro. In this way, he addressed groups of persons in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. In all of these cities, clubs for the study of the Negro have been very active, taking up systematically through suitable books various aspects of the civilization of the Negro.

The work was further extended into Durham, North Carolina, by holding the Spring Conference of the Association there on April 1 and 2, 1925. Manifesting interest immediately upon hearing that the Association would come to the State, friends of the cause in North Carolina made every effort possible to advertise the meeting and to welcome the visitors. As a result, the attendance from the State itself was considerable and the representation from without was as large as usual. The meeting was, therefore, one of the most successful in the history of the work. Students of Negro history who were present not only profited by exchange of views, but persons who have not hitherto given much attention to the work learned of its importance and pledged their support to promote it with renewed vigor.

This interest in North Carolina was further attested by an invitation from the State Department of Negro Education extended the Director to lecture in all of the Negro summer schools of the State. The educators thus interested feel that there is, among the teachers of that State, a

need for more knowledge of the background of the race. Many of these teachers, moreover, have expressed a desire to cooperate with the Association in extending its particular work into that part. To this end, conferences have already been called, and a step has been made toward working out a program by which this appeal may be intelligently made throughout that State. These efforts, moreover, are not restricted to the Negroes themselves, for white persons of North Carolina, taking seriously the uplift of the race, realize the importance of inculcating in the mind of the white as well as the Negro youth a better appreciation of the contribution of the race to civilization.

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY

The Journal of Negro History becomes more important as time goes on. Many libraries which in the beginning did not take seriously the request to subscribe to this magazine are now placing such subscriptions requiring the complete file of the publication in bound form. This increasing number of libraries subscribing and the all but exhausted supply of the back numbers of this magazine present a problem which is difficult of solution in the present financial condition of the Association. It is necessary to reprint as soon as possible the first two volumes of the magazine and within a year or two the sixth. As this would entail an expense of \$3,000 or \$4,000, it is a question to which the Association should direct immediate attention.

The circulation of *The Journal of Negro History* has developed substantially. Its circulation is no larger today than when the subscription was \$1 a year, but the subscribers tend to become more and more a serious-minded group. Those who at first had the idea that the magazine might meet the need of a popular publication have tended to drop from the list, whereas editors, students of social problems, and investigators have tended to increase. Such persons generally keep up their subscriptions and thus assure the future success of the magazine.

This is further attested by the increasing number of persons who have manifested sufficient confidence in the Association to become life members thereof. Bishop J. Albert Johnson, Mr. W. P. Dabney, and the North Carolina Mutual Forum have thus connected themselves with the Association this year. Other persons are paying the fee on the installment plan within the year, and will soon qualify as such members.

RESEARCH

The research work of the Association has continued along serious lines. There has been no increase in the staff, but those employed have achieved results which are significant not only in the history of the Association but in that of historical writing in this country. Some of the definite tasks assigned have been completed and others will be brought to an end in the near future.

The statistical report entitled *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830* has been in the hands of a printer for more than a year. It was expected that this would be available for distribution at an earlier date, but because of a delay in certain errors in composition, requiring almost a reprinting of the report, the edition has just recently come from the press. It presents a valuable array of facts which has been eagerly expected by students informed thereof. It is believed that it will meet a long-felt want of enabling the Negro to trace his past through these members of the race who almost a century ago had thus permanently established themselves in their communities.

The next step in this same field will be the publication of a work entitled *The Mind of the Negro as reflected in Letters written during the Crisis, 1800-1860*. This is an annotated collection of letters of all sorts giving evidence as to what the Negro was thinking during this period. The first part of this collection, entitled *Letters to the American Colonization Society*, has already appeared in the April number of *The Journal of Negro History*. The second part will appear in the July and October issues of this magazine

under the caption *Letters to Antislavery Workers and Agencies*. A third part will be published later as personal and private letters. When finished, the entire collection will be reprinted and published as a separate volume with a table of contents and an index.

The Negro in South Carolina During the Reconstruction, which was published as an article in *The Journal of Negro History*, has been reprinted and distributed in book form. As such, the work has made a very favorable impression throughout the country as an original treatment of a much mooted question. The public has been especially impressed with the treatment of the social and economic condition in contradistinction to the effort on the part of most writers to emphasize merely the political side. One investigator, reviewing this work, pays it the compliment of having established the truth that the history of the reconstruction has not been written.

During the fiscal year, Mr. A. A. Taylor has been devoting his time to a study of the *Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia*. This work deals primarily with the social and economic condition of the Negroes in that State and at the same time presents the leading facts of the political struggles during this stormy period. He has had the cooperation and suggestions of several students who have studied this phase of history and the work should prove informing. At present, he is bringing his research to a close, and will, in the near future, present the monograph in finished form for publication. It is hoped that it will be available before the end of the calendar year.

The Association has been fortunate in having had the cooperation of Miss Irene A. Wright, an investigator in the Archives of the Indies, Seville, Spain. She has undertaken two commissions for the Association. In the first case, she has photocopied and verified a collection of documents throwing light on the early history of the slaves in Havana, Cuba. Miss Wright has also undertaken to collect some other documents with respect to the free Negroes under the Spanish in Louisiana. She has found there valuable facts

as to the status of these people and the efforts by which they maintained themselves in a world in which they lived and played a rôle peculiar to themselves.

The Association made an effort to place in one of our leading universities a student who would equip himself for serious graduate work in ethnology and anthropology. Because of this student's failure to raise \$250 to meet the requirement for receiving \$500 from the Association, the fellowship was not granted; and he decided to direct himself to another task. During the fiscal year, then, the Association gave no such aid to any student. It is earnestly hoped, however, that someone with the interest and the courage to equip himself properly will make application and enter upon this work.

In the somewhat correlated field of folklore, the Association has endeavored to place a worker. The idea of making such a collection through competition for the \$200 prize offered last year was abandoned by the decision of the Folklore Committee on Award. The effort recently made was to secure from one of the foundations a fellowship of \$2,500 or \$3,000 that a paid worker may be enabled to devote all of his time to this important task. The Director feels that this is the only way to study folklore systematically to collect the facts adequate to the presentation of the mind of the Negro as it developed under a varying environment.

The field to which the Director would first invite attention for the study of Negro folklore is the West Indies. There the investigator can easily find materials on folk-songs, religious practices, and the like. In distinguishing the native traits from the foreign influences he may study the civilization of the Negro in the transition from Africa to the West Indies and then from the West Indies to the American colonies. The Association should immediately seek funds for this purpose. These important remains of civilization become more difficult of access as time rolls on, and some of them are being destroyed by the advance of modern civilization.

The Director invites attention also to the necessity of making an economic survey of the Negro. We need to know the statistics of the business developed by Negroes, the real estate which they have purchased, what they have done with their earnings, and how they have developed in the occupations. Such a report would not only furnish data for an economic history of the Negro, but would serve also as a basis for a more accurate estimate of the possibilities of the race in the economic world. The leading Negro business men of the country are very much interested in such a survey and would give some material support to the undertaking.

These new enterprises would not overburden the present staff, inasmuch as some of the other tasks of the Association are now drawing to a close. The investigator in the field of the Free Negro will hardly make a study of anything in that field in addition to what has been already undertaken. The investigator in Negro Reconstruction History, however, must continue his series of monographs on the various reconstructed States, developing, as he has already begun to do, the economic aspects of that important epoch.

CARTER G. WOODSON

TEN YEARS OF COLLECTING AND PUBLISHING THE RECORDS OF THE NEGRO

Ten years ago the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was organized. It proclaimed as its purposes the collection of sociological and historical data on the Negro, the study of peoples of African blood, the publishing of books in this field, and the promotion of harmony between the races by acquainting the one with the other. All persons intelligently interested in the Negro were asked to cooperate, and a goodly number of them accordingly responded.

At the close of the first decade the Association finds much to its credit. It has published *The Journal of Negro History*, a quarterly scientific magazine, now in its tenth volume aggregating more than six thousand pages of interesting current articles and valuable documents. It has published ten monographs developing scientifically neglected aspects of Negro life and history. It has stimulated and trained young men with the capacity for research according to the methods of modern historiography. Above all, it has made the world see the Negro as a participant rather than as a lay figure in history.

The work has, therefore, attracted thinkers of both races in the North and in the South. Presenting the Negro to the public as he really is, moreover, the movement has led many a student of social and economic questions to consider the race situation dispassionately and to endeavor to work out the present day problems in the light of science. The Association has in its files numerous letters from persons to the effect that facts disseminated by the society have caused them to change their attitude toward the Negro.

To reach this stage in the development of the work, however, has not been an easy task. Starting out in 1915 without a cent in the treasury, the Association gave little assurance that it would live. Other efforts had been made, but they did not continue long enough to accomplish defi-

nite results. Three Negroes of vision, William C. Nell, William Wells Brown, and George W. Williams, had endeavored to record the salient facts of Negro History, but there was nothing in their experience to encourage the coworkers in this cause to believe that the program of the founder could be carried out. Furthermore, two Negroes, still living, had undertaken to get out an encyclopedia of the Negro; one other had suggested a closer contact of Negro writers; and during the very summer when the Association was organized, Dr. R. E. Park, of the University of Chicago, held two conferences of Southern students in that city, trying to interest them in the collection of Negro folklore at their own expense. The undersigned, upon being requested to cooperate, expressed doubt as to the feasibility of the plan proposed, and especially questioned his own ability to lend actual aid, since he himself is not a folklorist. He informed these gentlemen that something else was taking shape in his mind, and before the end of the summer it assumed the form of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, organized by five persons in the Wabash Avenue Young Men's Christian Association Building in Chicago on September 9, 1915. The five persons participating were: G. C. Hall, J. E. Stamps, W. B. Hartgrove, A. L. Jackson, and Carter G. Woodson. The Association was incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia on October 3, 1915. G. C. Hall was made chairman of the organization, J. E. Moorland custodian of funds, and Carter G. Woodson, editor.

In the beginning, the Association had very little moral backing and no financial support at all. There arose serious doubt as to whether the Association would do any more than to duplicate the already voluminous controversial literature which beclouds, rather than clarifies, the vision. Not even the coworkers of the founder could exactly understand his purpose. Finally, to give a concrete illustration of what he had in mind, the founder contracted a debt of about \$400 to bring out the first issue of *The Journal of Negro*

History in January 1916, although there was nothing in the treasury. This caused one of the members of the Executive Council to throw up hands in disgust and resign, while others threatened to do likewise.

This stroke, however, was the very thing needed. When the public saw a well-printed scientific magazine, presenting scholarly current articles and valuable documents giving facts scarcely known, the students of history and correlated fields highly praised the effort and warmly welcomed the publication. A. A. Goldenwiser characterized the enterprise an excellent one deserving an enthusiastic support. Professor W. B. Munro, of Harvard University, acclaimed the first publication an historical journal of excellent quality. Kelly Miller styled it the most scholarly magazine ever published by Negroes. Frederick L. Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, likened the movement unto the important work started by John R. Green in popularizing the history of England.

A number of persons, therefore, subscribed to the magazine, and it soon found its way to the libraries. The public began to see that the need of the hour was not to write books from the scant materials available, but to collect and preserve sufficient data of all sorts on the Negro to enable scientifically trained men to produce treatises based upon the whole truth. In this way only, the Association contended, could the Negro escape the awful fate of becoming a negligible factor in the thought of the world.

The effort to engraft this idea upon the public mind, however, was slow; for those who appreciate most have the least to invest in the thing appreciated. Those in a position to aid scientific undertakings easily found excuses for subsidizing anything new. For example, in reply to as many as 200 letters addressed to philanthropists in behalf of the work in 1916, the founder received only fourteen dollars. One of these letters, however, fell later into the hands of Mr. Julius Rosenwald. Impressed with the looks of a sample copy of *The Journal of Negro History* when

about to be consigned to his waste basket, he decided that he would give a hundred dollars a quarter to the support of the undertaking; and he is still thus aiding the Association. This was the first substantial support which came from without.

Yet, although the subscription list gradually increased and the smaller contributions continued to come, the Association could not raise sufficient funds to pay the cost of publishing the magazine. The founder had to pay almost all of the first \$400 debt referred to above, and for three years had to make up the deficits of the Association amounting to from \$1,200 to \$1,500 a year. He is still paying interest on money borrowed to pay the debts of the Association during these early years.

Some encouragement came from an important annual meeting held in Washington in 1917. By this time the Association was sufficiently well known to attract the attention of a larger number of persons long since manifesting interest in the Negro. The program showed the usual array of scholars applying themselves to the scientific study of the Negro and others interested in the material support of the work honored the occasion with their presence. Among those present were Dr. C. V. Roman, Dr. George E. Haynes, Mrs. Louis F. Post, Mr. Nathan B. Young, Professor Kelly Miller, Mr. Monroe N. Work, Professor George W. Cook, Mr. John R. Hawkins, Dr. James H. Dillard, and Mr. Julius Rosenwald. Called upon to say a word, Mr. Rosenwald made a short address which encouraged the hearers to believe that the work would eventually receive adequate assistance.

In 1919, too, when money was cheap as a result of the World War inflation, the Association raised sufficient funds to rent an office, to pay a clerk, and to defray the expense of printing *The Journal of Negro History*. Among the persons then making the largest contributions were: Robert E. Park, Jacob H. Schiff, William G. Willcox, Harold H. Swift, James J. Storrow, Moorfield Storey, Frank Trumbull, Cleveland H. Dodge, and Morton D. Hull. Thinking

that the problem of maintenance had been solved, the Association even voted that year, for the first time in the history of the work, that the Editor should be paid a small bonus for his services; but this favorable aspect of things so quickly passed away that this stipend has never been paid. The cost of materials all but multiplied, wages exacted by labor became almost prohibitive, and printing increased from 250 to 300 per cent. At the end of 1920, then, the Association found itself with the largest deficit in its history.

As the founder had borne most of the burdens of the Association during the first five years when he had to earn a living teaching for a small salary, he felt that this load should then be shifted from his shoulders to those of persons and agencies better situated. Exactly how this could be done he did not know, but he had the faith that the intelligent public would not permit an effort like this to go to waste after having five years of achievement to its credit. In the meantime, the debts of the Association were becoming so enormous that a suspension of publication seemed likely at any time.

Fortunately when Dr. James R. Angell became the President of Carnegie Corporation, the founder availed himself of the first opportunity to present through him to that foundation the cause of the Association. The application was endorsed by some of the most noted men of research in the country, especially by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Director of the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution, of Washington. Finally in April of 1921, the Association was notified that this foundation had appropriated \$25,000 to the work, to be paid in annual installments of \$5,000 a year. The Association was thereby enabled to pay off all of its debts and to employ the founder as the Director devoting all of his time to the work.

The whole problem, however, was not yet solved. The Director was devoting all of his time to the work, but one man could not carry out such a program as that outlined by the Association. The Director, therefore, presented to the

Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial the request that the sum of \$25,000 be appropriated to study slavery, the free Negro prior to the Civil War, and the Negro in the reconstruction of the Southern States. After giving the application careful consideration, the foundation made the appropriation required, restricting it to the two fields last mentioned and providing that it be paid in annual installments of \$5,000. These appropriations increased the annual income so as to be about \$20,000 a year since 1921.

It may be well, then, to summarize here the total income of the Association during the first ten years of its life by giving the sources of its revenue and itemizing the purposes for which it has been expended. The records of the Association show that funds have been received and disbursed according to the following statement of the Secretary-Treasurer covering the period from 1915 up to July 1, 1925:

A COMPLETE FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER FROM 1915
TO JULY 1, 1925

<i>Receipts</i>		<i>Expenditures</i>	
Research fund	\$20,294.54	Research and its printing	\$14,543.28 ²
Subscriptions	11,388.89	Printing and stationery..	33,483.79 ³
Membership fees	2,946.82	Stenographic service	8,417.50
Contributions	48,556.94	Rent	3,487.11
Advertisements	1,341.86	Salaries	11,241.75 ⁴
Sundry income	2,089.78 ¹	Sundry expenditure	11,886.48 ⁵
<i>Total</i>	\$86,618.83	<i>Total</i>	\$83,059.91

¹ Sundry income includes small amounts received for books of firms sold to subscribers, refunds, loans, and almost anything not included in the other items.

² Two persons have been regularly employed, the one since July 1, 1922, the other since July 1, 1923, to study the Free Negro Prior to 1861 and Negro Reconstruction History. One receives \$2,000 a year and the other \$2,400. Other investigators have served for part time only. Printing in this case means the cost of bringing out special monographs produced by the investigators employed.

³ The amount paid for printing includes not only the cost of the manufacture of *The Journal of Negro History* from quarter to quarter, but the production of reprints.

⁴ The item of Salaries here covers the amount of \$1,350 paid a business manager for nine months in 1921 and the salary paid C. G. Woodson, the Director, since July 1, 1921. No one except a clerk in charge of the office received any salary whatever prior to that time.

⁵ Sundry expenditure includes the amount paid for postage, traveling, expenses, office cleaning, electric bills, gas bills, telephone bills, copyright fees, drayage, and the like.

The stewardship of the Association may be further accounted for by the productions of the copyists and investigators employed as a result of this increased income. Among these works should be mentioned the documents of the Negro in Spanish America, collected by Miss Irene A. Wright in the Archives of the Indies, Seville, Spain. These collections embrace the *Despatches of Spanish Officials bearing on the Free Negro Settlement of Gracia, Real De Santa Teresa de Mose, Florida, Documents illuminating the Early History of the Negro in Cuba* and *The Negro in Louisiana under the Spanish Regime*. Special and more detailed reports on *Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States in 1830*, *Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830*, and *The Mind of the Negro as reflected by Letters written during the Crisis, 1800-1860*, have been compiled under the direction of and edited by Carter G. Woodson. *The Negro in South Carolina during the Reconstruction* and *The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia* have been produced by Mr. A. A. Taylor, an investigator of the Association. Other works are in the making.

The importance of the effort is attested by the large numbers deriving benefit therefrom. Of the 300 libraries subscribing to *The Journal of Negro History* about 75 are large public and school libraries in the South accessible only to the whites. Practically all accredited universities of the South as well as of the North subscribe to this magazine and purchase also all other publications of the Association. Men of Southern antecedents appear on almost every program of the Association, officially cooperate in promoting its interests, and contribute to its support. Some of the Southern scholars who have expressed special interest in the work are Professor W. K. Boyd, of Duke University, President J. P. McConnell, of the State Teachers College at East Radford, Virginia, Dr. Jerome Dowd, of the University of Oklahoma, Mr. A. H. Stone, of Dunleith, Mississippi, Dr. Plato T. Durham, of Emory University, Prof. I. E. McDougale, of Goucher College, Dr. S. C. Mitchell, of Richmond College, and Dr. James H. Dillard, of the John F. Slater Fund.

With the cooperation of men of this type the Association has been enabled to stimulate nation-wide interest in the study of Negro life and history. The attitude of these gentlemen has made it inviting for the Director to give a part of his time to field work among clubs and schools, inducing them to pay more attention to the study of the Negro. Therefore, whereas a decade ago only a few institutions gave the study of the record of the Negro any consideration, practically all reputable universities and colleges and even some high schools now feature the study of the Negro in that of racial relations or provide special courses in this neglected aspect of our life and history.

In the prosecution of this special work most of such institutions make frequent use of the publications of the Association and of such special works of the Director as *The History of the Negro Church*, *A Century of Negro Migration*, *Negro Orators and Their Orations*, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, and *The Negro in Our History*. The work last mentioned has met a popular demand for a textbook on Negro history and is now in its third edition. It is used for collateral reading throughout the country and has been adopted for classroom instruction in about one hundred schools and colleges.

The Association has rendered a distinct service in functioning as a free reference bureau for information respecting the Negro. Almost all writers in this field either draw upon the facts collected and published by the Association or consult the Director in preparing outlines of their studies and in developing the treatises. Some of such writers are graduate students working for advanced degrees; others are better seasoned scholars and professors in universities who find that, to exhaust their subjects, they must take into account what is being produced by the Association.

An important by-product of the effort is the collection of valuable materials in the form of old manuscripts and rare books on the early history of the Negro in this country and the past of the race in Africa. Although the Associa-

tion has been handicapped by lack of funds for this particular purpose, friends appreciating the importance of the work as a rallying point for a significant effort have given the Association a few of such documents, and others have been purchased at the expense of the Director. With a growth equal to that in the past the collection will develop into a valuable one in a few years, one large enough to facilitate the rapidly growing research in this neglected field.

CARTER G. WOODSON

THE ABOLITION OF THE BRAZILIAN SLAVE TRADE

I. THE NEGRO SLAVE TRADE IN COLONIAL BRAZIL

Negroes were first introduced into Brazil from Africa for sale as slaves in the sixteenth century.¹ With Indian slavery prohibited, the development of the sugar plantations and the mines of Brazil brought an ever-increasing demand for this form of cheap and easily secured labor.

Statistics of the population of Brazil during the colonial period are incomplete and often are only estimates. In 1794 there were approximately 600,000 slaves in Brazil.² At the beginning of the nineteenth century the population was about three million, of which not quite a million were free whites, and nearly two million³ were Negro slaves, the remainder being free Negroes, Indians and halfbreeds.⁴ The figures for the slave trade for 1806 show that 38,000 were imported into Brazil in that year.⁵

At this time there was no universal feeling against the institution of slavery. Large numbers of slaves were held in the colonial possessions of most of the European countries⁶ and the slave trade was carried on practically without restriction.

However, for the previous twenty years there had been

¹ James, H. G., and Martin, P. A., *The Republics of Latin America* (New York and London, 1923), pp. 70-71.

² Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1850, Vol. IX. Reports from Committees, *African Slave Trade*, No. 53, "Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the African Slave Trade, with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index, 1849," p. 279.

³ Cochin, A., "Slavery" in Vol. III of Lalor, J. J., Ed., *Cyclopaedia of Political Science, Political Economy, and of the Political History of the United States*, 3 vols. (New York, 1888), p. 723.

⁴ James, H. G., and Martin, P. A., *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁵ Walsh, R., *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1831), Vol. II, p. 178.

⁶ Cochin, A., *op. cit.*, III, p. 723.

gradually developing in England under the leadership of Wilberforce and Clarkson a movement having for its purpose the abolition of the slave trade.⁷ Between 1780 and 1805 proposals to this effect were seven times presented to Parliament and as many times rejected.⁸ But the conditions of the slave trade, the crowding of large numbers into narrow quarters, the filth and the disease, and the cruelties incident to the capture and sale of Africans were too notorious to continue to be overlooked. The abolition movement was supported by Pitt, and taken up by the Grenville-Fox ministry and finally on March 25, 1807, an enactment was passed providing that the English slave trade should cease January 1, 1808,⁹ the same date, incidentally, which marked the prohibition of the foreign slave trade of the United States.¹⁰

Time and experience demonstrated that this act and various bills passed with the same purpose¹¹ were insufficient to bring about the reform desired. Rather, the problem was an international one. England, therefore, sought to accomplish its aim through its influence in certain European congresses and through various treaty relations.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Du Bois, W. E. B., *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (New York, 1896), p. 132.

Great Britain, *Statutes at Large*, 47 Geo. III, 1807, Cap. 36, pp. 73-77.

¹⁰ United States, *Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, pp. 426-430.

¹¹ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large*, 51 Geo. III, 1811, Cap. 23, pp. 349-51.

"An Act for rendering more effectual an Act made in the 47th year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled, an Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade."

Ibid., 53 Geo. III, 1813, Cap. 112, p. 228. "An Act to Enlarge the Time for commencing Prosecutions for Forfeitures under certain Acts relating to the Abolition of the Slave Trade."

Ibid., 59 Geo. III, 1819, Cap. 97, pp. 956-7. "An Act to extend the Provisions of an Act made in the 46th year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled an Act for the more speedy Trial of Offences committed in distant Parts upon the Seas, to the Trial of Offences committed in Africa against the Laws for Abolishing the Slave Trade."

Ibid., 5 Geo. IV, Cap. 17, pp. 614-5. "An Act for the more effectual Suppression of the African Slave Trade."

Ibid., 5 Geo. IV, Cap. 113, pp. 914-955. "An Act to amend and consolidate the Laws relating to the Abolition of the Slave Trade."

To the Treaty of Paris between Great Britain and France, signed on the 30th of May, 1814, was added an Article in which the two nations agreed to use their influence in the approaching Congress of Vienna "to induce all the Powers of Christendom to decree the abolition of the Slave Trade, so that the said trade shall cease universally, as it shall cease definitively, under any circumstances, on the part of the French government, in the course of five years; and that during the said period no Slave Merchant shall import or sell slaves, except in the colonies of the State of which he is a subject."¹²

On the following day, May 31, 1814, Castlereagh sent to the representatives of Austria, Russia and Prussia a circular letter urging a consideration of the abolition of the slave trade at the forthcoming Congress,¹³ and received favorable replies from them.¹⁴

At the Congress of Vienna, in spite of the very active efforts of Castlereagh, the Powers refused to take any further action as a whole than to condemn the slave trade strongly and to provide for annual conferences on the question.¹⁵

Great Britain, however, secured from Portugal the signing of a treaty for the abolition of the slave trade north of the Equator and an agreement to negotiate further at some future time upon the matter of total abolition.¹⁶

In accordance with the general agreement of the Powers, a meeting was held December 4, 1817, in London.¹⁷ It re-

¹² British Foreign and State Papers, 1815-16: Papers, showing the state of the relations between Great Britain and foreign powers, relative to the abolition of the slave trade, pp. 883-975. "Additional Article to the Definitive Treaty of Paris between Great Britain and France.—Signed at Paris, the 30th May, 1814," pp. 890-1.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 887-8, "Circular letter of May 31, 1814, from Lord Castlereagh to Austria, Prussia and Russia and the replies thereto."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 939-75. "Congress of Vienna."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 937-9. "Substance of a Treaty between Great Britain and Portugal, Signed at Vienna, January 22, 1815."

¹⁷ Du Bois, W. E. B., *op. cit.*, p. 136, note. British Foreign and State Papers, 1818-19. "Conferences in London and at Aix-la-Chapelle, and correspondence relative to the Slave Trade—1817, 1818," pp. 21-88. London Conference, pp. 23-53.

sulted in a call for the consideration of the question of the abolition of the slave trade at a conference at Aix-la-Chapelle beginning October 24, 1818.¹⁸ Castlereagh again took the lead in urging a settlement and submitted two propositions, both of which, however, failed to be approved, viz.:

1. "A direct appeal on the part of the five Courts to the King of Portugal, founded upon the declaration made in His Majesty's name by his Plenipotentiary at Vienna, and urging His Majesty to give effect to that declaration at the period fixed by Spain for final abolition, viz. on the 20th May, 1820."

2. "That the Powers there assembled should accept the principle of a qualified right of mutual visit, as adopted by the Courts of Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, and should apply the same to the case of their respective Flags, as circumstances might point out."¹⁹

At the Congress of Verona in 1822 at which were represented Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia and Prussia, the question of total abolition was again considered. It was noted that Portugal and Brazil were the only two important countries which still allowed the slave trade and Portugal had abolished it north of the Equator. "Yet," reported the Duke of Wellington, "I have the means of proving that this Traffic has been, since the year 1815, and is at this moment, carried on to a greater extent, than it had been at any former period; that in seven months of the year 1821, not less than 38,000 human beings were carried off from the Coast of Africa in hopeless and irremediable slavery, and that not less than 352 vessels entered the Rivers and Ports of Africa, North of the Equator, to purchase Slaves between July 1820, and October 1821. Each of these was calculated to carry off from 500 to 600 Slaves. . . . It is obvious that this crime is committed in contravention of the Laws of every Country of Europe,

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Aix-la-Chapelle Conference, pp. 57-87.

¹⁹ British Foreign and State Papers, 1822-23. "Congress of Verona—Slave Trade. Papers relating to the Slave Trade. Presented to Parliament by His Majesty's Command, May, 1823," pp. 89-110. Castlereagh's propositions, p. 57.

and of America, excepting only of one, and that it requires something more than the ordinary operation of Law to prevent it. . . . Portugal is the only Country in the World, which now, by Law, permits a Trade in Slaves.”²⁰

England therefore recommended, first, that all the countries represented in the Congress again denounce the slave trade and agree to proclaim and treat it as piracy with the view toward the incorporation of such a principle in international law; second, that they withdraw the protection of their flags from persons, not natives of their respective countries, who should make use of such flags in carrying on the slave trade; third, that each prohibit the importation of commodities produced by colonies belonging to Powers which allowed the slave trade. The last measure would have applied only to Portugal and the then revolted colony of Brazil.²¹

But an agreement could not be reached on these three propositions²² and there was adopted only a general resolution against the Slave Trade.²³

Great Britain's comparative lack of success in these various congresses did not discourage its efforts in other directions. In the meantime, acting upon its own initiative and in accordance with its policy formulated at the congresses, beginnings were made in the promulgation of four types of treaties. The first class gave to each of the contracting parties “a mutual right of search of the merchant vessels of the other party within certain geographical limits, and a right of detention of such merchant vessels as might be found either with slaves on board or [as later provided when the first form was found to be inadequate] equipped for the slave trade.”²⁴ These treaties provided for “Mixed Courts, composed of Commissioners of each nation, those courts being posted within the territories of

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 99–100.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 102–9.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 109–10.

²⁴ Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1850, Vol. IX, *African Slave Trade*, Report No. 53, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

each of the parties at such points as were likely to be most convenient for the adjudication of the captured vessels.”²⁵ Such were the treaties made with the Netherlands, Sweden and Norway, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Chili, and Ecuador.²⁶

The second class of treaties were those which granted “a mutual right of search, in like manner as in the first class, within certain geographical limits, together with the right of detention under similar circumstances”; but in this case “a captured vessel, instead of being tried before a Mixed Court of Commission, composed of Judges of the two nations, was handed over to the tribunals of the country under whose flag she was captured.”²⁷ This type of treaty with England was entered into by France (suspended by the Convention of May 29, 1845), Denmark, Sardinia, the Hanse Towns, Tuscany, the Two Sicilies, Haiti, Venezuela, Mexico, Austria, Prussia, and Russia.²⁸

The third type, known as Joint Cruising Treaties, made with France and the United States, did not grant the right of mutual search but obligated each party “to maintain a certain force upon the Coast of Africa, for the purpose of watching its own merchant flag, and preventing any vessels under that flag from being employed in the prosecution of the slave trade.”²⁹

Slavers which were captured operating under no flag at all were dealt with by the British Vice-Admiralty as having, theoretically, no nationality.³⁰

By 1849, Great Britain had made a treaty of some such type “with almost every naval power, except Hanover and Greece, in Europe, and one or two of the smaller states in South America.”³¹ The reason for this action is given by the first witness in the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, on the African Slave Trade, 1850:

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 370 (Appendix F).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 370 (Appendix F).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

"The great advantage of getting all States that have flags to enter into such an engagement is, that the slave-traders, when they are driven from the shelter of one flag, may not take refuge under the fraudulent assumption of another flag, although, in point of fact, the country to which that flag belongs has no direct participation whatever in the Slave Trade. It is for this purpose that the British Government have laboured to engage States in the Treaty, although those States were not at all likely themselves to take any share in the traffic."³²

The fourth type of treaty was that made with African chiefs in an attempt to cut off the slave trade supply at its source.³³ These abolished the slave trade in the territory of such chiefs, gave England the right to enter the territory to enforce the treaty and forbade Europeans or other persons to reside therein for the purpose of carrying on the slave trade.³⁴ Of these treaties there were twenty-eight.³⁵

Realizing the need of something more than negative measures, further proposals included the building up of legitimate trade with Africa based on its rich natural resources to take the place of the slave trade.³⁶

The continued failure of the measures taken by England to reduce the Portuguese-Brazilian slave trade led finally, as a condition of England's recognition of Brazilian independence from Portugal, to the British-Brazilian

³² *Ibid.* (Thomas Staveley, Esq.)

³³ Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1850, Vol. XXIV. Reports from Select Committees of the House of Lords, No. 35, "Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to consider the best Means which Great Britain can adopt for the Final Extinction of the African Slave Trade, and to report thereon to the House; together with the Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix and Index thereto," p. 3.

³⁴ Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1850, Vol. IX, *African Slave Trade*, Report No. 53, *op. cit.*, p. 7, p. 371.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7. Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1850, Vol. IX, *African Slave Trade*, Report No. 590, "Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the African Slave Trade; together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index, Session, 1850," p. 240.

³⁶ Report No. 53, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

Treaty of 1826,³⁷ which will be treated in detail below.³⁸

Turning at this point to a consideration of the slave trade as related exclusively to Brazil, the first important measure was a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Great Britain and Portugal, signed at Rio de Janeiro February 19, 1810.³⁹ The Portuguese royal family owed a debt of gratitude to England for the aid of the British fleet in escaping from Lisbon to Brazil in 1807-8, when Portugal was menaced by the advance of Napoleon.⁴⁰ This, together with England's growing interest in the suppression of the slave trade, led to the inclusion in the above treaty of Article X, whereby Portugal agreed to the general principle of the gradual abolition of this traffic and to its restriction in Africa to the Portuguese colonies, so far as its own subjects were concerned.⁴¹

Difficulties over the enforcement of the treaty and protests of injustice by Brazilians led at the Congress of Vienna to the signing on January 21, 1815, of a Convention between Great Britain and Portugal by the terms of which the former established a fund of £300,000 to provide for the claims of illegal detention of Portuguese ships captured on the suspicion of being engaged in illicit slave-trading.⁴²

With this point settled, Castlereagh recalled to the Portuguese representatives the agreement of Portugal "to co-operate with His Britannic Majesty in the cause of

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 333-4; also British Foreign and State Papers, 1826-27: "Convention between Great Britain and Brazil, for the Abolition of the African Slave Trade.—Signed at Rio de Janeiro, November 23, 1826," pp. 609-12.

³⁸ See below, Chapter II.

³⁹ British Foreign and State Papers, 1812-14, Part I, pp. 547-557. "Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between His Britannic Majesty and His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal.—Signed at Rio de Janeiro, the 19th of February 1810."

⁴⁰ James, H. G., and Martin, P. A., *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁴¹ British Foreign and State Papers, *op. cit.*, Article X, pp. 555-6.

⁴² Koster, H., *Travels in Brazil*, 2 vols., 2d ed. (London, 1817), Vol. II, pp. 299-300. British Foreign and State Papers, 1815-16, pp. 936-7, "Substance of a Convention between Great Britain and Portugal.—Signed at Vienna, the 21st January, 1815."

humanity and justice, by adopting the most efficacious means of bringing about the gradual abolition of the Slave Trade''⁴³ and presented to them a treaty which was signed the following day, January 22, 1815, and which prohibited slave trade north of the Equator and provided for a consideration of the total abolition of the traffic at some future period.⁴⁴

This treaty included only a general clause for the adoption of "such measures as may best conduce to the effectual execution"⁴⁵ of the treaty. An Additional Convention signed July 28, 1817, between Great Britain and Portugal attempted to remedy this through certain definite provisions. British subjects and British vessels were entirely forbidden to engage in the trade; Portuguese might continue the trade only in Portuguese territory south of the Equator. British and Portuguese warships were given the right to visit and search such merchant vessels of the two nations as might be suspected to have on board slaves illicitly acquired but could bring for trial before the tribunals established for this purpose only those vessels on which slaves were actually found. Two such tribunals, or Mixed Commissions, were instituted, one on the coast of Africa and the other in Brazil.⁴⁶

Another Separate Article was signed between the two on September 11, 1817, as follows:

"As soon as the total abolition of the Slave Trade for the Subjects of the Crown of Portugal shall have taken place, Portugal

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 1812-14, Part I, p. 555.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 1815-16, pp. 937-9, "Substance of a Treaty between Great Britain and Portugal, signed at Vienna, January 22, 1815."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 938.

⁴⁶ British Foreign and State Papers, 1816-17, pp. 85-118, "Additional Convention between Great Britain and Portugal, for the prevention of Slave Trade, signed in London, the 28th of July, 1817;—and Separate Article, signed in London, the 11th of September, 1817" (in Portuguese and French).

English version: British Foreign and State Papers, 1823-24, pp. 689-702, "Additional Convention to the Treaty of the 22d January, 1815, between His Britannic Majesty and His Most Faithful Majesty, for the purpose of preventing Their Subjects from engaging in any Illicit Traffic in Slaves, signed at London the 28th July, 1817, in the French and Portuguese Languages."

and Great Britain agree to adapt to that state of circumstances, the stipulations of the Additional Convention concluded at London the 28th of July last; but in default of such alterations, the Additional Convention of that date shall remain in force until the expiration of fifteen years from the day on which the general Abolition of the Slave Trade shall so take place on the part of the Portuguese Government." ⁴⁷

It was this Separate Article which Brazil claimed as its authority in 1845 for terminating the provisions of the Convention which were incorporated in the law of 1831,⁴⁸ and by so doing led England to pass the Aberdeen Bill.

Among the reforms made by Dom John during the time when the Portuguese court was transferred to Brazil were certain provisions limiting the number of slaves brought from Africa to the tonnage and accommodations of the ship; forbidding the branding of negroes, requiring certain sanitary measures and the presence of a surgeon on every ship, and certain standards in regard to food and water; the giving of money rewards in cases where the number of deaths in the transatlantic trip did not exceed a certain proportion of those on board; and making the surgeon and the master of the vessel liable for punishment in cases where neglect was shown.⁴⁹

In spite of all the attempts at regulation, however, the Brazilian slave trade continued to increase during the colonial period.⁵⁰ The traffic south of the Equator with Portuguese colonies was still open, while north of the Line vessels, although obviously engaged in the slave trade, could not be held unless slaves were actually found on board. The desire of Brazil for England's recognition of its independence from Portugal and the part played by England in inducing Portugal to recognize the independence of its former colony ⁵¹ gave England the opportunity to secure

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 701.

⁴⁸ Christie, W. D., *Notes on Brazilian Questions* (London and Cambridge, 1865), pp. 2-3.

⁴⁹ British Foreign and State Papers, 1816-17, pp. 118-26, "Alvara of the Prince Regent of Portugal, respecting the Slave Trade.—Santa Cruz, Rio Janeiro, 24th November 1813."

⁵⁰ Walsh, R., *op. cit.*, II, p. 178.

further restriction of the African slave trade through the Treaty of 1826.

II. HISTORY OF THE BRAZILIAN SLAVE TRADE, 1825-1845

The British-Brazilian Treaty of 1826 was signed at Rio de Janeiro November 23, 1826.⁵² Ratifications were exchanged March 13, 1827,⁵³ an act carrying this Convention into execution was passed by the English Parliament July 2, 1827,⁵⁴ and March 13, 1830, became the date for the final abolition of the Brazilian slave trade.

Article I of the treaty made it illegal for any Brazilian subject to be concerned in the carrying on of the African Slave Trade after three years dating from the exchange of ratifications. The remaining articles renewed the agreements of the Treaty of 1815, the Convention of 1817 and the various explanatory provisions added later.⁵⁵

In other words, while providing for the abolition of the slave trade and its treatment as piracy at the end of three years, the treaty allowed the trade, in the meantime, to continue south of the Equator and did not permit slave ships north of the Line to be seized except when slaves were actually on board, even though the vessel was fully equipped for and known to be in the slave trade. Under these conditions many slave ships were able to evade capture as noted by Walsh: "Ships frequently enter the mouths of rivers, or other parts of the coast, having every apparatus on board for the reception of slaves, which are collected in the vicinity, and ready to embark on the first opportunity. This is known to our ships, who often watch them for a considerable time, while the slaver remains quietly and securely at anchor. When from any cause the attention of the cruiser is called away, the slaves are all embarked in one night; and when the cruiser resumes his

⁵¹ Reybaud, C., *Brasiliën* (Aus dem Französischen) (Hamburg, 1857), p. 8.

⁵² British Foreign and State Papers, 1826-27, *op. cit.*, pp. 609-12.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 610.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 612-14.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 609-12. Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1850, Vol. IX, Report No. 53, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-4.

station, the slaver has disappeared with her full cargo. The cruiser has little chance of overtaking the slaver, even though she should be in the immediate neighborhood. The superior class of vessels employed . . . is so well calculated for escape in this way, that our ships of war have no chance of overtaking them at sea. To defeat this, an additional article in the treaty with the Netherlands provides that all vessels are to be considered as slavers and treated as such when they have an apparatus evidently intended for the reception of slaves, even though none are found on board."⁵⁶

The signing of the treaty aroused the fear of a shortage of slave labor in a country where the people believed that the climate necessitated slave labor instead of white. Additional capital was invested in the slave traffic in order to take advantage of the intervening three years before total abolition and to import as many slaves as possible during that time.⁵⁷

In 1806, as mentioned above (p. 1), there had been introduced into the whole country of Brazil only 38,000 Africans. In 1820, the number for Rio de Janeiro alone was 15,020,⁵⁸ and in 1829, the year preceding that in which the Treaty of 1826 was to go into effect, the number imported into Rio was 44,205.⁵⁹ By years, the figures for Rio de Janeiro were as follows:

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number Imported</i>
1820 ⁶⁰	15,020
1821 ⁶⁰	24,134
1822 ⁶⁰	27,363
1823 ⁶⁰	20,349
1824 ⁶⁰	29,503
1825 ⁶⁰	26,254
1826 ⁶⁰	33,999
1827 ⁶⁰	29,787
1828 ⁶⁰	43,555
1829 ⁶¹	44,205

⁵⁶ Walsh, R., *op. cit.*, II, pp. 268-9.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 178.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ British Foreign and State Papers, 1829-30, *Slave Trade Correspondence*, Class B, p. 748; and *Ibid.*, 1830-31, Class B, p. 553.

⁶⁰ Walsh, R., *op. cit.*, II, p. 178.

⁶¹ British Foreign and State Papers, 1829-30, *op. cit.*, p. 748; and *Ibid.*, 1830-31, p. 553.

The signing of the treaty had the effect of doubling the price of slaves in Brazil and led to much enmity against England.⁶² It was also claimed against England that "it was from policy alone that she abolished the slave trade, because her colonies were fully stocked, and that now she wishes to accomplish the abolition among all other nations who are not so well provided with labourers, that they may not rival her transatlantic possessions, and ultimately surpass them by the increased number of workmen."⁶³

The article abolishing the slave trade went into effect March, 1830, but it was not until the following year, November 7, 1831, that a law for the enforcement of the treaty by Brazil was passed. This law declared free all slaves illegally imported; those responsible for such importations were required to pay a heavy fine and, in addition, the cost of the re-exportation of such slaves to some part of Africa determined by the government; rewards were provided for those who aided the execution of the law by furnishing information or making captures.⁶⁴

The law was severe but had little or no effect because the government lacked the power to enforce it; principally, it was said, because 999 out of 1,000 Brazilians more or less directly profited by the slave trade.⁶⁵

The British-Brazilian Treaty and the enforcement law of 1831 failed to accomplish their purpose because of the conditions of the slave trade itself, because of the political and social conditions of the country at the time, and because

⁶² Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1850, Vol. IX, Report No. 53, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

⁶³ Koster, H., *op. cit.*, II, p. 297.

⁶⁴ United States, 30th Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 7, House Executive Document No. 61, pp. 1-223, "Correspondence between the Consuls of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, etc., with the Secretary of State, on the Subject of the African Slave Trade: Message of the President." (Brazilian Law of 1831, pp. 156-168.)

British Foreign and State Papers, 1832-33, pp. 165-7, "Law of the Regency, prohibiting the importation of Slaves into Brazil. Rio de Janeiro, 7th November, 1831."

⁶⁵ Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1850, Vol. IX, Report No. 53, *op. cit.*, pp. 336-7.

of the attitude of the people toward the abolition of the traffic.

The two greatest obstacles in the way of a strict enforcement of any regulations against the slave trade were the great profits to be realized through the traffic and the comparative ease with which the law might be evaded.

Lord Howden, former British Minister to Brazil, in his testimony before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the slave trade, reported that an enforcement of the law by the Brazilian government might decrease the amount of the traffic but that "the gains were so great that people would still run the risk." He estimated that "a good-sized slaver, with a good cargo, without being very full, and at a high valuation for purchase, wages, food, medicines, and price of slaves, costs about £5,000, and the return cargo of human beings sells for about £25,000, that is to say, at about 500 per cent profit."⁶⁶ The profits to be realized of course varied greatly but were far larger than any legitimate trade could promise. When, as held by the British Customs officials, no illicit trade can be suppressed where the profits exceed thirty per cent, the difficulties in the case of the Brazilian slave trade can readily be seen.⁶⁷

In addition to the enormous profits to be made, was the comparative ease with which slave vessels were able to evade capture. Along much of the coast of Brazil are long reefs paralleling the shore. The passage thus formed is such that while small Brazilian boats could easily sail inside, English cruisers could not safely follow them. Also, reports Minister Howden, "The whole system of shore-signals is now brought to a degree of perfection that is quite extraordinary when you recollect the extent of the country. The boats go out to reconnoitre, and some being catamarans, as in the waters of Bahia and Pernambuco, they are hardly visible. When they see the cruisers, they sound immense horns, which are heard upon the shore, and up goes a fire upon the hill as a beacon, which is re-

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁶⁷ Buxton, T. F., *op. cit.*, p. 221.

peated along the coast; it is impossible for anything to be more perfectly managed; all the appliances of this trade are brought to a degree of perfection that is astonishing and which nothing but the immense profit can explain. The slaves, too, are now landed in large flat-bottomed boats, which are filled with amazing celerity. The slaver does not even anchor, and after getting rid of her cargo, and perhaps part of her equipment, returns to Rio or Bahia, or Santos, or Santa Caterina, in ballast.”⁶⁸

That an uncertain but large number of slaves were smuggled into Brazil is borne out by the fact that most of the ships from the coast of Africa reported themselves as “in ballast” upon arriving in Brazilian ports. The report for Rio de Janeiro for the first nine months of 1837 is a typical example:

VESSELS ARRIVING IN RIO DE JANEIRO FROM THE COAST OF AFRICA DURING THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1837⁶⁹

Month	Total No.	“In ballast”	No. of remainder from slave ports
January	11	10	1
February	7	5	2
March	15	15	0
April	11	10	1
May	7	6	1
June	4	3	1
July	8	4	3
August	1	1	0
September	2	1	1
	66	55	10

Beside those arriving in ballast, all the others except one came from ports in Africa notorious for their slave-trading activities.

During the year 1837, seventy vessels from the African slave ports of Angola, Benguela and Loando imported into

⁶⁸ Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1850, Vol. IX, Report No. 53, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁶⁹ Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1837, Vol. LIV, *Slave Trade Correspondence, Class A*, pp. 143, 146, 148, 150, 153, 155, 163, 165, 171.

Brazil near Rio de Janeiro 29,929 slaves. "All these vessels came in ballast to the port of Rio de Janeiro, after having landed their slaves on the coast."⁷⁰

The lack of a strong national government was an important cause of the lack of effect of the abolition law of 1831. According to Mossé in his account of the life of Dom Pedro II, "But how could the law be enforced when anarchy reigned everywhere, when the naval force of the empire was employed in combatting the enemies of order and union in the Amazon and its branches and in the lakes and streams of the Rio Grande du Sud? Nevertheless, the English were more and more pressing upon the Brazilian government in spite of the difficult crises which they were passing through. Dom Pedro II succeeded in bringing to an end the civil war only in 1845, and we have seen the last provincial revolt in 1848-49."⁷¹

The sincerity of the Brazilian government in making the treaty is indicated, at a time when because of the struggle for independence its finances were uncertain, by the willingness to give up the amount of revenue which the signing of such a treaty would involve. The following estimate was made by Walsh:

A slave pays to the government 10 per cent on the first price, and the same sum every time he is purchased again. On proceeding into the interior, he pays 5½ milreis when leaving Rio, and 5½ on passing the Rio Preto, and 30 vintems on crossing the bridge of the Parahiba; so that every one sold at the Vallongo for 250 milreis, and brought to the Minas Gerães, and there sold again pays to the government 61,600 reis, or about £8 at the present currency. If, therefore, out of the number imported into Rio, 30,000 be annually sent up the country, the whole will produce to the government a revenue of £240,000 per annum from Rio alone. To consent, then, to the abolition of the slave trade, attended with such a serious deduction from the embarrassed revenues of the country, was no small sacrifice on the part of the government, and affords a strong pre-

⁷⁰ Buxton, T. F., *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁷¹ Mossé, B., *Dom Pedro II, Empereur du Brésil* (Paris, 1889), pp. 110-11.

sumption that the emperor is very sincere in his humane wishes for the entire extinction of the traffic.⁷²

However, during this period, the fear on the part of both the emperor and the Brazilian Assembly of the result of increased power in the hands of the other led to little being done. The regency established through Dom Pedro I abdicating in favor of his five-year son was unsuccessful in maintaining law and order; and it was only with the declaration of the majority and the beginning of the reign of Dom Pedro II, that there came the promise of a settled government.⁷³

In addition, Brazil during this time was largely under the control of the Portuguese slave-traders.⁷⁴ These were natives of Portugal, who entering Brazil as poor immigrants (some of whom became naturalized Brazilians), beginning from a push-cart business, gradually built up establishments of their own and became wealthy. There were about 40,000 of these and they included the great capitalists, important money-lenders and large slave-dealers of Brazil.⁷⁵

As reported by Lord Howden, former British Minister to Brazil:

These are the people who lend money when it is wanted; the Ministers and the Deputies are almost all in pecuniary difficulties; the Ministers when they are in want of money almost immediately go to the capitalist, who is ten to one a slave-dealer; beside which, slaves not being paid for by ready money but by credit, the slave-dealers hold mortgages on at least one-half of the whole real property in Brazil; so that one way or another they have thrown a net over the whole country, both governors and governed. In spite of their power and influence the Portuguese are heartily disliked and are the victims in most of the insurrections.⁷⁶

The feeling in favor of retaining the slave trade was strongest at Rio de Janeiro because here were "the great

⁷² Walsh, R., *op. cit.*, p. 181.

⁷³ James, H. G., and Martin, P. A., *op. cit.*, pp. 115-7.

⁷⁴ Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1850, Vol. IX, No. 53, p. 222.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22. Similar reports by others, pp. 29, 159, 165.

monied interests concentrated and the many commercial interests connected with the slave trade.”⁷⁷ Nevertheless, there was a certain element in the Brazilian government who desired to keep the treaty obligations regarding the slave trade, and besides this, a group who thoroughly believed in the abolition movement⁷⁸ but who were small in numbers and had little influence.⁷⁹ During this period there was not much debate in the Brazilian Chamber on the subject, and the abolition speeches were “often pretexts of opposition rather than the expression of any real philanthropy.”⁸⁰

Of the classes of Brazil, the landed proprietors, especially the owners of coffee plantations, opposed the restriction of the slave trade, partly because, through their mortgaged possessions, they were under the influence of the Portuguese slave dealers and partly because they saw no other way to cultivate their plantations except by slave labor.⁸¹ On the other hand, the slave trade was opposed on the ground that its continuance would lead to a surplus population of Negroes which would result in slave uprisings. This was particularly so in the north, especially at Bahia and Pernambuco.⁸² The slaves imported here were nearly all of the same race and from the same part of Africa, spoke the same language, and were mentally superior to other African races. Here also they were allowed to converse in their own language.⁸³ There was not this fear of slave insurrections in the south of Brazil.⁸⁴ There the law prohibited them from speaking their native language;⁸⁵ a variety of races was imported into Rio de Janeiro; their religions and languages differed widely; they possessed a

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 26.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 272, 159, 165.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 29.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

clannishness which resulted in hatred among the various types and numerous local feuds;⁸⁶ and hostility among the Negroes was encouraged by the white population as the best guarantee against a general uprising.⁸⁷

The belief was more or less general in Brazil at this time that prohibition of the slave trade would lead to such a shortage of common labor as to cause the ruin of Brazilian agriculture and commerce.⁸⁸ This was partly the result of the belief that white men were unable to do continuous work in a tropical climate and partly due to the policy regarding slave labor by which the slave was "worked out." Few women were imported because the mortality among them on the trip over was high and meant, therefore, a smaller profit on the cargo. The men brought to Brazil were worked to the limit of their endurance and died or were discarded when their usefulness was over, on the theory that it was cheaper to secure a fresh supply than to care for the present supply and try to build up a native slave population.⁸⁹ The mortality of slaves in the first two or three years after they were brought over was particularly large.⁹⁰ The mines back of Rio were worked mostly by slave labor and here the mortality was high. Not only were the slaves worked to the limit of their strength but constitutionally they seemed unable to adapt themselves to the climate easily.⁹¹ Thus, under such a policy there was a constant demand for more slaves to replenish the continually decreasing supply.

During the 30's and 40's, following the Brazilian law for the abolition of the slave trade, there was a change in the type of vessels used, steamers being employed in addition to larger and better sailing vessels, and some equipped with guns for defence.⁹² In general, however, most of the slave

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

⁸⁷ Walsh, R., *op. cit.*, II, p. 182.

⁸⁸ Koster, H., *op. cit.*, p. 301; Mossé, B., *op. cit.*, p. 113; Gt. Brit., Sess. Papers, Vol. IX, No. 53, pp. 128, 135.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

vessels were poor and slightly built,⁹³ on the theory of the smaller loss in case of capture. A large number of the slavers were brought from the United States, but many were openly built in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro under the very eyes of the Brazilian government.⁹⁴

Typical consular reports during the period 1825-1845 give an idea of the state of the slave trade during this time. For example, seven years after the Brazilian Abolition Law went into effect:

Number of Africans illegally imported into the harbor of Rio de Janeiro and its vicinity, during the last six months of the year 1838.

Month	No. Imported.	
July	1,928	
August	889*	* The Market over-
September	3,828	stocked, and a
October	4,676	consequent limited
November	3,656	importation.
December	4,668	
	<hr/> 19,645	

This is the number of negroes ascertained, without a doubt, to have been imported in vessels all under the Portuguese flag during six months: in the month of June 3,863 were imported. But if we take into consideration the vessels which have clandestinely landed Africans on the coast of this Province, the number would be much greater. In the whole year 84 vessels have entered this port almost openly, gone through the formality, almost ridiculous, of being examined by a Juiz de Paz, and imported 36,974 negroes with impunity; but the real number imported into this Province is probably 40,000 or upwards.⁹⁵

Again, March 20, 1843 (Rio de Janeiro):

A report exists in town, and, the slave-traders are boasting of it! that a vessel with upwards of 500 slaves on board had suc-

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1839, Vol. XLIX, *Further Series, Class B*, p. 123.

ceeded in landing her cargo in the neighborhood, having eluded the efforts of Her Majesty's brig "Curlew," in a chase of nearly two days off this port.⁹⁶

And, finally, the report of the United States Consul, February 18, 1845, a few months before the Aberdeen Bill was passed:

The slave trade is undoubtedly on the increase.

I learn through Mr. Samo, one of the Mixed Commissioners of England and Brazil, that the number of slaves imported from Africa into Brazil during 1844, was at least 64,000. The night before the very day, the 3d inst., when Commodore Turner delivered up the Porpoise, 600 were marched across the land from Cape Frio to Praia Grande, just across the harbour of Rio de Janeiro. The *new* negroes are just as common in almost every Brazilian family able to purchase them as when the slave trade was lawful.⁹⁷

Under such circumstances, with the slave trade seemingly little diminished, or even increasing, it is little wonder that Great Britain was led to further measures in the attempt to suppress effectively the slave traffic. The Aberdeen Bill was the instrument selected for this purpose.

III. THE ABOLITION OF THE BRAZILIAN SLAVE TRADE

The Separate Article signed by Great Britain and Portugal on September 11, 1817, provided that the Additional Convention of July 28, 1817, containing the provisions against the carrying on of an illicit slave trade should, if unchanged by subsequent agreement, "remain in force until the expiration of fifteen years from the day on which the general Abolition of the Slave Trade shall so take place on the part of the Portuguese government."⁹⁸

The treaty of 1826 between Great Britain and Brazil, in addition to a declaration of the slave trade as piracy, took

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1844, Vol. XLVIII, Class A, p. 200.

⁹⁷ United States, 30th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. 7, House Exec. Doc. No. 61, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁹⁸ British Foreign and State Papers, 1823-24, *op. cit.*, p. 701.

over unchanged the treaties made between Great Britain and Portugal from 1815 to that date. On March 12, 1845, therefore, Brazil, claiming as its authority the Separate Article of 1817, announced that the following day would mark the termination of the Convention of 1817⁹⁹ and, thereby, all the important provisions of the Treaty of 1826 with the exception of that by which the slave trade "shall be deemed and treated as piracy." Brazil also refused to enter into any new agreement regarding the slave trade.¹⁰⁰

Previous to this, Great Britain had known of Brazil's intention to reject the treaty as soon as it could do so, and at various times had proposed measures which would be more effective. A summary of these attempts is given by Lord Aberdeen:

Repeated representations were made to the Brazilian government on the continuance of the Slave Trade, and the necessity of more active and powerful measures for suppressing it; and in the year 1835, Articles additional to the Convention were actually signed by Plenipotentiaries on the part of the Contracting Parties. Unfortunately these Articles were never ratified by the Crown of Brazil.

Again, on the 23d of August, 1840, new propositions were made on the part of Great Britain, framed on memoranda drawn up by the Brazilian government, but when proposed by Great Britain, the Brazilian government declined to accept them.

On August 26, 1841, the Brazilian government on their part, proposed certain terms; and in April, 1842, the Undersigned submitted to the Imperial government proposals for modifying those terms, so as to carry out effectually the intention of the Parties to the Convention of 1826; but on the 17th of October, in that year, the Brazilian government thought proper, not only entirely to reject those modifications, but to declare, by a note under that date, from Senhor Aureliano to the Undersigned, that "the Imperial government not only consider that other dispositions besides those which already exist are now unnecessary in order to the total extinction of the traffic, but that they regard it as prudent not to adopt any others."

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1845-46, p. 689.

¹⁰⁰ Christie, W. D., *op. cit.*, p. 51.

Accordingly, Senhor Aureliano returned to the Undersigned the draft of Convention, refusing peremptorily even to enter into negotiation on it.

This occurred at a time in respect to which the British Commissioners had observed to Her Majesty's Government, that "at no period has the Brazilian Slave Trade been so extensively carried on as it is at the present moment in Rio de Janeiro itself."¹⁰¹

The only course left to Great Britain, apparently, was that of putting into force the remaining article of the Treaty of 1826 which made the carrying on of the slave trade a matter of piracy.¹⁰² Accordingly a bill, the Aberdeen Act, was introduced into the House of Lords July 7, 1845, by Lord Aberdeen. In proposing the measure he said: "Your lordships are aware that the Brazilian government have always declined to fulfil their general engagements to cooperate with the British government for the abolition of the slave trade. With rare and short exceptions, the treaty has been by them systematically violated from the period of its conclusion to the present time. Car-goes of slaves have been landed in open day in the streets of the capital, and bought and sold like cattle, without any obstacle whatever being imposed on the traffic."¹⁰³

Notice sent to Brazil of the intention to pass a parliamentary bill giving to the British Admiralty Courts the adjudication of slave vessels operating contrary to the treaty of 1826¹⁰⁴ brought an immediate protest that the measure would be a violation of Brazilian sovereignty but brought no offer to remedy the situation by treaty or otherwise.¹⁰⁵

The Aberdeen Bill quickly passed both Houses of Parliament, meeting only a slight opposition in the Commons.¹⁰⁶ The Act provided (*a*) that the Mixed Commissions then established should continue for six months longer in order

¹⁰¹ British Foreign and State Papers, 1845-46, p. 696.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 697-8.

¹⁰³ Christie, W. D., *op. cit.*, pp. 56-7.

¹⁰⁴ British Foreign and State Papers, 1845-46, pp. 698-700.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 701-4.

¹⁰⁶ Christie, W. D., *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 55-7.

to settle pending suits; (b) that the law prohibiting British Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty Courts acting in cases of vessels violating the Convention of 1826 should be repealed; and (c) that this power be specifically given to such courts; and (d) that condemned vessels be destroyed or taken into the British service.¹⁰⁷

The passing of the Aberdeen Act aroused great indignation in Brazil. Commodore Sir Charles Hotham wrote to the Secretary of the Admiralty that Senhor Cavalcante, the Brazilian Minister of Marine, had said to him: "You cannot expect us to assist England, or consent to stop the trade, whilst you are seizing Brazilian vessels, insulting our flag, and illegally condemning them. Do not think I am in favour of the Slave Trade; I do not possess one slave on my property. I wish to see it suppressed, it does the Brazilian no good; the Portuguese manage it, and are the great gainers."¹⁰⁸

The British Minister reported that there was "a certain enmity against Great Britain in Brazil arising out of British efforts to suppress the Slave Trade," and that the Aberdeen Bill "rankles not only as regards the Slave Trade, but it hurts their pride, because they think they have been insulted; it is an Act that has offended their nationality."¹⁰⁹ Brazil held that, according to international law, no state can exercise jurisdiction over the property or persons in the territory of another state, that the ships of a state are considered as within its territory, and that visit and search on the high seas is a belligerent right only.¹¹⁰ Great Britain took the position, on the other hand, that since the two countries had agreed to treat the slave trade as piracy that the very term implied, since not otherwise stated, that any subject of either country guilty of such

¹⁰⁷ Great Britain, *Statutes at Large*, 8 & 9 Vict., 1845, Cap. CXII, pp. 1257-60, "An Act to amend an Act, intituled An Act to carry into execution a Convention between His Majesty and the Emperor of Brazil, for the regulation and final abolition of the African Slave Trade."

¹⁰⁸ Great Britain, *Sess. Papers*, 1850, IX, No. 53, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹¹⁰ British Foreign and State Papers, 1845-46, pp. 760-2.

crime was "placed within the reach of other laws than those of his own country."¹¹¹

There was also the feeling that England was not really in earnest in suppressing the slave trade.¹¹² The participation of British subjects and the use of British capital in the slave trade in Brazil strengthened this idea. It was believed that England was merely attempting to secure a monopoly of the African slave trade.¹¹³

Slave dealers and others interested in the trade encouraged the feeling of hostility against Great Britain and urged that "the best response to give to England was to persevere in the commerce which the foreigners wish to prohibit."¹¹⁴ Slaves continued to be imported and their importation ignored by the Brazilian authorities. The British Minister reported that "While I was at Rio, a magnificent brig, called the 'Galgo,' of 400 tons, with gilt trucks and quarter galleries, left the harbour of Rio on a slave voyage; she had the regular permission from the authorities to go out at night, which is against the harbour regulations, in order to escape the vigilance of a man-of-war that I had desired to watch her."¹¹⁵

The English Consul at Bahia wrote (March 31, 1848) of "a startling proof of the extreme avidity with which slave traffic is carried on at this place, and fearful risks individuals engaged therein will subject themselves to in order to gain their ends. It appears incredible, but it is nevertheless a fact, that a ship's long boat manned by three persons, and measuring twenty-four feet extreme length, seven feet breadth, and only three feet nine inches depth, has arrived here from the coast of Africa, in which fifty miserable children had actually been stowed, and thirty-five conducted thither, fifteen having died on the passage. It is more than probable that every soul on board would have

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 711.

¹¹² Gr. Brit., Sess., 1850, IX, No. 53, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 223. U. S., 30th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. 7, H. E. D. No. 61, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

¹¹⁴ Mossé, B., *op. cit.*, pp. 111-2.

¹¹⁵ Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1850, IX, No. 53, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

perished for want of water and provisions, had they not been relieved by a merchant vessel, when reduced to the last extremity. The authorities here have not taken the slightest notice of this occurrence, although it is generally known and spoken of, numbers having been to see the boat as an object of curiosity."¹¹⁶

Other examples of slave trade activity were:
Minister Howden:

Steamers were built at Ponta de Area, almost opposite to my house at Rio, for the purpose of the slave trade. I know that the steamers have landed cargoes of 1500 slaves, and to my knowledge, in the year 1847 there was one vessel that made five trips to Africa and back; a sailer, and landed all her cargo—it brought according to the lowest calculation, 3000 slaves; they give an average of £40 a piece, and the expense would be about a fifth of the net sale.¹¹⁷

Report of Consul Porter (Bahia) September 30, 1848:

I beg leave to call your Lordship's attention to the Brazilian yacht "Andorinha" of 80 tons burthen, which vessel has made eight successful voyages to and from the coast of Africa, having actually landed 3,392 slaves at this port, receiving the usual freight of 120 reis per head, amounting to £40,704 sterling, calculated at the present rate of exchange of 24 d. per milrei.

Her first cost, including everything necessary for the voyage, may have been about £2,000. The parties interested in the vessel admit that, after deducting all expenses, she has left a clear profit of more than 800 per cent.

She has always cleared from this in ballast for different parts of the world, and returned hither after an absence of about 60 days, using the subterfuge of giving entry as having put back to this port in distress.

The "Andorinha" landed her first cargo of slaves in December, 1846.¹¹⁸

Statistics for the importation of slaves into Brazil preceding and following the passage of the Aberdeen Act show a large increase in the years following:

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 444.

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. Imported</i>
1842	17,435
1843	19,095
1844	22,849
1845	19,453
1846	50,324
1847	56,172
1848	60,000
1849	54,000
1850	23,000
1851	2,287

A comparison of the captures of British cruisers made before and after the passage of the Aberdeen Bill shows a greater proportion of Brazilian vessels in the years following in about the same or a slightly larger number of captures.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Brazilian</i>	<i>Other nationalities</i>	<i>Under no flag</i>
1840.....	71	10	25	38
1841.....	61	12	11	43
1842.....	48	4	6	44
1843.....	41	13	6	25
1844.....	44	11	22	16
1845.....	80	19	13	53 ¹²⁰
1847.....	76	54	2	20
1848.....	87	56	2	29 ¹²¹

The difficulties in the Brazilian slave trade were complicated by the activities of the North Americans, both in furnishing ships and in importing slaves illegally into Brazil.¹²²

But there gradually developed a change in public opinion regarding the slave traffic. This was remarked upon by W. Gore Ouseley, who was Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de

¹¹⁹ Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1852, Accounts and Papers, Vol. LV, State Papers—Austria; Rome, Turkey; Slave Trade, No. 201, Return of the Number of Slaves Embarked on the Coast of Africa, and landed in Brazil and in Cuba in the Years 1842–1851, p. 337.

¹²⁰ Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1850, Vol. IX, No. 53, *op. cit.*, pp. 356–69.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 349–55.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 23. Du Bois, W. E. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 295–7. U. S., 30th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. 7, House Exec. Doc. No. 61, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–223.

Janeiro 1832-36 and 1838-41 and who again visited Rio in 1845 and 1848:

"When I first went out to Rio de Janeiro, there was no hope whatever of inducing the Brazilians to look upon suppressive measures against the Slave Trade, otherwise than as a mere fiscal regulation, as far as their own Government was concerned, and as dictated by jealousy and the competition of the British Colonies on the part of our Government, without any regard whatever to humanity. No enlarged ideas of policy, nor any question of the injurious influence it might have upon Brazil, had ever entered into their heads, with the exception of one or two distinguished men, such as the Andrades, who opposed it on moral grounds and those of justice and humanity, and some others, who considered the trade in a political light as fraught with danger. Subsequently an insurrection occurred in Bahia, which induced the Brazilian Government to look with some anxiety to the increase of the Negro population, and the danger arising from it. Since then, I was surprised to find, upon my last visit to Rio de Janeiro, the great progress in public opinion of sentiments similar to those that we hold in England respecting the Slave Trade and even slavery. . . . This feeling is principally almost exclusively among the upper classes, and also the young men at the colleges and schools, some of which have been partly educated in Europe."¹²³ He also noted that "the maintenance of the English blockade . . . has not checked the growth of this spirit but rather strengthened it as giving evidence that England is in earnest about putting down the Slave Trade."¹²⁴

Between 1847 and 1853 various proposals were made by Great Britain and Brazil for a new slave trade treaty which would be satisfactory to both but no agreement could be reached.¹²⁵ Brazil wished, as a preliminary, the Act of 1845 rescinded, while England refused to repeal the Bill until Brazil should sign a treaty which would insure suppression of the African slave trade.¹²⁶

Meanwhile, the importation of Negro slaves into Brazil

¹²³ Great Britain, Sess. Papers, 1850, Vol. IX, Report No. 590, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹²⁵ Great Britain, Sess. Papers, Lords, 1854, Vol. XVI, *Slave Trade Correspondence, Class B*, pp. 102-35.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

showed no indication of decreasing, and England definitely changed its policy. On April 22, 1850,¹²⁷ the British Admiralty was ordered to authorize its cruisers to make captures in Brazilian territorial waters of vessels suspected of carrying on a traffic in slaves. Brazil protested vigorously but at a conference of the British Minister at Rio de Janeiro and the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs on July 13, 1850,¹²⁸ the former agreed to recommend the suspension of the orders in case a law was passed and measures taken to make effective the Treaty of 1826 and the Brazilian Slave Law of 1831. Certain portions of the coast were then left to the supervision of Brazilian warships and British cruisers temporarily refrained from operating in these areas, but a general suspension order was not given.¹²⁹

On September 4, 1850, there was passed by the Brazilian Legislature an act for the suppression of the slave trade which provided penalties for carrying on the traffic, requiring vessels leaving for the coast of Africa to make declaration not to engage in the slave trade and also to furnish a bond to that effect, and established courts of Vice Admiralty to try slave cases instead of leaving their trial to common juries.¹³⁰ This law was declared in effect by the Emperor November 14, 1850.¹³¹

In spite of all the provisions made, however, slaves continued to be imported in large numbers, and on January 11, 1851, six months after the partial suspension, the orders of search and seizure by British cruisers in Brazilian territorial waters were declared again in full force.¹³²

¹²⁷ British Foreign and State Papers, 1852-53, *Slave Trade Correspondence*, Class B, p. 314.

¹²⁸ British Foreign and State Papers, 1850-51, *Slave Trade Correspondence*, Class B, pp. 400-1.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 365, 367.

¹³⁰ British Foreign and State Papers, 1849-50, part 2, pp. 1060-1, "Law of the Legislature of Brazil, for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, Rio de Janeiro, September 4, 1850."

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1074-6, "Decree of the Emperor of Brazil for the execution of the Law of 4th September, 1850, against the Slave Trade, Rio de Janeiro, November 4, 1850."

¹³² British Foreign and State Papers, 1850-51, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-404.

In 1851 the number of Africans imported dropped to 3,287 as compared to 23,000 in 1850; in 1853, there were but 700, and during the three years from 1853 to 1856, only 512. After that year the imports were negligible.¹³³ In the meantime, too, internal anarchy had given way to law and order; and a strong ministry was appointed which opposed the slave trade and worked effectively to suppress it.¹³⁴ On April 27, 1852, England notified Brazil of her permanent withdrawal of British warships from Brazilian waters on condition that there was no resumption of the slave trade.¹³⁵

The report of the British Minister to Brazil in 1860 showed that there seemed to be no indications of slave trade activity nor of renewal of the slave trade.¹³⁶

The report of 1861 is as follows:

It deserves to be noted that the Annual Report of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of this year contains for the first time no heading 'Relations with Great Britain, Slave Trade.'

During the last year not a single case has been brought to my notice of a suspicion of an attempt to import slaves into Brazil, and I have not had occasion to correspond with the Minister of Foreign Affairs on that subject.¹³⁷

Finally satisfied that there would be no resumption of the African slave trade, the British Parliament on April 19, 1869, repealed the Aberdeen Act which had been a source of so much irritation to the Brazilian Government.¹³⁸

The Aberdeen Act was thus the means of finally suppressing the Brazilian slave trade. Its success was dependent somewhat upon the restoration of internal order and the coming into power of a capable and enlightened

¹³³ Mossé, B., *op. cit.*, p. 115.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-5.

¹³⁵ British Foreign and State Papers, 1852-53, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

¹³⁶ Great Britain, Sess. Papers, 1861, Vol. XVI, *Slave Trade Correspondence*, Class B, pp. 40-1.

¹³⁷ Great Britain, Sessional Papers, 1862, Vol. 21, *Slave Trade Correspondence*, Class A, p. 48.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1870, Vol. 20, *Slave Trade Correspondence*, Class C, p. 4.

ministry. Much more effective, however, was the changed public opinion in Brazil, and this was largely due to the firm stand taken by England which forced the Brazilian people to a definite decision in the suppression of the slave trade.

JANE ELIZABETH ADAMS

THE BUSTILL FAMILY

This is an account of a Philadelphia family with a continuous record from 1732 to 1925. All families have records, but seldom are they so well preserved as that of the Bustill Family. The items mention the year, month, day and time of day; and this practice is still in use in its records.

Cyrus Bustill, the most prominent of this family, was born in Burlington, New Jersey, February 2, 1732. He learned the art of bread making from a well-known Quaker named Thomas Prior. One of the streets running to the fast flowing Delaware was named for him. Probably his bake shop was located upon it. He went into business for himself and established quite a profitable trade.

He always championed the cause of freedom and gave of his means to promote it. He "would not perpetuate a race of slaves"; so he did not marry early in life. Finally he married Elizabeth Morey, daughter of Satterthwait, an Indian maiden of the Delaware tribe, who lived on the banks of the nigh river bearing their name, and with whom William Penn made his famous treaty for "Penn's Woods." She was as free as himself, and both were familiar with the manners and customs of the Friends. They reared a family of eight children, Rachel, Mary, Ruth, Leah, Grace, Charles, Cyrus and David.

Cyrus Bustill, as the records will show, conducted his bread, cake, and biscuit business many years with credit and profit. The undersigned has the original certificate from which this copy is made:

I hereby certify that Cyrus Bustill has been employed in the baking of all the flour used at the port of Burlington and that he has behaved himself as a faithful, honest man and has given satisfaction such as should recomend him to every good inhabitant.

Given under my hand at Burlington, May 1st. 1782

(Signed)

THOMAS FALCONER.

Contractor for supplying troops at the above mentioned port.

This was a patriotic contribution to the struggle of the Continental forces. It is said he received a silver piece as a souvenir, from General George Washington. A member of the family still preserves it.

Cyrus moved to Philadelphia, and still conducted his baking business at 56 Arch Street. His daughter Grace, who lived next door and conducted a Quaker millinery store, had for customers some of the best families.

Cyrus early became convinced of the rectitude of Friends' principles and conformed to their mode of garb and speech. Not only did he conform outwardly, but Richard Prior, son of Thomas Prior, informed his granddaughter Sarah M. Douglass, that "his deportment was solid and edifying and that the inner man was transformed by renewing of the Holy Ghost." Cyrus and his family attended the Fourth and Arch meeting.

He was sought for advice and aid in matters pertaining to the betterment of his race. He belonged to several benevolent societies of Philadelphia, especially the Free African Society founded April 12, 1787, which was a potent factor in the affairs of people of color of that day. In the *Annals of the first African Church in United States, the Protestant Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, 1862*, it is said: "Cyrus Bustill was generally respected for his uprightness, and much relied upon by his brethren for his sound judgment. He was the first to relinquish his claim in the old Society in behalf of the church. This noble act appears to good advantage in view of his religious sentiments, which accorded with those of the Friends."

He finally retired from business and built a house on Third and Green Streets, where he opened a school and taught. The writer has a letter addressed to him as "school master" near Green Street June 9, 1797. There were but poor chances for the education of the youth of his day, but despite all impediments he was noted as a clear thinker and excellent writer, as sketches, a diary, and accounts still attest. He was an admirable speaker and a business man of considerable intelligence and experience.

“What has come through association, hearsay, and tradition is all to his credit in the way of general cleverness. He became one of the most substantial of the citizens of color and owned considerable property, more than a hundred years ago—some of it still in the possession of his descendants—a family burial plot on his Edgehill farm, in what is now called Bustilltown,” says W. Carl Bolivar in his *Pencil Pusher's Notes*. Cyrus Bustill died in 1806, lamented by all who knew him. His death was recorded in local dailies and he was accorded burial ceremony by Friends.

David Bustill, the youngest child of Cyrus Bustill, was born in 1787. He grew to manhood in the faith of his father and early became interested in the abolition of slavery, which he declared would come, if only the Negroes would pray for and believe it would come. He was earnest and helpful in all matters tending to their uplift. He was a capable plasterer, and taught all his sons and sons-in-law the trade; and his sons and grandsons continue it. Taking a live interest in all things concerning Negroes, too, he lost no opportunity to impress upon the young the importance of holy living in connection with intellectual culture.

His manhood and standing are attested by the following incident recorded in his diary February 1, 1856: “This day the Lord sent me to the Court House, under the steeple at the center building, to warn the court not to do anything more against us, they having a man claimed to be a fugitive slave.”

The writer has heard several times how remarkable was the unannounced appearance of the small man of color, wearing his broad-brimmed hat, which he did not remove, standing before the Judge's desk, and his stern denunciation of the injustice to the slave. Instead of being ejected or at least silenced, the court seemed spellbound and listened till he departed. The judge then released the man.

David Bustill, as stated above, married his cousin, Elizabeth Hicks of Swedesboro, New Jersey, in 1803. The

writer still preserves a typical love letter from him to her just prior to their marriage. They had nine children. Elizabeth Douglass Bustill, the oldest daughter, was a pupil in Prudence Crandall's school when it was molested.

David died in 1866, having nearly reached his four-score years. At his funeral Dilwyn Parrish and Edwin Coates, prominent Friends, paid high tribute to his memory.

In a local newspaper appeared the following obituary notice:

OBITUARY NOTICE

Bustill—In this city last Thursday died David Bustill in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Full of years and experience; a good man and a useful citizen has entered into eternal life, leaving behind him an honored name and example to prompt others, not only to industry and benevolence, but to unwavering faith in God and to holiness of heart and life.

David Bustill's youngest son was Joseph Cassey Bustill, the father of the writer. He was born in Philadelphia, 1822. He was educated in the best schools of his day. He was always a polished writer and convincing speaker. He unstintingly gave his time and talent to every good cause. He was the youngest member of the remarkable Underground Railroad, being only seventeen. He did yeoman's service till after the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. The writer often heard him say he helped over a thousand fugitives to safety.

While he was teaching school at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, many years, fugitives from various places found their way there or were sent to him. A kindly Justice of the Peace used to keep him informed as to the hunted ones; and private homes, churches, lodge rooms, halls, and the like, were at his disposal for use of the fugitives. Many were the hairbreadth escapes and hazardous trips in those days that tried men's souls.

The abolition of slavery, for which his father had prayed and fully expected and rejoicingly lived to see, caused bands of Negroes to form State Equal Rights Leagues. He was

secretary for Pennsylvania and worked unceasingly for the right of franchise. He framed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, it is said, and lived to rejoice over the passage of this and the Fifteenth Amendment.

Because of his very active participation in all these matters, the Philadelphia Union League, which backed the celebration of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in Philadelphia, appointed him chairman of the committee of arrangements, and into his hands went all the business of planning and massing the splendid four-mile parade. Then his dream was realized, and his executive ability was shown in one of the finest pageants given by Negroes. It was a great success and those who promoted it were pleased.

Mr. Bustill was given the highest commendation for the parade, and he was presented with the handsome \$500 banner carried in the procession. He was very proud of it and kept it on the wall of his Philadelphia home until he was ready to move to the home he had built at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania. He then presented the superb banner to his beloved Unity Lodge 711, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows, the first established in Pennsylvania and second in the United States.

He was an Odd Fellow 50 years, joining October 6, 1845. He was one of its bright stars, Grand Treasurer, Most Venerable Patriarch—high stations. He was a zealous member, wrote much of the ritual and finally conceived the Patriarchy, the highest branch of Odd Fellowship. He then organized the first Patriarchy, forming it of Philadelphia men, says Chas. H. Brooks, Esq., in his *History of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows*.

In his last years he wrote the Philadelphia city council recommending a Park at Third and Beach Streets to preserve the Penn Treaty tree spot, where William Penn made his famous treaty with the Indians, from whom he descended, and he recommended recreation piers on the Delaware River and a park at League Island. From them he received a handsome copy of *The City of Philadelphia* and a letter of thanks. All the recommendations have been

followed and are a credit and help to the city he so loved. Like Paul he was "a citizen of no mean city"—a Philadelphian of the Philadelphians—and was able to add to its honor and glory. He died at his home at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, at the age of 73.

Two children of Cyrus Bustill's daughter, Grace, who married Robert Douglass, a highly respected, scholarly, Christian man, were Robert Jr. and Sarah Mapps Douglass. Robert Jr. was educated at the Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, the National Gallery of Fine Arts, and the British Museum, London, England. He became a portrait painter with a studio on Seventh Street near the First Presbyterian Church. He "made" portraits of many noted people and some of his pictures are still preserved. The writer has an advertising circular of his, from his studio at 54 Arch Street, telling of his ability to make daguerreotypes. He taught shorthand, painting, French and Spanish. The writer once heard him and Miss Fannie Jackson converse in French and learned it was their custom, when they met, as it gave them practice.

His sister, Sarah Mapps Douglass, was much better known, as she taught school for 60 years. Possessing the peculiar characteristics of her early training, she followed her mother and her maternal grandfather as a Friend. She attended the Ninth and Spruce meeting third day mornings. It was the same attended by Lucretia Mott and her brother. They were all well acquainted. Writing the father of the undersigned (June 11, 1878), she says, "I thank thee for thy sympathy," and closes with "Fare thee well.

"Affectionately thine,

S. M. Douglass."

Even at that advanced age, she wrote all the long letters herself in the beautiful, clear, graceful style peculiarly her own.

Mrs. Douglass was a member of the Anti-Slavery Women of the United States, who assembled in the convention at

New York in 1837, as related by Nell in his *Colored Patriots of the Revolution*. In 1853, Mrs. S. M. Douglass had charge of the Preparatory Department of the Institute for Colored Youth. She came from a family of means and had been privately tutored. She was highly capable as a lecturer in Physiology and Hygiene. When one considers this period of intellectual barrenness among the colored people in this country, it is creditable that she should achieve so much. Dr. Alexander Crummell, the distinguished scholar and clergyman of Washington, D. C., paid her this eloquent tribute:

“Mrs. Douglass has spent a lifetime in the intellectual training of two generations of Philadelphia’s men and women. Her pupils may be found in scores, if not hundreds of the mature and settled men and women of her native city. The very first people thereof and their children in turn, have sat at the feet of this refined and cultivated woman and received from her the ripe instructions of her well-cultivated mind.”

ANNA BUSTILL SMITH
2047 WARREN AVE.
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.
7/6/1925.

A COMMUNICATION

CARTER G. WOODSON ESQ:—

The record telling of the birth of Cyrus Bustill is written by his hand on pages of a copy of "The Charter Laws and Catalogue of Books of the Library Company of Burlington."

"Philadelphia.

"Printed by William Dunlap, at the Newest Printing Office on the South Side of the Jersey Market, 1758." Penned on the front page is "Sirus Bustill, His Book, February 8th, 1763. S. B."

The catalogue contained in the middle and at the end, blank pages that were used to list the new books.

Cyrus Bustill made use of these, and the book, though treasured, was unread for years. I have the book.

The Family Record of Cyrus Bustill (still preserved) contains the birth and marriage notice of Elizabeth Morrey. My Father's records (still preserved in his own writing) tells of Satterthwait her Mother and of Richard Morrey, an Englishman, her Father.

The deed conveying a property of 198 acres in Cheltenham Township, Philadelphia Co., Pa., known as Bustilltown (Bustleton) is dated 22d Jan. 1745. I own the deed and two surveys of the land.

The original Baker's Certificate I still preserve. Records of Cyrus Bustill and his learning baking and conducting his business in Burlington and Philadelphia are from records by my Father, and substantiated by other records.

I have a notice sent to Cyrus Bustill to attend the meeting of the Free African Society showing him a member in 1799. Wm. Carl Bolivar—"Pencil Pusher" for the *Philadelphia Tribune*—speaks of Cyrus Bustill as a member of the Free African Society.

I have a copy of "The Annals of the First African Church, in the United States of America, now styled, The African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas, Philadelphia by Rev. Wm. Douglass—Rector." The reference to Cyrus Bustill is on page 52.

The letter addressed to Cyrus Bustill as school master, dated June 7, 1797, I own. David Bustill's obituary notice, still pre-

served, and the diary made by him in 1853 and 1856, record many interesting facts. I own them.

I have the marriage certificates of Cyrus Bustill and Elizabeth Morrey and David Bustill and Mary Hicks. Sarah Mapps Douglass birth, marriage and death records are owned by me.

The Anglo African, giving its prospectus for 1860, gives Grace Mapps and Sarah M. Douglass as contributors for 1859. The magazine for January 1859, page 21, mentions Robert Douglass, artist. The May number contains "A Good Habit Recommended" by Sarah M. Douglass.

An admirable poem from Grace Mapps appears in Nov. 1859, on page 28 of the December issue. It mentions "Bowser, among those who have shipped on their last voyage." Jeremiah Bowser, Father of David Bustill Bowser, was one of the stewards on the Liverpool liners and I have some pieces of china brought the family on one of his voyages. These are all from a bound copy of *The Anglo African* belonging to Jos. C. Bustill, which I have.

I have printed announcements of the Committee of Arrangements for the Fifteenth Amendment pasted in a book containing names of colored people in the Wards of the city of Phila. which names Jos. C. Bustill as Chr. of the committee. I have the badge he wore in the parade.

I own a splendidly bound copy of "The City of Philadelphia" given Jos. C. Bustill July 27, 1894. It contains a printed letter pasted in the book showing the receipt for same was sent to J. N. Fitzgerald Secretary, 421 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

In the *History & Manual of Odd Fellowship* (Philadelphia, 1893) by Chas. H. Brooks, page 94, Joseph C. Bustill is noted as Grand Treasurer of the order for 1864. On pages 94, 95, 96, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 134, 143, 144, 146, 147, and 254, the author tells of his many and varied activities in the order. On page 246 he gives the family genealogy of David Bustill Bowser, Cousin to Joseph C. Bustill which confirms some of the statements I made.

I called Mr. Dodd over the phone, asking if I might bring some of the data to him, that he might see it and so confirm my statements. But he is a busy man and of course it would take quite some time and was impossible. Mr. Jackson, your other Chicago member of Ex. Com., is no longer Sec. of the Wabash Y. M. C. A. and is only here occasionally. If there is any one here to whom you

could refer me I would take some books, papers, etc. to them and they could verify my statements.

This account would interest several families, who I think would purchase the copy of the *Journal of Negro History* containing the articles if they could know when it would appear.

I enclose some circulars which I must ask you to return, as they are priceless to me.

Yours Sincerely

ANNA BUSTILL SMITH

DOCUMENTS

XII. FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Frederick Douglass was without doubt the most brilliant Negro writer of his day. He expressed himself through books, letters, reports, and editorials. As the complete file of his newspaper, which he edited for a number of years, is not extant, we are compelled to rely upon his biography and letters to present his career in all of its ramifications. Unfortunately, near the outbreak of the Civil War, Douglass differed so widely from some of the anti-slavery workers that not very much of his correspondence was published in their organs. His autobiography, however, is fulsome, and his letters appearing below offer further opportunity for the study of this man and the period in which he lived.

LYNN, November 8th, 1842.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON :

The date of this letter finds me quite unwell. I have for a week past been laboring, in company with bro. Charles Remond, in New-Bedford, with special reference to the case of our outraged brother, George Latimer, and speaking almost day and night, in public and in private; and for the reward of our labor, I have the best evidence that a great good has been done. It is said by many residents, that New-Bedford has never been so favorably aroused to her anti-slavery responsibility as at present. Our meetings were characterized by that deep and solemn feeling which the importance of the cause, when properly set forth, is always calculated to awaken. On Sunday, we held three meetings in the new town hall, at the usual meeting hours, morning, afternoon, and evening. In the morning, we had quite a large meeting, at the opening of which, I occupied about an hour, on the question as to whether a man is better than a sheep. Mr. Dean then made a few remarks, and after him, Mr. Clapp, of Nantucket, arose and gave his testimony to the truth, as it is in anti-slavery. The meeting then adjourned, to meet again in the afternoon. I said that we held our meetings at the regular meeting hours. Truth requires me to make our afternoon meeting an exception to this remark. For long before the drawling, lazy church bells commenced sounding their deathly

notes, mighty crowds were making their way to the town hall. They needed no bells to remind them of their duty to bleeding humanity. They were not going to meeting to hear as to the best mode of performing water baptism; they were not going to meeting to have their prayers handsomely said for them, or to say them, merely, themselves; but to pray, not in word, but in deed and in truth; they were not going thither to be worshipped, but to worship, in spirit and in truth; they were not going to sacrifice, but to have mercy; they did not go there to find God; they had found him already. Such I think I may safely say of a large portion of the vast assembly that met in the afternoon. As I gazed upon them, my soul leaped for joy; and, but for the thought that the time might be better employed, I could have shouted aloud.—After a short space, allotted to secret or public prayer, bro. J. B. Sanderson arose and requested the attention of the audience to the reading of a few passages of scripture, selected by yourself in the editorial of last week. They did give their attention, and as he read the solemn and soul-stirring denunciations of Jehovah, by the mouth of his prophets and apostles, against oppressors, the deep stillness that pervaded that magnificent hall was a brilliant demonstration, that the audience felt that what was read was but the reiteration of words which had fallen from the great Judge of the universe. After reading, he proceeded to make some remarks on the general question of human rights. These, too, seemed to sink deep into the hearts of the gathered multitude. Not a word was lost; it was good seed, sown in good ground, by a careful hand; it must, it will bring forth fruit.

After him, rose bro. Remond, who addressed the meeting in his usual happy and deeply affecting style. When he had concluded his remarks, the meeting adjourned to meet again at an early hour in the evening. During the interval, our old friends and the slaves' friends, John Butler, Thomas Jones, Noah White, and others, were engaged in carrying benches from liberty hall to the town hall, that all who came might be accommodated with seats. They were determined to do something for humanity, though by so doing, they should be ranked with sabbath-breakers. Christianity prays for more of just such sabbath-breakers as these, and may God grant by an overwhelming revival of anti-slavery truth, to convert and send forth more just such.

The meeting met according to adjournment, at an early hour. The splendid hall was brilliantly lighted, and crowded with an earnest, listening audience, and notwithstanding the efforts of our friends before named to have them seated, a large number had to stand during the meeting, which lasted about three hours; where the standing part of the audience were, at the commencement of the meeting, there they were at the conclusion of it; no moving about with them; any place was good enough, so they could but hear. From the eminence which I occupied, I could see the entire audience; and from its appearance, I should conclude that prejudice against color was not there, at any rate, it was not to be seen by me; we were all on a level, every one took a seat just where they chose; there were neither men's side, nor women's side; white pew, nor black pew; but all seats were free, and all sides free. When the meeting was fully gathered, I had something to say, and was followed by bro. Sanderson and Remond. When they had concluded their remarks, I again took the stand, and called the attention of the meeting to the case of bro. George Latimer, which proved the finishing stroke of my present public speaking. On taking my seat, I was seized with a violent pain in my breast, which continued till morning, and with occasional raising of blood; this past off in about two hours, after which, weakness of breast, a cough, and shortness of breath ensued, so that now such is the state of my lungs, that I am unfit for public speaking, for the present. My condition goes harder with me, much harder than it would at ordinary times. These are certainly extraordinary times; times that demand the efforts of the humblest of our most humble advocates of our perishing and dying fellow-countrymen. Those that can but whisper freedom, should be doing even that, though they can only be heard from one side of their short fire place to the other. It is a struggle of life and death with us just now. No sword that can be used, be it never so rusty, should lay idle in its scabbard. Slavery, our enemy, has landed in our very midst, and commenced its bloody work. Just look at it; here is George Latimer a man—a brother—a husband—a father, stamped with the likeness of the eternal God, and redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, out-lawed, hunted down like a wild beast, and ferociously dragged through the streets of Boston, and incarcerated within the walls of Leverett-st. jail. And all this is done in Boston—liberty-loving, slavery-

hating Boston—intellectual, moral, and religious Boston. And why was this—what crime had George Latimer committed? He had committed the crime of availing himself of his natural rights, in defence of which the founders of this very Boston enveloped her in midnight darkness, with the smoke proceeding from their thundering artillery. What a horrible state of things is here presented. Boston has become the hunting-ground of merciless men-hunters, and man-stealers. Henceforth we need not portray to the imagination of northern people, the flying slave making his way through thick and dark woods of the South, with white fanged blood-hounds yelping on his blood-stained track; but refer to the streets of Boston, made dark and dense by crowds of professed christians. Take a look at James B. Gray's new pack, turned loose on the track of poor Latimer. I see the blood-thirsty animals, smelling at every corner, part with each other, and meet again; they seem to be consulting as to the best mode of coming upon their victim. Now they look sad, discouraged;—tired, they drag along, as if they were ashamed of their business, and about to give up the chase; but presently they get a sight of their prey, their eyes brighten, they become more courageous, they approach their victim unlike the common hound. They come upon him softly, wagging their tails, pretending friendship, and do not pounce upon him, until they have secured him beyond possible escape. Such is the character of James B. Gray's new pack of two-legged blood-hounds that hunted down George Latimer, and dragged him away to the Leverett-street slave prison but a few days since. We need not point to the sugar fields of Louisiana, or to the rice swamps of Alabama, for the bloody deeds of this soul-crushing system, but to the city of the pilgrims. In future, we need not uncap the bloody cells of the horrible slave prisons of Norfolk, Richmond, Mobile, and New-Orleans, and depict the wretched and furlorn condition of their miserable inmates, whose groans rend the air, pierce heaven, and disturb the Almighty; listen no longer at the snappings of the bloody slavedrivers' lash. Withdraw your attention, for a moment, from the agonizing cries coming from hearts bursting with the keenest anguish at the South, gaze no longer upon the base, cold-blooded, heartless slave-dealer of the South, who lays his iron clutch upon the hearts of husband and wife, and, with one mighty effort, tears the bleeding ligaments apart which before constituted the twain one flesh. I say, turn your attention from all this cruelty

abroad, look now at home—follow me to your courts of justice—mark him who sits upon the bench. He may, or he may not—God grant he may not—tear George Latimer from a beloved wife and tender infant. But let us take a walk to the prison in which George Latimer is confined, inquire for the turn-key; let him open the large iron-barred door that leads you to the inner prison. You need go no further. Hark! listen! hear the groans and cries of George Latimer, mingling with which may be heard the cry—my wife, my child—and all is still again.

A moment of reflection ensues—I am to be taken back to Norfolk—must be torn from a wife and tender babe, with the threat from Mr. Gray that I am to be murdered, though not in the ordinary way—not to have my head severed from my shoulders, not to be hanged—not to have my heart pierced through with a dagger—not to have my brains blown out. No, no, all these are too good for me. No: I am to be killed by inches. I know not how; perhaps by cat-hauling until my back is torn all to pieces, my flesh is to be cut with the rugged lash, and I faint; warm brine must now be poured into my bleeding wounds, and through this process I must pass, until death shall end my sufferings. Good God! save me from a fate so horrible. Hark! hear him roll in his chains; ‘I can die, I had rather, than go back. O, my wife! O, my child!’ You have heard enough. What man, what Christian can look upon this bloody state of things without his soul swelling big with indignation on the guilty perpetrators of it, and without resolving to cast in his influence with those who are collecting the elements which are to come down in ten-fold thunder, and dash this state of things into atoms?

Men, husbands and fathers of Massachusetts—put yourselves in the place of George Latimer; feel his pain and anxiety of mind; give vent to the groans that are breaking through his fever-parched lips, from a heart emersed in the deepest agony and suffering; rattle his chains; let his prospects be yours, for the space of a few moments. Remember George Latimer in bonds as bound with him; keep in view the golden rule—‘All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.’ ‘In as much as ye did it unto the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me.’

Now make up your minds to what your duty is to George Latimer, and when you have made your minds up, prepare to do it and

take the consequences, and I have no fears of George Latimer going back. I can sympathize with George Latimer, having myself been cast into a miserable jail, on suspicion of my intending to do what he is said to have done, viz. appropriating my own body to my use.

My heart is full, and had I my voice, I should be doing all that I am capable of, for Latimer's redemption. I can do but little in any department; but if one department is more the place for me than another, that one is before the people.

I can't write to much advantage, having never had a day's schooling in my life, nor have I ever ventured to give publicity to any of my scribbling before; nor would I now, but for my peculiar circumstances.

Your grateful friend,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.⁹⁸

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 17th, 1844.

FRIEND GARRISON:

In the *Liberator* of yesterday, I find a communication from Providence, over the signature of L. D. Y. giving a very interesting account of the celebration of British West India emancipation, held in Providence on the 2d of August. It was intimated in the letter, that my absence on the occasion caused some disappointment to our friends in that place, as I was to have been their chief speaker, and that notice had been given to that effect. Deeply regretting the disappointment, I feel it due to them, as well as to myself, to explain, through the *Liberator*, the reasons for my non-attendance; and that my task may not be too heavy, let me at once throw off a little of the responsibility placed upon me by L. D. Y. I did not understand that I was to be the chief speaker on that occasion. So far from it, I supposed that there were two other gentlemen, who would precede me.

About two weeks before the contemplated celebration, I received from the committee of arrangements a letter, requesting me to attend, in company with Rev. Mr. Pennington of Hartford, and Rev. Mr. Lewis of Providence. I received the impression from this letter, that the services of these gentlemen had already been engaged, whilst mine were yet to be engaged. I certainly did not dream of being the chief speaker. To the letter I returned a very

⁹⁸ *Liberator*, Nov. 18, 1842.

hasty answer, promising my attendance. Here the matter rested, until the week before the celebration, when, upon looking into a New-York paper, I saw that Mr. Pennington, instead of being at Providence on the 1st, was to be at New-York. Meanwhile, there was *no notice given in any of the anti-slavery papers*, of the contemplated celebration in Providence. This threw me into doubt as to whether the celebration would go on, as all the other celebrations were thus notified. I, however, was still resolved to go to Providence on the first, according to promise, and left home over night, that I might be in time in the morning to take the earliest train of cars from Boston to Providence. But, finding the morning exceedingly stormy, I deemed it useless to go. So much for the 1st of August. Now to the 2nd. On this day, I met Mr. Davis from Providence, who informed me that your celebration took place on the 1st; so I concluded it was useless to go on the 2nd.

This statement may not entirely clear me from the charge of neglect of duty. I think, however, that my friends in Providence will see it in mitigating circumstances enough to exonerate me from the charge of any intentional neglect.

Yours, for truth and justice,⁹⁹

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹⁰⁰

VICTORIA HOTEL, Belfast, }
January 1st, 1846. }

MY DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I am now about to take leave of the Emerald Isle, for Glasgow, Scotland. I have been here a little more than four months. Up to this time, I have given no direct expression of the views, feelings and opinions which I have formed, respecting the character and condition of the people of this land. I have refrained thus purposely. I wish to speak advisedly, and in order to do this, I have waited till I trust experience has brought my opinions to an intelligent maturity. I have been thus careful, not because I think what I may say will have much effect in shaping the opinions of the world, but because whatever of influence I may possess, whether little or much, I wish it to go in the right direction, and according

⁹⁹ *Liberator*, Aug. 30, 1844.

¹⁰⁰ In this connection one should read also another copy of Douglass's letter written at Belfast January 1, 1846. This letter was published in the *Journal of Negro History*, VIII, 102-107.

to truth. I hardly need say that, in speaking of Ireland, I shall be influenced by no prejudices in favor of America. I think my circumstances all forbid that. I have no end to serve, no creed to uphold, no government to defend; and as to nation, I belong to none. I have no protection at home, or resting-place abroad. The land of my birth welcomes me to her shores only as a slave, and spurns with contempt the idea of treating me differently. So that I am an outcast from the society of my childhood, and an outlaw in the land of my birth. 'I am a stranger with thee, and a sojourner as all my fathers were.' That men should be patriotic is to me perfectly natural; and as a philosophical fact, I am able to give it an *intellectual* recognition. But no further can I go. If ever I had any patriotism, or any capacity for the feeling, it was whipt out of me long since by the lash of the American soul-drivers.

In thinking of America, I sometimes find myself admiring her bright blue sky—her grand old woods—her fertile fields—her beautiful rivers—her mighty lakes, and star-crowned mountains. But my rapture is soon checked, my joy is soon turned to mourning. When I remember that all is cursed with the infernal spirit of slaveholding, robbery and wrong,—when I remember that with the waters of her noblest rivers, the tears of my brethren are borne to the ocean, disregarded and forgotten, and that her most fertile fields drink daily of the warm blood of my outraged sisters, I am filled with unutterable loathing, and led to reproach myself that any thing could fall from my lips in praise of such a land. America will not allow her children to love her. She seems bent on compelling those who would be her warmest friends, to be her worst enemies. May God give her repentance before it is too late, is the ardent prayer of my heart. I will continue to pray, labor and wait, believing that she cannot always be insensible to the dictates of justice, or deaf to the voice of humanity.

My opportunities for learning the character and condition of the people of this land have been very great. I have travelled almost from the hill of 'Howth' to the Giant's Causeway, and from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear. During these travels, I have met with much in the character and condition of the people to approve, and much to condemn—much that has thrilled me with pleasure—and very much that has filled me with pain. I will not, in this letter, attempt to give any description of those scenes which have given me pain. This I will do hereafter. I have enough, and

more than your subscribers will be disposed to read at one time, of the bright side of the picture. I can truly say, I have spent some of the happiest moments of my life since landing in this country. I seem to have undergone a transformation. I live a new life. The warm and generous co-operation extended to me by the friends of my despised race—the prompt and liberal manner with which the press has rendered me its aid—the glorious enthusiasm with which thousands have flocked to hear the cruel wrongs of my down-trodden and long-enslaved fellow-countrymen portrayed—the deep sympathy for the slave, and the strong abhorrence of the slaveholder, everywhere evinced—the cordiality with which members and ministers of various religious bodies, and of various shades of religious opinion, have embraced me, and lent me their aid—the kind hospitality constantly proffered to me by persons of the highest rank in society—the spirit of freedom that seems to animate all with whom I come in contact—and the entire absence of every thing that looked like prejudice against me, on account of the color of my skin—contrasted so strongly with my long and bitter experience in the United States, that I look with wonder and amazement on the transition. In the Southern part of the United States, I was a slave, thought of and spoken of as property. In the language of the LAW, '*held, taken, reputed and adjudged to be a chattel in the hands of my owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators, and assigns, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever.*'—BREV. DIGEST, 224. In the Northern States, a fugitive slave, liable to be hunted at any moment like a felon, and to be hurled into the terrible jaws of slavery—doomed by an inveterate prejudice against color to insult and outrage on every hand, (Massachusetts out of the question)—denied the privileges and courtesies common to others in the use of the most humble means of conveyance—shut out from the cabins on steamboats—refused admission to respectable hotels—caricatured, scorned, scoffed, mocked and maltreated with impunity by any one, (no matter how black his heart,) so he has a white skin. But now behold the change! Eleven days and a half gone, and I have crossed three thousand miles of the perilous deep. Instead of a democratic government, I am under a monarchical government. Instead of the bright blue sky of America, I am covered with the soft grey fog of the Emerald Isle. I breathe, and lo! the chattel becomes a man. I gaze around in vain for one who will question my equal humanity, claim me as

his slave, or offer me an insult. I employ a cab—I am seated beside white people—I reach the hotel—I enter the same door—I am shown into the same parlor—I dine at the same table—and no one is offended. No delicate nose grows deformed in my presence. I find no difficulty here in obtaining admission into any place of worship, instruction or amusement, on equal terms with people as white as any I ever saw in the United States. I meet nothing to remind me of my complexion. I find myself regarded and treated at every turn with the kindness and deference paid to white people. When I go to church, I am met by no upturned nose and scornful lip to tell me, '*We don't allow niggers in here!*'

I remember, about two years ago, there was in Boston, near the southwest corner of Boston Common, a menagerie. I had long desired to see such a collection as I understood were being exhibited there. Never having had an opportunity while a slave, I resolved to seize this, my first, since my escape. I went, and as I approached the entrance to gain admission, I was met and told by the door-keeper, in a harsh and contemptuous tone, '*We don't allow niggers in here.*' I also remember attending a revival meeting in the Rev. Henry Jackson's meeting-house, at New-Bedford, and going up the broad aisle to find a seat. I was met by a good deacon, who told me, in a pious tone, '*We don't allow niggers in here!*' Soon after my arrival in New-Bedford from the South, I had a strong desire to attend the Lyceum, but was told, '*They don't allow niggers in here!*' While passing from New York to Boston on the steamer Massachusetts, on the night of 9th Dec. 1843, when chilled almost through with the cold, I went into the cabin to get a little warm. I was soon touched upon the shoulder, and told, '*We don't allow niggers in here!*' On arriving in Boston from an anti-slavery tour, hungry and tired, I went into an eating-house near my friend Mr. Campbell's, to get some refreshments. I was met by a lad in a white apron, '*We don't allow niggers in here!*' A week or two before leaving the United States, I had a meeting appointed at Weymouth, the home of that glorious band of true abolitionists, the Weston family, and others. On attempting to take a seat in the Omnibus to that place, I was told by the driver, (and I never shall forget his fiendish hate,) '*I don't allow niggers in here!*' Thank heaven for the respite I now enjoy! I had been in Dublin but a few days, when a gentleman of great respectability kindly offered to conduct me through all the public buildings of that beautiful

city; and a little afterwards, I found myself dining with the Lord Mayor of Dublin. What a pity there was not some American democratic Christian at the door of his splendid mansion, to bark out at my approach, '*They don't allow niggers in here!*' The truth is, the people here know nothing of the republican negro hate prevalent in our glorious land. They measure and esteem men according to their moral and intellectual worth, and not according to the color of their skin. Whatever may be said of the aristocracies here, there is none based on the color of a man's skin. This species of aristocracy belongs pre-eminently to 'the land of the free, and the home of the brave.' I have never found it abroad, in any but Americans. It sticks to them wherever they go. They find it almost as hard to get rid of it as to get rid of their skins.

The second day after my arrival at Liverpool, in company with my friend Buffum, and several other friends, I went to Eaton Hall, the residence of the Marquis of Westminster, one of the most splendid buildings in England. On approaching the door, I found several of our American passengers, who came out with us in the Cambria, waiting at the door for admission, as but one party was allowed in the house at a time. We all had to wait till the company within came out. And of all the faces, expressive of chagrin, those of the Americans were pre-eminent. They looked as sour as vinegar, and bitter as gall, when they found I was to be admitted on equal terms with themselves. When the door was opened, I walked in, on an equal footing with my white fellow-citizens, and from all I could see, I had as much attention paid me by the servants that showed us through the house, as any with a paler skin. As I walked through the building, the statuary did not fall down, the pictures did not leap from their places, the doors did not refuse to open, and the servants did not say, '*We don't allow niggers in here!*'

A happy new year to you, and all the friends of freedom.

Excuse this imperfect scrawl, and believe me to be ever and always yours,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹⁰⁰

DUBLIN, Sept. 16, 1845.

MY DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

You will see that James and myself are still in old Ireland. Our stay is protracted in consequence of the publication here of

¹⁰⁰ *Liberator*, Jan. 30, 1845.

my narrative. I need hardly say we are happy, when I tell you our home is the house of Mr. R. D. Webb,—the very impersonation of old-fashioned, thorough-going anti-slavery; and that we are constantly cheered by the society of Mr. James Haughton, than whom, there is not to be found a truer, or more devoted, vigilant, working, persevering abolitionist on this side the Atlantic. We have also been aided, cheered and strengthened by the noble and generous-hearted James and Thomas Webb, in each of whose houses we have been made perfectly at home.

Our hearts were all made glad by the arrival of the ever welcome *Liberator* and *Standard*, yesterday—although they bore the sad intelligence of the fate of Cassius M. Clay's press. I can now remember no occurrence of mobocratic violence against the anti-slavery cause which sent such a chill over my hopes, for the moment, as the one in question. I regarded the establishment of his press in Lexington, Kentucky, as one of the most hopeful and soul-cheering signs of the times,—a star shining in darkness, beaming hope to the almost despairing bondman, and bidding him to suffer on, as the day of his deliverance is certain. But, alas! the mob has triumphed, and the star apparently gone out.

The enemy came upon Cassius at an unfortunate hour. Availing themselves of his sickness, they have succeeded against him. Yet the cause shall not suffer; the star, whose feeble light had become painful, shall yet become a sun, whose brilliant rays shall scorch, blister and burn, till slavery shall be utterly consumed. I was almost sorry to be from home, when the voice of the feeblest might be of value in concentrating public indignation against so horrible an outrage upon the freedom of the press.

We shall, however, make the most of it in this land:—the damning deed shall ring throughout these kingdoms. The base, cruel, cowardly and infernal character of that organized band of plunderers, shall be as fully revealed as I am capable of doing it. What a brilliant illustration of republican love of freedom! How the monarchs and aristocrats of the old world will tremble at the rapid march of republican freedom! How they will hide their eyes for very shame, when they think of their own tyranny, in comparison with the free and noble institutions of America,—where freedom of the press means freedom to advocate slavery, and where liberty regulated by law means slavery protected by an armed band of bloody assassins! But, thank Heaven! 'Oppression shall not always reign.'

Our success here is even greater than I had anticipated. We have held four glorious anti-slavery meetings—two in the Royal Exchange, and two in the Friends' meeting-house—all crowded to overflowing. Only think of our holding a meeting in the *meeting-house* of the Society of Friends! When at home, they would almost bolt us out of their yards. 'Circumstances alter cases.' If the Lynn Friends' meeting-house could be, by some process, placed on this side the Atlantic, its spacious walls would probably at once welcome an anti-slavery meeting; but, as things now stand, it must be closed to humanity—lest Friends get into the mixture!

I am to lecture to-morrow evening at the Music Hall. It will hold three thousand persons, and is let for about fifty dollars a night. But its generous proprietor, Mr. Classon, has kindly agreed to let me have it free of charge.

I have attended several temperance meetings, and given several temperance addresses. Friend Haughton, Buffum and myself spoke to-day on temperance, in the very prison in which O'Connell was put. I went out last Sunday to Bootertown, and saw Father Mathew administer the pledge to about one thousand. 'The cause is rolling on.'

One of the most pleasing features of my visit, thus far, has been a total absence of all manifestations of prejudice against me, on account of my color. The change of circumstances, in this, is particularly striking. I go on stage coaches, omnibuses, steamboats, into the first cabins, and in the first public houses, without seeing the slightest manifestation of that hateful and vulgar feeling against me. I find myself not treated as a *color*, but as a *man*—not as a thing, but as a child of the common Father of us all.

In great haste,

Ever yours,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹⁰¹

DUBLIN, (Great Brunswick Street,) }
September 29th, 1845. }

MY DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I promised, on leaving America, to keep you informed of my proceedings whilst I remained abroad. I sometimes fear I shall be compelled to break my promise, if by keeping it is meant writing letters to you fit for publication. You know one of my objects in

¹⁰¹ *Liberator*, Oct. 10, 1845.

coming here was to get a little repose, that I might return home refreshed and strengthened, ready and able to join you vigorously in the prosecution of our holy cause. But, really, if the labor of the last two weeks be a fair sample of what awaits me, I have certainly sought repose in the wrong place. I have work enough here, on the spot, to occupy every inch of my time, and every particle of my strength, were I to stay in this city a whole six months. The cause of temperance alone would afford work enough to occupy every inch of my time. I have invitation after invitation to address temperance meetings, which I am compelled to decline. How different here, from my treatment at home! In this country, I am welcomed to the temperance platform, side by side with white speakers, and am received as kindly and warmly as though my skin were white.

I have but just returned from a great Repeal meeting, held at Conciliation Hall. It was a very large meeting—much larger than usual, I was told, on account of the presence of Mr. O'Connell, who has just returned from his residence at Derrynane, where he has been spending the summer, recruiting for an energetic agitation of repeal during the present autumn. On approaching the door, or gateway leading to the Hall, and observing the denseness of the crowd, I almost despaired of getting in; but, having by the kindness of James Haughton, Esq. obtained a note of introduction to the Secretary of the Repeal Association, and being encouraged to persevere by the evident disposition of the friendly crowd to let me pass,—many of whom seemed to be holding in their breath, and thus contracting their dimensions, to allow me passage way,—I pressed forward, and with much difficulty succeeded in reaching the interior. The meeting had been in progress for some time before I got in. When I entered, one after another was announcing the Repeal rent for the week. The audience appeared to be in deep sympathy with the Repeal movement, and the announcement of every considerable contribution was followed by a hearty round of applause, and sometimes a vote of thanks was taken for the donors. At the close of this business, Mr. O'Connell rose and delivered a speech of about an hour and a quarter long. It was a great speech, skilfully delivered, powerful in its logic, majestic in its rhetoric, biting in its sarcasm, melting in its pathos, and burning in its rebukes. Upon the subject of slavery in general, and American slavery in particular, Mr. O'Connell grew warm and energetic, de-

fending his course on this subject. He said, with an earnestness which I shall never forget, 'I have been assailed for attacking the American institution, as it is called,—negro slavery. I am not ashamed of that attack. I do not shrink from it. I am the advocate of civil and religious liberty, all over the globe, and wherever tyranny exists, I am the foe of the tyrant; wherever oppression shows itself, I am the foe of the oppressor; wherever slavery rears its head, I am the enemy of the system, or the institution, call it by what name you will. I am the friend of liberty in every clime, class and color. My sympathy with distress is not confined within the narrow bounds of my own green island. No—it extends itself to every corner of the earth. My heart walks abroad, and wherever the miserable are to be succored, or the slave to be set free, there my spirit is at home, and I delight to dwell.'

Mr. O'Connell was in his happiest mood while delivering this speech. The fire of freedom was burning in his mighty heart. He had but to open his mouth, to put us in possession of 'thoughts that breathe, and words that burn.' I have heard many speakers within the last four years—speakers of the first order; but I confess, I have never heard one, by whom I was more completely captivated than by Mr. O'Connell. I used to wonder how such monster meetings as those of Repeal could be held peaceably. It is now no matter of astonishment at all. It seems to me that the voice of O'Connell is enough to calm the most violent passion, even though it were already manifesting itself in a mob. There is a sweet persuasiveness in it, beyond any voice I ever heard. His power over an audience is perfect.

When he had taken his seat, a number withdrew from the Hall, and, taking advantage of the space left vacant thereby, I got quite near the platform, for no higher object than that of obtaining a favorable view of the Liberator. But almost as soon as I did so, friend Buffum had by some means (I know not what) obtained an introduction to Mr. John O'Connell, son of Daniel O'Connell, and nothing would do but I must be introduced also—an honor for which I was quite unprepared, and one from which I naturally shrunk. But Buffum; in real Yankee style, had resolved (to use a Yankee term) to 'put me through' at all hazards. On being introduced to Mr. O'Connell, an opportunity was afforded me to speak; and although I scarce knew what to say, I managed to say something, which was quite well received.

The Hutchinson family have been here a week or more, and have attended two of my lectures on slavery; and here, as at home, did much by their soul-stirring songs to render the meetings interesting.

My Narrative is just published, and I have sold one hundred copies in this city. Our work goes on nobly. James and myself leave here for Wexford on Monday next. We shall probably hold two meetings there, and from thence go to Waterford, and then to Cork, where we shall spend a week or ten days. I have also engagements in Belfast, which will detain me in Ireland all of one month longer.

Much love to my anti-slavery friends.

Ever one with you, through good and evil report,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹⁰²

DUBLIN, Sept. 1, 1845.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

Thanks to a kind Providence, I am now safe in old Ireland, in the beautiful city of Dublin, surrounded by the kind family, and seated at the table of our mutual friend, JAMES H. WEBB, brother of the well-known RICHARD D. WEBB. I landed at Liverpool on Thursday morning, 28th August, and took lodgings at the Union hotel, Clayton Squire, in company with friend Buffum and our warm-hearted singers, the Hutchinson family. Here we all continued until Saturday evening, the 30th instant, when friend Buffum and myself (with no little reluctance) separated from them, and took ship for this place, and on our arrival here, were kindly invited by James, in the temporary absence of Richard D. Webb and family, to make his house our home.

There are a number of things about which I should like to write, aside from those immediately connected with our cause; but of this I must deny myself,—at least under present circumstances. Sentimental letter-writing must give way, when its claims are urged against facts necessary to the advancement of our cause, and the destruction of slavery. I know it will gladden your heart to hear, that from the moment we first lost sight of the American shore, till we landed at Liverpool, our gallant steam-ship was the theatre of an almost constant discussion of the subject of slavery—commencing cool, but growing hotter every moment as it advanced. It was

¹⁰² *Liberator*, Oct. 24, 1845.

a great time for anti-slavery, and a hard time for slavery;—the one delighting in the sunshine of free discussion, and the other horror-stricken at its God-like approach. The discussion was general. If suppressed in the saloon, it broke out in the steerage; and if it ceased in the steerage, it was renewed in the saloon; and if suppressed in both, it broke out with redoubled energy, high upon the saloon deck, in the open, refreshing, free ocean air. I was happy. Every thing went on nobly. The truth was being told, and having its legitimate effect upon the hearts of those who heard it. At last, the evening previous to our arrival at Liverpool, the slaveholders, convinced that reason, morality, common honesty, humanity, and Christianity, were all against them, and that argument was no longer any means of defence, or at least but a poor means, abandoned their post in debate, and resorted to their old and natural mode of defending their morality by brute force.

Yes, they actually got up a MOB—a real American, republican, democratic, Christian mob,—and that, too, on the deck of a British steamer, and in sight of the beautiful high lands of Dungarvan! I declare, it is enough to make a slave ashamed of the country that enslaved him, to think of it. Without the slightest pretensions to patriotism, as the phrase goes, the conduct of the mobocratic Americans on board the *Cambria* almost made me ashamed to say I *had run away* from such a country. It was decidedly the most daring and disgraceful, as well as wicked exhibition of depravity, I ever witnessed, North or South; and the actors in it showed themselves to be as hard in heart, as venomous in spirit, and as bloody in design, as the infuriated men who bathed their hands in the warm blood of the noble Lovejoy.

The facts connected with, and the circumstances leading to, this most disgraceful transaction, I will now give, with some minuteness, though I may border, at times, a little on the ludicrous.

In the first place, our passengers were made up of nearly all sorts of people, from different countries, of the most opposite modes of thinking on all subjects. We had nearly all sorts of parties in morals, religion, and politics, as well as trades, callings, and professions. The doctor and the lawyer, the soldier and the sailor, were there. The scheming Connecticut wooden clock-maker, the large, surly, New-York lion-tamer, the solemn Roman Catholic bishop, and the Orthodox Quaker were there. A minister of the Free Church of Scotland, and a minister of the Church of Eng-

land—the established Christian and the wandering Jew, the Whig and the Democrat, the white and the black—were there. There was the dark-visaged Spaniard, and the light-visaged Englishman—the man from Montreal, and the man from Mexico. There were slaveholders from Cuba, and slaveholders from Georgia. We had anti-slavery singing and pro-slavery grumbling; and at the same time that Governor Hammond's Letters were being read, my Narrative was being circulated.

In the midst of the debate going on, there sprang up quite a desire, on the part of a number on board, to have me lecture to them on slavery. I was first requested to do so by one of the passengers, who had become quite interested. I, of course, declined, well knowing that that was a privilege which the captain alone had a right to give, and intimated as much to the friend who invited me. I told him I should not feel at liberty to lecture, unless the captain should personally invite me to speak. Things went on as usual till between five and six o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, when I received an invitation from the captain to deliver an address upon the saloon deck. I signified my willingness to do so, and he at once ordered the bell to be rung and the meeting cried. This was the signal for a general excitement. Some swore I should not speak, and others said I should. Bloody threats were being made against me, if I attempted it. At the hour appointed, I went upon the saloon deck, where I was expected to speak. There was much noise going on among the passengers, evidently intended to make it impossible for me to proceed. At length, our Hutchinson friends broke forth in one of their unrivalled songs, which, like the angel of old, closed the lions' mouths, so that, for a time, silence prevailed. The captain, taking advantage of this silence, now introduced me, and expressed the hope that the audience would hear me with attention. I then commenced speaking; and, after expressing my gratitude to a kind Providence that had brought us safely across the sea, I proceeded to portray the condition of my brethren in bonds. I had not uttered five words, when a Mr. Hazzard, from Connecticut, called out, in a loud voice, 'That's a lie!' I went on, taking no notice of him, though he was murmuring nearly all the while, backed up by a man from New-Jersey. I continued till I said something which seemed to cut to the quick, when out bawled Hazzard, 'That's a lie!' and appeared anxious to strike me. I then said to the audience that I would explain to them the

reason of Hazzard's conduct. The colored man, in our country, was treated as a being without rights. 'That's a lie!' said Hazzard. I then told the audience that as almost every thing I said was pronounced lies, I would endeavor to substantiate them by reading a few extracts from slave laws. The slavocrats, finding they were now to be fully exposed, rushed up about me, with hands clenched, and swore I should not speak. They were ashamed to have American laws read before an English audience. Silence was restored by the interference of the captain, who took a noble stand in regard to my speaking. He said he had tried to please all of his passengers—and a part of them had expressed to him a desire to hear me lecture to them, and in obedience to their wishes he had invited me to speak; and those who did not wish to hear, might go to some other part of the ship. He then turned, and requested me to proceed. I again commenced, but was again interrupted—more violently than before. One slaveholder from Cuba shook his fist in my face, and said, 'O, I wish I had you in Cuba!' 'Ah!' said another, 'I wish I had him in Savannah! We would use him up!' Said another, 'I will be one of a number to throw him overboard!'

We were now fully divided into two distinct parties—those in favor of my speaking, and those against me. A noble-spirited Irish gentleman assured the man who proposed to throw me overboard, that two could play at that game, and that, in the end, he might be thrown overboard himself. The clamor went on, waxing hotter and hotter, till it was quite impossible for me to proceed. I was stopped, but the cause went on. Anti-slavery was uppermost, and the mob was never of more service to the cause against which it was directed. The clamor went on long after I ceased speaking, and was only silenced by the captain, who told the mobocrats if they did not cease their clamor, he would have them put in irons; and he actually sent for the irons, and doubtless would have made use of them, had not the rioters become orderly.

Such is but a faint outline of an AMERICAN MOB ON BOARD OF A BRITISH STEAM PACKET.

Yours, to the end of the race,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ *Liberator*, Sept. 26, 1845.

Great Brunswick Street, }
Dublin, Dec. 1st, 1845.

DEAR SIR:

Allow me to thank you for your noble and timely defence of my conduct on board the British steamship *Cambria*, during her passage, 27th Aug., from Boston, U. S. to Liverpool, England; and also to thank you for the friendly manner with which you regard and treat every movement tending to improve and elevate my long enslaved and deeply injured race.

In attempting to speak on board the *Cambria*, I acted in accordance with a sense of duty, and with no desire to wound or injure the feelings of any one on board. My object was to enlighten such of our passengers as wished to be enlightened, and to remove the objections to emancipation and false impressions concerning slavery, which I had heard urged during our passage.

Nor should I have done this, but that our popular and gentlemanly commander, as well as a most respectable number of our passengers, gave me a pressing invitation to do so. It is clear that slavery in our country can only be abolished by creating a public opinion favorable to its abolition, and this can only be done by enlightening the public mind—by exposing the character of slavery, and enforcing the great principles of Justice and Humanity against it. To do this with what ability I may possess, is plainly my duty. To shrink from doing so, on any fitting occasion, from a mere fear of giving offence to those implicated in the wickedness, would be to betray the sacred trust committed to me, and to act the part of a coward.

The question to be answered is: Had the passengers, through the Captain, a right to ask me to give them my views of slavery? To ask the question is to answer it. They had as much right to ask me my views on that subject, as those on any other subject. To deny that they had such right, would be to deny that they had the right to exchange views at all. If they had the right to ask, I had a right to answer, and to answer so as to be understood by those who wished to hear. But then, it will be said, the subject of slavery is not open to discussion. Who say so? The very men who are continually speaking and writing in its favor. But who has a right to say what subject shall or shall not be discussed on board of a British steamer? Certainly not the slaveholders of South Carolina, nor their slaveholding abettors in New-York or elsewhere.

If any one has such a right, the ship's commander has. Now, all I did on the occasion in question, was in perfect agreement with the wishes of the Captain and a large number of our most respectable passengers.

The English papers have had much to say respecting the affair, and of course have in all cases taken a view favorable to myself. I say of course, not because I regard English journalists more disposed to pursue an honorable course in general than those of America; but because they are all committed against negro slavery within their own dominions and elsewhere; and in this, whatever may be said of them in other respects, they hold a decided advantage over those of America.

The whole conduct of the Americans who took part in the mob on board the *Cambria*, was in keeping with the base and cowardly spirit that animated the mob in Lexington, Kentucky, which murderously undertook to extinguish the light of Cassius M. Clay's noble paper, because his denunciations of slavery were offensive to their slaveholding ears. Not being able to defend their 'peculiar institution' with words, they meanly—and I may add foolishly—resort to blows, vainly thinking thus to cover up their infamy. When will they learn that all such attempts only defeat the end which they are intended to promote, as it only calls attention to an institution which can pass without condemnation, only as it passes without observation. The selfishness of the slaveholder and the horrible practices of slavery must ever excite in the true heart the deepest indignation and most absolute disgust.

'To be hated, it needs but to be seen.'

Again accept my thanks, and believe me to be most gratefully,
Yours,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

MR. THURLOW WEED.¹⁰⁵

TO WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

CORK, Oct. 28, 1845.

DEAR FRIEND:

I am here, well and hearty, and I trust doing something for the promotion of our holy cause. I have already had several meetings

¹⁰⁵ *Liberator*, Jan. 16, 1846.

in this city, all of which have been very well attended by highly intelligent and influential people. The abolitionists here are of the true stamp. They look with the deepest interest on all movements for the abolition of slavery in America. When slavery was abolished in the West India Islands, it was proposed to disband their organization, but they nobly resolved never to disband, while the foul blot and bloody stain of slavery disgraced any portion of the globe. And although they have existed in an organized form for many years longer than any of our organizations in America, I find them as warm-hearted, active and energetic, as though they had just commenced operations. For much of the interest manifested toward the Massachusetts A. S. Bazaar by the ladies of this city, the cause is indebted to Charles Lenox Remond. His labors here were abundant, and very effective. He is spoken of here in terms of high approbation; and his name is held in affectionate remembrance by many whose hearts were warmed into life on this question by his soul-stirring eloquence.

My reception here has been truly flattering. Immediately after my arrival, a public breakfast was given to receive myself and friend Buffum—of the details of which, you are already informed. Since then, I have had every kindness shown me that the most ambitious could desire. I am hailed here as a temperance man as well as an abolitionist. My first speech here, as well as in Dublin, was on the temperance question. I have spoken on temperance several times since. On the 21st instant, Father Mathew, the living saviour of Ireland from the curse of intemperance, gave a splendid Soiree, as a token of his sympathy and regard for friend Buffum and myself. There were two hundred and fifty persons present. It was decidedly the brightest and happiest company, I think, I ever saw, any where. Every one seemed to be enjoying himself in the fullest manner. It was enough to delight any heart not totally bereft of feeling, to look upon such a company of happy faces. Among them all, I saw no one that seemed to be shocked or disturbed at my dark presence. No one seemed to feel himself contaminated by contact with me. I think it would be difficult to get the same number of persons together in any of our New-England cities, without some democratic nose growing deformed at my approach. *But then you know white people in America are whiter, purer, and better than the people here. This accounts for it!* Besides, we are the freest nation on the globe, as well as the most

enlightened, and can therefore afford to insult and outrage the colored man with impunity. This is one of the peculiar privileges of our peculiar institution. On the morning after the Soiree, Father Mathew invited us to breakfast with him at his own house—an honor quite unexpected, and one for which I felt myself unprepared. I however accepted his kind invitation, and went. I found him living in a very humble dwelling, and in an obscure street. As I approached, he came out of his house, and took me about thirty yards from his door, and with uplifted hands, in a manner altogether peculiar to himself, and with a face beaming with benevolent expression, he exclaimed—‘Welcome! welcome! my dear Sir, to my humble abode;’ at the same time taking me cordially by the hand, conducted me through a rough, uncarpeted passage to a green door leading to an uncarpeted stairway, on ascending one flight of which I found myself abruptly ushered into what appeared to be both drawing and dining room. There was no carpet on the floor, and very little furniture of any kind in the room; an old-fashioned side-board, a few chairs, three or four pictures hung carelessly around the walls, comprised nearly the whole furniture of the room. The breakfast table was set when I went in. A large urn stood in the middle, surrounded by cups, saucers, plates, knives and forks, spoons, &c. &c., all of a very plain order—rather too plain, I thought, for so great a man. His greatness, however, was not dependent on outward show; nor was it obscured from me by his plainness. It showed that he could be great without the ordinary attractions with which men of his rank and means are generally anxious to surround themselves. Upon entering the room, Father M. introduced me to Mr. Wm. O’Conner, an invited guest, a gentleman of property and standing, and though not a teetotaller, yet an ardent admirer of Father Mathew. As an evidence of his devoted attachment, honor and esteem, Mr. O’Conner has erected a splendid tower on his own land, about four miles from Cork, in a very conspicuous place, having a commanding view of the harbor of Cork, and a view of the beautiful hills for miles around. The presence of this gentleman at the breakfast afforded me an excellent opportunity of witnessing Father Mathew’s faithfulness to his friends. I found him entirely uncompromising. This gentleman complained a little of his severity towards the distillers of Cork, who had large amounts invested in distilleries, and who could not be expected to give their business up to their ruin. To which Father Mathew

replied in the natural way, that such men had no right to prosper by the ruin of others. He said he was once met by a very rich distiller, who asked him rather imploringly how he could so deliberately plot the ruin of so many good and unoffending people, who had their all invested in distilleries? In reply, Father Mathew then told with good spirit the following excellent anecdote: 'A very fat old duck went out early one morning in pursuit of worms, and after being out all day, she succeeded in filling her crop, and on her return home at night, with her crop full of worms, she had the misfortune to be met by a fox, who at once proposed to take her life, to satisfy his hunger. The old duck appealed, argued, implored, and remonstrated. She said to the fox—You cannot be so wicked and hard-hearted as to take the life of a harmless duck, merely to satisfy your hunger. She exhorted him against the commission of so great a sin, and begged him not to stain his soul with innocent blood. When the fox could stand her cant no longer, he said—'Out upon you, madam, with all your fine feathers; you are a pretty thing, indeed, to lecture me about taking life to satisfy my hunger—is not your own crop now full of worms! You destroy more lives in one day, to satisfy your hunger, than I do in a whole month!' Father Mathew has a fund of anecdotes, which he tells in the happiest manner, always to the point, and with most excellent effect. His whole soul appeared to be wrapped up in the temperance cause. The aim of his life appears to be to spread the blessings of temperance over the whole world. To accomplish this, he spares no pains. His time, strength and money are all freely given to the cause; and his success is truly wonderful. When he is at home, his house is literally surrounded with persons, many of whom have come miles to take the pledge. He seldom takes a meal without being interrupted by some one to take the pledge. He was called away twice while I was there, to dismiss a number who had come to take the pledge. This he did with great delight.

Cork contains one hundred thousand inhabitants. One half of this number have taken the pledge of Father Mathew. The change already wrought in the condition of the whole people of Ireland is almost, through his labors, miraculous; and the cause is still advancing. *Five millions, four hundred eighty-seven thousand, three hundred and ninety-five souls* have received the pledge from him—'and still they come.' So entirely charmed by the goodness of this truly good man was I, that I besought him to administer the pledge

to me. He complied with promptness, and gave me a beautiful silver pledge. I now reckon myself with delight the fifth of the last five of Father Mathew's 5,487,495 temperance children.

The papers here leave me little to say about my anti-slavery proceedings. They very readily report my movements.

Friend Buffum left me on the 21st October, to attend the great Anti-Corn-Law Bazaar, now holding at Manchester. We shall meet again in the course of a few weeks in Belfast.

My love to your dear family, and the true that surround you.

Ever and always

Yours for freedom,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹⁰⁴

MONTROSE, (Scotland,) Feb. 26, 1846.

MY DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

In my letter to you from Belfast, I intimated my intention to say something more about Ireland; and although I feel like fulfilling my promise, the *Liberator* comes to me so laden with foreign correspondence, that I feel some hesitancy about increasing it. I shall, however, send you this, and if it is worth a place in your columns, I need not tell you to publish it. It is the glory of the *Liberator*, that in it the oppressed of every class, color and clime, may have their wrongs fully set forth, and their rights boldly vindicated. Your brave assertion of its character in your last defence of free discussion, has inspired me with a fresh love for the *Liberator*. Though established for the overthrow of the accursed slave system, it is not insensible to other evils that afflict and blast the happiness of mankind. So, also, though I am more closely connected and identified with one class of outraged, oppressed and enslaved people, I cannot allow myself to be insensible to the wrongs and sufferings of any part of the great family of man. I am not only an American slave, but a man, and as such, am bound to use my powers for the welfare of the whole human brotherhood. I am not going through this land with my eyes shut, ears stopped, or heart steeled. I am seeking to see, hear and feel, all that may be seen, heard and felt; and neither the attentions I am receiving here, nor the connexion I hold to my brethren in bonds, shall prevent my disclosing the results of my observation. I believe that

¹⁰⁴ *Liberator*, Nov. 28, 1845.

the sooner the wrongs of the whole human family are made known, the sooner those wrongs will be reached. I had heard much of the misery and wretchedness of the Irish people, previous to leaving the United States, and was prepared to witness much on my arrival in Ireland. But I must confess, my experience has convinced me that the half has not been told. I supposed that much that I heard from the American press on this subject was mere exaggeration, resorted to for the base purpose of impeaching the characters of British philanthropists, and throwing a mantle over the dark and infernal character of American slavery and slaveholders. My opinion has undergone no change in regard to the latter part of my supposition, for I believe a large class of writers in America, as well as in this land, are influenced by no higher motive than that of covering up our national sins, to please popular taste, and satisfy popular prejudice; and thus many have harped upon the wrongs of Irishmen, while in truth they care no more about Irishmen, or the wrongs of Irishmen, than they care about the whipped, gagged, and thumb-screwed slave. They would as willingly sell on the auction-block an Irishman, if it were popular to do so, as an African. For heart, such men have adamant—for consciences, they have public opinion. They are a stench in the nostrils of upright men, and a curse to the country in which they live. The limits of a single letter are insufficient to allow any thing like a faithful description of those painful exhibitions of human misery, which meet the eye of a stranger almost at every step. I spent nearly six weeks in Dublin, and the scenes I there witnessed were such as to make me 'blush, and hang my head to think myself a man.' I speak truly when I say, I dreaded to go out of the house. The streets were almost literally alive with beggars, displaying the greatest wretchedness—some of them mere stumps of men, without feet, without legs, without hands, without arms—and others still more horribly deformed, with crooked limbs, down upon their hands and knees, their feet lapped around each other, and laid upon their backs, pressing their way through the muddy streets and merciless crowd, casting sad looks to the right and left, in the hope of catching the eye of a passing stranger—the citizens generally having set their faces against giving to beggars. I have had more than a dozen around me at one time, men, women and children, all telling a tale of woe which would move any but a heart of iron. Women, barefooted and bareheaded, and only covered by

rags which seemed to be held together by the very dirt and filth with which they were covered—many of these had infants in their arms, whose emaciated forms, sunken eyes and pallid cheeks, told too plainly that they had nursed till they had nursed in vain. In such a group you may hear all forms of appeal, entreaty, and expostulation. A half a dozen voices have broken upon my ear at once:—‘Will your honor please to give me a penny to buy some bread?’ ‘May the Lord bless you, give the poor old woman a little sixpence.’ ‘For the love of God, leave us a few pennies—we will divide them amongst us.’ ‘Oh! my poor child, it must starve, for God’s sake give me a penny. More power to you! I know your honor will leave the poor creature something. Ah, do! ah, do! and I will pray for you as long as I live.’ For a time I gave way to my feelings, but reason reminded me that such a course must only add another to the already long list of beggars, and I was often compelled to pass, as if I heeded not and felt not. I fear it had a hardening effect upon my heart, as I found it much easier to pass without giving to the last beggar, than the first. The spectacle that affected me most, and made the most vivid impression on my mind, of the extreme poverty and wretchedness of the poor of Dublin, was the frequency with which I met little children in the street at a late hour of the night, covered with filthy rags, and seated upon cold stone steps, or in corners, leaning against brick walls, fast asleep, with none to look upon them, none to care for them. If they have parents, they have become vicious, and have abandoned them. Poor creatures! they are left without help, to find their way through a frowning world—a world that seems to regard them as intruders, and to be punished as such. God help the poor! An infidel might ask, in view of these facts, with confusing effect—Where is your religion that takes care for the poor—for the widow and fatherless—where are its votaries—what are they doing? The answer to this would be, if properly given, wasting their energies in useless debate on hollow creeds and points of doctrine, which, when settled, neither make one hair white nor black. In conversation with some who were such rigid adherents to their faith that they would scarce be seen in company with those who differed from them in any point of their creed, I have heard them quote the text in palliation of their neglect, ‘The poor shall not cease out of the land’! During my stay in Dublin, I took occasion to visit the huts of the poor in its vicinity—and of all places to

witness human misery, ignorance, degradation, filth and wretchedness, an Irish hut is pre-eminent. It seems to be constructed to promote the very reverse of every thing like domestic comfort. If I were to describe one, it would appear about as follows: Four mud walls about six feet high, occupying a space of ground about ten feet square, covered or thatched with straw—a mud chimney at one end, reaching about a foot above the roof—without apartments or divisions of any kind—without floor, without windows, and sometimes without a chimney—a piece of pine board laid on the top of a box or an old chest—a pile of straw covered with dirty garments, which it would puzzle any one to determine the original part of any one of them—a picture representing the crucifixion of Christ, pasted on the most conspicuous place on the wall—a few broken dishes stuck up in a corner—an iron pot, or the half of an iron pot, in one corner of the chimney—a little peat in the fireplace, aggravating one occasionally with a glimpse of fire, but sending out very little heat—a man and his wife and five children, and a pig. In front of the door-way, and within a step of it, is a hole three or four feet deep, and ten or twelve feet in circumference; into this hole all the filth and dirt of the hut are put, for careful preservation. This is frequently covered with a green scum, which at times stands in bubbles, as decomposition goes on. Here you have an Irish hut or cabin, such as millions of the people of Ireland live in. And some live in worse than these. Men and women, married and single, old and young, lie down together, in much the same degradation as the American slaves. I see much here to remind me of my former condition, and I confess I should be ashamed to lift up my voice against American slavery, but that I know the cause of humanity is one the world over. He who really and truly feels for the American slave, cannot steel his heart to the woes of others; and he who thinks himself an abolitionist, yet cannot enter into the wrongs of others, has yet to find a true foundation for his anti-slavery faith. But, to the subject.

The immediate, and it may be the main cause of the extreme poverty and beggary in Ireland, is intemperance. This may be seen in the fact that most beggars drink whiskey. The third day after landing in Dublin, I met a man in one of the most public streets, with a white cloth on the upper part of his face. He was feeling his way with a cane in one hand, and the other hand was extended, soliciting aid. His feeble step and singular appearance

led me to inquire into his history. I was informed that he had been a very intemperate man, and that on one occasion he was drunk, and lying in the streets. While in this state of insensibility, a hog with its fangs tore off his nose, and a part of his face! I looked under the cloth, and saw the horrible spectacle of a living man with the face of a skeleton. Drunkenness is still rife in Ireland. The temperance cause has done much—is doing much—but there is much more to do, and, as yet, comparatively few to do it. A great part of the Roman Catholic clergy do nothing about it, while the Protestants may be said to hate the cause. I have been frequently advised to have nothing to do with it, as it would only injure the anti-slavery cause. It was most consoling to me to find that those persons who were most interested in the anti-slavery cause in the United States, were the same that distinguished themselves as the truest and warmest advocates of temperance and every other righteous reform at home. It was a pleasure to walk through the crowd with gentlemen such as the Webbs, Allens and Haughtons, and find them recognized by the multitude as the friends of the poor. My sheet is full.

Always yours,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹⁰⁶

GLASGOW, April 16, 1846.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

MY DEAR FRIEND—I have given up the field of public letter-writing to my friend Buffum, who will tell you how we are getting on; but I cannot refrain from sending you a line, as a mere private correspondent. My health is good, my spirit is bright, and I am enjoying myself as well as one can be expected, when separated from home by three thousand miles of deep blue ocean. I long to be at home—‘home, sweet, sweet home! Be it ever so humble, there is no place like home.’ Nor is it merely to enjoy the pleasure of family and friends, that I wish to be at home: it is to be in the field, at work, preaching to the best of my ability salvation from slavery, to a nation fast hastening to destruction. I know it will be hard to endure the kicks and cuffs of the pro-slavery multitude, to which I shall be subjected; but then, I glory in the battle, as well as in the victory.

I have been frequently counselled to leave America altogether,

¹⁰⁶ *Liberator*, March 27, 1846.

and make Britain my home. But this I cannot do, unless it shall be absolutely necessary for my personal freedom. I doubt not that my old master is in a state of mind quite favorable to an attempt at re-capture. Not that he wishes to make money by selling me, or by holding me himself, but to feed his revenge. I know he feels keenly my exposures, and nothing would afford him more pleasure than to have me in his power. He has suffered severe goadings, or he would not have broken the silence of seven years, to exculpate himself from the charges I have brought against him, by telling a positive lie. He says he can put his hand upon the Bible, and, with a clear conscience, swear he never struck me, or told any one else to do so! The same conscientious man could put his hand into my pocket, and rob me of my hard earnings; and, with a clear conscience, swear he had a right not only to my earnings, but to my body, soul and spirit! We may, in this case, reverse the old adage—‘He that will lie, will steal’—and make it, ‘He that will steal, will lie’—especially when, by lying, he may hope to throw a veil over his stealing. This positive denial, on his part, rather staggered me at the first. I had no idea the gentleman would tell a right down untruth. He has certainly forgotten when a lamp was lost from the carriage, without my knowledge, that he came to the stable with the cart-whip, and with its heavy lash beat me over the head and shoulders, to make me tell how it was lost, until his brother Edward, who was at St. Michael’s, on a visit at the time, came forward, and besought him to desist; and that he beat me until he wearied himself. My memory, in such matters, is better than his. One would think, from his readiness to swear that he never struck me, that he held it to be wrong to do so. He does not deny that he used to tie up ‘a cousin of mine, and lash her, and in justification of his bloody conduct quote, ‘He that knoweth his master’s will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.’ He finds fault with me for not mentioning his promising to set me free at 25. I did not tell many things which I might have told. Had I told of that promise, I should have also told that he had never set one of his slaves free; and I had no reason to believe he would treat me with any more justice and humanity, than any other one of his slaves. But enough.

Scotland is in a blaze of anti-slavery agitation.—The Free Church and Slavery are the all-engrossing topics. It is the same old question of Christian union with slaveholders—old with us, but

new with most people here. The discussion is followed by the same result as in America, when it was first mooted in the New-England Convention. There is such a sameness in the arguments, pro and con, that if you could be landed on this side of the Atlantic, without your knowledge, you would scarcely distinguish between our meetings here, and our meetings at home. The Free Church is in a terrible stew. Its leaders thought to get the slaveholders' money and bring it home, and escape censure. They had no idea that they would be followed and exposed. Its members are leaving it, like rats escaping from a sinking ship. There is a strong determination to have the slave money sent back, and the union broken up. In this feeling all religious denominations participate. Let slavery be hemmed in on every side by the moral and religious sentiments of mankind, and its death is certain.

I am always yours,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹⁰⁷

LONDON, May 23, 1846.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:—

DEAR FRIEND—I take up my pen to give you a hasty sketch of a five days' visit to this great city. I arrived here from Edinburgh, on the 18th instant, and proceeded immediately to 5 Whitehead's Grove, the house of your early and devoted friend, GEORGE THOMPSON, from whom I had received a most cordial letter, inviting me to make his house my home, during my stay in London. The main object of my visit was to attend the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—to do which, I had received a pressing invitation from the Committee of that Society. The meeting was held on the day of my arrival in Freemason's Hall, great Queen street. The chair was taken by Sir Edward North Buxton, Bart.

Having heard much of the meetings of this Society, I was surprised and disappointed by the fewness of those assembled. There were not more present, on this occasion, than what we usually have at our business meetings of the American A. S. Society. The thinness of the meeting was accounted for by the secretary, Mr. Scoble, on the ground that there were several very important philanthropic meetings in progress at the same hour—meetings in which the friends of emancipation were deeply interested, and to which many

¹⁰⁷ *Liberator*, May 15, 1846.

had gone, who otherwise would have been present at the anti-slavery meeting.

I will not trouble you with any minute account of this meeting, as you will find a pretty accurate sketch of its proceedings in a London paper, which I have already mailed for you. There was one pleasing feature, to which I will refer, and that was, the readiness with which the meeting responded to the sentiment of 'non-christian fellowship with slaveholders,' and the zeal, spirit and unanimity with which it joined in our uncompromising demand upon the Free Church of Scotland, to 'SEND BACK THE MONEY.' This was the more gratifying, in view of the manner in which this subject has been treated by some of the local auxiliary societies, which have stood aloof from the subject, and refused in any way to co-operate with us, because, as they allege, we are of the 'Garrison party' in America. This ground has been distinctly taken by the Edinburgh Anti-Slavery Committee. Instead of seconding our efforts, (whether intentionally, or otherwise,) they have played into the hands of the enemy, and have been quoted over and over again, by the Free Church press, against us. In assuming this position towards us, and the cause in which we are immediately engaged, they cannot but feel sensibly rebuked by the present example of the Parent Society; for that Society not only invited Mr. Thompson and myself to speak, but to speak on this very subject; and no parts of our speeches were more warmly received, or more enthusiastically cheered, than our several animadversions on the conduct of the Free Church of Scotland,—which Church now stands before this country and the world as the most prominent defender of the Christianity of man-stealers.

At the close of the meeting, Mr. Joseph Sturge came forward, and said that, in consequence of the fewness of the number who had had an opportunity of hearing me, he would do what he could to get me a meeting at the end of the week, when he was certain that a much larger meeting than the present could be obtained, if I would consent to address it. I agreed, and the meeting was held last night in Finsbury Chapel, one of the largest chapels in London. I shall also send you a newspaper report of this meeting. Meanwhile, I must say, it was one of the most effective and satisfactory meetings which I have attended since landing on these shores. You will observe, that the resolutions adopted by the meeting assert a broader and nobler platform, than that upon which our

Broad-street friends have for some time past acted. They have, as you are aware, taken sides with the New Organization and Liberty party, while they have decried and disparaged the efforts of yourself, and those who are earnestly laboring with you. The fact is, they have known very little of our efforts since 1840. Mr. Scoble, the Secretary, informs me that he has been left to gather information of our movements as best he could—that, while he has never, in a single instance, omitted to send you his Annual Report, he has in no instance received ours; so that he has been compelled to silence respecting us, for the want of information necessary to an intelligent opinion of our movement. I assured him that I thought our Reports had been sent, but that they had been mis-carried, or that some accident had befallen them, as I could conceive of no reason for withholding them, or neglecting to send them; especially as I knew it to be a first principle with our Society, in the fullest manner to exchange opinions with every class of abolitionists, whether they be for or against the views held by us. But to the meeting.

In adopting the resolution, moved by Dr. Campbell, a new and better way is marked out. It asserts, as it should do, the duty and prerogative of British abolitionists to be, that of co-operating with, and encouraging, fellow-laborers in the United States of every anti-slavery creed. Let this resolution be universally adopted, and scrupulously adhered to, and there will be a happy termination to the bitter jarrings which have, during the last six years, marred and defaced the beauty and excellence of our noble work. Of course, this resolution does not pledge the British and Foreign A. S. Society to the principle contained in it, as it was only adopted at a public meeting; still, I believe the ground taken is one, upon which nine-tenths of all the abolitionists in this country are anxious to stand. They are, as they ought to be, unwilling to be understood as being unfriendly to any class or creed of anti-slavery men in the United States.

This has been a week of great activity with me. I have attended a meeting every day since I came into the city. On Monday, as I have before observed, I attended the anniversary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. On Tuesday, I received an invitation, and spoke at a large and excellent meeting of the Peace Society. On Wednesday, I was invited to speak at a meeting of the *complete* Suffrage Association, called thus in contradistinc-

tion from the Chartist party, and differing from that party, in that it repudiates the use of physical force as a means of attaining its object. I am persuaded that, after the complete triumph of the Anti-Corn Law movement, the next great reform will be that of complete suffrage. The agitation which this must occasion will be louder, deeper and stronger than that attending the Anti-Corn Law movement. It comprehends dearer interests than those involved in the repeal of the Corn Laws. It is quite easy to see, that, in the triumph of complete suffrage in this country, aristocratic rule must end—class legislation must cease—the law of primogeniture and entail, the game laws, &c. will be utterly swept from the statute book. When people and not property shall govern, people will cease to be subordinate to property.

In the triumph of this movement may be read the destruction of the time-hallowed alliance of Church and State. The opposition to the gross injustice of compelling a man to support a form of worship, in which he not only feels no interest, but which he really hates, is great and increasing. The brilliant success of the Anti-Corn Law League has convinced the people of their power. The demand for the separation of Church and State, which is now but whispered, must sooner or later be heard in tones of thunder. The battle will be hot, but the right must triumph. God grant that they may make a better use of their political freedom, than the working people of the United States have hitherto done!—For, instead of taking sides with the oppressed, they have acted the unnatural and execrable part of the vilest oppressors. They stand forth in the front ranks of tyranny, and, with words of freedom on their deceitful lips, have given victory to a party, the chief pride, boast and glory of which is that of having blasted one of the fairest portions of our common earth with slavery. It is but just to the friends of political freedom here to say, that they regard the hypocritical pretenders to democratic freedom in America with absolute contempt, and ineffable disgust. The time was, when America was known abroad as the land of the free, but that time is past. No intelligent and honest man, whose love of liberty does not depend on the color of a man's skin, ever thinks of America in connection with freedom, but with abhorrence. Slavery gives character to the American people. It dictates their laws, gives tone to their literature, and shapes their religion. It stands up in their midst, the only sovereign power in the land. The friends of free-

dom here look upon America as one of the greatest obstacles in the way of political freedom, as she is now the great fact, illustrating the alleged truth, that the tyrant many are even more tyrannical than the tyrant few.

On Thursday, I accepted an invitation to attend and speak at the anniversary meeting of the National Temperance Society, held in the far-famed Exeter Hall. It was a splendid meeting. A resolution was adopted, proposing a World's Convention to be held in London, some time during the month of August. It was supported by Mr. Joseph Sturge and myself. I mention this, simply to call attention to a noble testimony borne by Mr. Sturge against slaveholders—a testimony which must have the best effect, just now. Mr. Sturge is a thorough temperance man, and gives largely in support of the cause. While speaking of the proposed Convention, and of the possibility of slaveholders being admitted into it as members, he declared that, if slaveholders were admitted, he would not sit in the Convention, or aid it in any way whatever. He had contemplated giving the Society £50; but he must find some other benevolent object upon which to bestow that sum, if slaveholders were admitted into the Convention. Subsequently, Mr. Alexander, a friend of temperance, and a member of the Society of Friends, has taken the same ground. These sentiments were loudly applauded by the meeting. The feeling of 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS' is becoming more and more general in London, and throughout this country. American slaveholders must prepare, not only to be excluded from the communion of British Christians, but peremptorily driven from the platform of every philanthropic association. Let them be hemmed in on every side. Let them be placed beyond the pale of respectability, and, standing out separated, alone in their infamy, let the storm gather over them, and its hottest bolts descend. Our justification is ample:—*the slaveholder is a man-stealer*.

I ought to have said, while speaking of the anti-slavery meeting at Finsbury Chapel, that Dr. Campbell suggested that, in as much as it would be of some importance to the anti-slavery cause to have me remain in this country longer than I could be induced to remain, absent from my family, measures be at once taken, by which a sufficient amount could be realized to enable me to bring my family to this country. This suggestion being seconded by my friend Mr. Thompson, in a very few minutes between £80 and £90

were contributed for the purpose. This result was entirely unexpected to me. I had not even mentioned my desire for any such thing to the meeting. I had said, however, to Mr. Thompson, and also to Mr. Sturge, that I could not remain absent from my family more than one year, and that I must go home in August, unless I should decide to bring my family to this country; and this may have led to the suggestion by Dr. Campbell.

I have just received a letter from Mr. Sturge, the chairman of the meeting at which the money was raised, saying he will cause to be forwarded to any person whom I may mention as my friend in the United States, five hundred dollars, to be appropriated to the removal of my family to this country. So I rest in the hope of soon being joined by my family in a land where they will not be constantly harassed by the apprehension, that some foul imp of a slaveholder may lay his infernal clutch upon me, and tear me from their midst. Master Hugh must bear the loss of my service *one* year longer, and it may be, I shall remain absent *two* years. Please send him a paper, containing this announcement, and exhort him to patience. It may serve to ease, if not cure, his anxious mind. He must feel my absence keenly, and must suffer greatly; for of all pain, I believe that of suspense is the most severe. By the way, one of the charges I have preferred against master Thomas Auld, and one which he seems the most angry about, respects his meanness; and the fact illustrative of this trait brought forward in my Narrative, is that he once owned a young woman, a cousin of mine, whose right hand had been so burnt as to make it useless to her through life—and finding this young woman of little or no value to him, he very *generously* gave her to his sister Sarah. Seized, I suppose, with a similar fit of benevolence, he has transferred his legal right of property in my body and soul, to his less fortunate brother Hugh. And master Hugh (for so I suppose I must call him,) seems to be very proud of the gift, and means to play the part of a hungry blood-hound in catching me. Possess your soul in patience, *dear* master Hugh, and regale yourself on the golden dreams afforded by the prospect—'*First catch your rabbit,*' &c. &c.

But I am wandering. My visit to this city has been exceedingly gratifying, on account of the freedom I have enjoyed in visiting such places of instruction and amusement as those from which I have been carefully excluded by the inveterate prejudice against color in the United States. Botanic and Zoological gardens, Mu-

seums and Panoramas, Halls of Statuary and Galleries of Paintings, are as free to the black as the white man in London. There is no distinction on account of color. The white man gains nothing by being white, and the black man loses nothing by being black. 'A man's a man for a' that.' I went on Tuesday morning, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Thompson, to see Cremore Garden, a place of recreation and amusement—a most beautiful and picturesque spot, delightfully situated on the bank of the Thames, at the west end of the city. I was admitted without a whisper of objection on the part of the proprietor or spectators. Every one looked as though they thought I had as much right there as themselves, and not the slightest dislike was manifested toward me on account of my negro origin, unless a gentleman from Boston, who was in the Garden while I was there, be an exception—and I will not say that he was. He had just brought to the Garden a panorama of Boston, rolled up in a long case, which was so heavy as to require eight men to carry it. Soon after its arrival, the proprietor told me what it was. I then said I knew Boston, and should be glad to see a panorama of it, but was informed it would not be presented for exhibition for two or three weeks, as the place was not quite ready for it. My American friend, whom I took to be the artist, on learning that I knew Boston, at once made toward me, without the slightest ceremony or circumlocution ordinarily resorted to by gentlemen when approaching a stranger, and bolting up to me, he asked, in much the same tone which a white man employs when addressing a slave by the way-side—'Well, boy, who do you belong to?'—'Do you know Boston?' 'Yes, Sir.' 'Well, if you know Boston, you know it is the handsomest city in the world!' This left me without a doubt as to the Yankee origin of my friend, and I felt quite at home in his presence. He eloquently descanted on the beauties of Boston, quoting various authorities as proof of his position, that Boston is the most beautiful city in the world. I replied, that Boston is a very handsome city, but I thought not the handsomest in the world—and proceeded to speak of Edinburgh. But a very few moments convinced me, that my patriotic friend had no ear for the praise of any other city than Boston; so we separated. We, however, met again in the course of half an hour, when his tone was quite altered, and his manner quite changed. We had a very pleasant interview. He asked if my name was Douglass, and being answered in the affirmative, expressed pleasure at seeing me, and said he had frequently heard of me since he came to this country.

There is one remarkable peculiarity in all the Americans with whom I have had the pleasure to meet on this side of the Atlantic, and that is, their adaptability to circumstances! Persons, who would feel themselves disgraced by being seen conversing with me in Boston, find no difficulty in being seated at the same table with me in London!

On Wednesday, I went to see the 'assembled wisdom' of this great nation—Parliament. Through the kindness of my friend George Thompson, I gained admission to the Speaker's Gallery, which is quite a privilege. Here I found myself beside the Rev. Mr. Kirk, of Boston, who seemed in no way shocked at being seated on the same bench with a negro, but rather pleased with having met me. I was fortunate in the choice of the time of going, for I could not have selected three hours when I could have heard a greater number of distinguished members. A bill was before the House, for restricting the hours of factory labor. Sir James Graham, Sir John Hobhouse, Lord George Bentinck, son of the Duke of Portland, Mr. Gisbourne, Mr. Wakely, Mr. Farrend, Mr. John Bright, Mr. Crawford, Mr. Brotherton, Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, and several other members, addressed the House on the subject. When the vote was to be taken, the galleries were cleared, so that the spectator is not allowed to see who votes for or against a measure. I was much pleased with the respectful manner with which members spoke of each other. Never having enjoyed the privilege of witnessing the legislative proceedings of our great nation, I cannot say in what respect they differ, or in what respect the one is to be preferred to the other. All I know is, if I should presume to go into Washington as I have into London, and enter Congress as I have done the House of Parliament, the ardent defenders of democratic liberty would at once put me into prison, on suspicion of having been 'created contrary to the Declaration of American Independence.' On failing to prove a negative, I should be sold into slavery, to pay my jail fees! 'Hail, Columbia, happy land!' Under these circumstances, my republican friends must not think strange, when I say I would rather be in London than Washington. Liberty in Hyde Park is better than democracy in a slave prison—monarchical freedom is better than republican slavery—things are better than names. I prefer the substance to the shadow.

Since I came to this city, I have had the honor to be made a member of the Free Trade Club, composed in part of some of the

most distinguished and influential gentlemen in the kingdom. But I must not speak of this, lest I should rouse the ire of the New-York Express, or provoke the fiery indignation of Bennett's Herald.

I have enjoyed a fine opportunity of becoming acquainted with Mr. George Thompson. I have been with him in private and in public—at home and abroad—when in the heat of intense excitement, and when mantled with the most tranquil repose—and in all circumstances, I have found him equal to the highest estimate I had formed of the man. He is the first great orator of whom I had formed a very high opinion, on the first hearing of whom I did not feel a degree of disappointment. He is far above any opinion I had formed of him. I have found him to be, emphatically, the man of every meeting which I have attended since I came to London. The announcement of his name is attended with demonstrations of applause, such as are seldom called forth by the mention of any other name.

Mr. Thompson is now deeply engaged in exposing the corrupt and despotic rule of the East India Company, and his labors in that department are equal to all his time and strength. Yet, such is his devotion to the cause of the American slave, that he is resolved to devote one or two weeks more to the agitation now going on in Scotland, against Christian fellowship with slaveholders, to induce the Free Church to send back the blood-stained money. As usual, you see him battling for the right.

But I must close this already too lengthy letter, or I would say more of this friend of God and man. Long may he live to plead the cause of our common humanity—to open his mouth for the dumb—to demand liberty for the heart-broken captive, unconditional emancipation for the whip-scared slave, succor for the afflicted, mercy for the suffering, and justice for the oppressed!

Yours to the end,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹⁰⁸

GLASGOW, (Scotland,) April 15, 1846.

MR. GREELEY :

MY DEAR SIR—I never wrote nor attempted to write a letter for any other than a strictly anti-slavery press; but being greatly encouraged by your magnanimity, as shown in copying my letter

¹⁰⁸ *Liberator*, June 26, 1846.

written from Belfast, Ireland, to the Liberator at Boston, I venture to send you a few lines, direct from my pen.

I know not how to thank you for the deep and lively interest you have been pleased to take in the cause of my long neglected race, or in what language to express the gratification I feel in witnessing your unwillingness to lend your aid to 'break a bruised reed,' by adding your weight to the already insupportable burden to crush, the feeble though virtuous efforts of one who is laboring for the emancipation of a people, who, for two long centuries, have endured, with the utmost patience, a bondage, one hour of which, in the graphic language of the immortal Jefferson, is worse than ages of that which your fathers rose in rebellion to oppose.

It is such indications on the part of the press—which, happily, are multiplying throughout all the land—that kindle up within me an ardent hope that the curse of slavery will not much longer be permitted to make its iron foot-prints in the lacerated hearts of my sable brethren, or to spread its foul mantle of moral blight, mildew and infamy, over the otherwise noble character of the American people.

I am very sorry to see that some of your immediate neighbors are very much displeased with you, for this act of kindness to myself, and the cause of which I am an humble advocate; and that an attempt has been made, on the part of some of them, by misrepresenting my sayings, motives and objects in this country, to stir up against me the already too bitter antipathy of the American people. I am called, by way of reproach, a runaway slave. As if it were a crime—an unpardonable crime—for a man to take his inalienable rights! If I had not run away, but settled down in the degrading arms of slavery, and made no effort to gain my freedom, it is quite probable that the learned gentlemen, who now brand me with being a miserable runaway slave, would have adduced the fact in proof of the negro's adaptation to slavery, and his utter unfitness for freedom! *'There's no pleasing some people.'* But why should Mr. James Brooks feel so much annoyed by the attention shown me in this country, and so anxious to excite against me the hatred and jealousy of the American people? I can very readily understand why a slaveholder—a trader in slaves—one who has all his property in human flesh, blinded by ignorance as to his own best interest, and under the dominion of violent passions engendered by the possession of discretionary and irresponsible power

over the bodies and souls of his victims—accustomed to the inhuman sight of men and women sold at auction in company with horses, sheep and swine, and in every way treated more like brutes than human beings—should repine at my success, and, in his blindness, seek to throw every discouragement and obstacle in the way of the slave's emancipation. But why a New-York editor, born and reared in the State of Maine, far removed from the contaminated and pestilential atmosphere of slavery, should pursue such a course, is not so apparent. I will not, however, stop here to ascertain the cause, but deal with fact; and I cannot better do this than by giving your readers a simple and undisguised statement of the motives and objects of my visit to this country. I feel it but just to myself to do so, since I have been denounced by the New-York Express as a 'glibtongued scoundrel,' and gravely charged, in its own elegant and dignified language, with 'running a muck in greedy-eared Britain against America, its people, its institutions, and even against its peace.'

Of the low and vulgar epithets, coupled with the false and somewhat malicious charges, very little need be said. I am used to them. Their force is lost upon me, in the frequency of their application. I was reared where they were in the most common use. They form a large and very important portion of the vocabulary of characters known in the South as plantation 'negro drivers.' A slaveholding gentleman would scorn to use them. He leaves them to find their way into the world of sound, through the polluted lips of his hired 'negro driver'—a being for whom the haughty slaveholder feels incomparably more contempt than he feels toward his slave. And for the best of all reasons—he knows the slave to be degraded, because he cannot help himself; but a white 'negro driver' is degraded, because of original, ingrained meanness. If I agree with the slaveholders in nothing else, I can say I agree with them in all their burning contempt for a 'negro driver,' whether born North or South. Such epithets will have no prejudicial effect against me on the mind of the class of American people, whose good opinion I sincerely desire to cultivate and deserve. And it is to these I would address this brief word of explanation.

The object, then, of my visit to this country is simply to give such an exposition of the degrading influence of slavery upon the master and his abettors as well as upon the slave—to excite such an

intelligent interest on the subject of American slavery—as may react upon that country, and tend to shame her out of her adhesion to a system which all must confess to be at variance with justice, repugnant to Christianity, and at war with her own free institutions. ‘The head and front of my offending hath this extent, no more.’ I am one of those who think the best friend of a nation is he who most faithfully rebukes her for her sins—and he her worst enemy, who, under the specious and popular garb of patriotism, seeks to excuse, palliate, and defend them. America has much more to fear from such than all the rebukes of the abolitionists at home or abroad.

I am nevertheless aware, that the wisdom of exposing the sins of one nation in the ear of another, has been seriously questioned by good and clear-sighted people, both on this and on your side of the Atlantic. And the thought is not without its weight upon my own mind. I am satisfied that there are many evils which can be best removed by confining our efforts to the immediate locality where such evils exist. This, however, is by no means the case with the system of slavery. It is such a giant sin—such a monstrous aggregation of iniquity, so hardening to the human heart, so destructive to the moral sense, and so well calculated to beget a character in every one around it favorable to its own continuance, that I feel not only at liberty, but abundantly justified in appealing to the whole world to aid in its removal. Slavery exists in the United States because it is reputable, and it is reputable in the United States because it is not *disreputable* out of the United States as it ought to be, and it is not so *disreputable* out of the United States as it ought to be because its character is not so well known as it ought to be. Believing this most firmly, and being a lover of Freedom, a hater of Slavery, one who has felt the bloody whip and worn the galling chain—sincerely and earnestly longing for the deliverance of my sable brethren from their awful bondage, I am bound to expose its character, whenever and wherever an opportunity is afforded me. I would attract to it the attention of the world. I would fix upon it the piercing eye of insulted Liberty. I would arraign it at the bar of Eternal Justice, and summon the Universe to witness against it. I would concentrate against it the moral and religious sentiment of Christian people of every ‘class, color and clime.’ I would have the guilty slaveholder see his condemnation written on every human face, and hear it proclaimed

in every human voice, till, overwhelmed with shame and confusion, he resolved to cease his wicked course, undo the heavy burden, and let the oppressed go free.

The people in this country who take the deepest interest in the removal of Slavery from America, and the spread of Liberty throughout the world, are the same who oppose the bloody spirit of war, and are earnestly laboring to spread the blessings of peace all over the globe. I have ever found the abolitionists of this country, the warmest friends of America and American institutions. I have frequently seen in their houses, and sometimes occupying the most conspicuous places in their parlors, the American Declaration of Independence.

An aged anti-slavery gentleman in Dublin, with whom I had the honor several times to dine during my stay in that city, has the Declaration of Independence and a number of the portraits of the distinguished founders of the American Republic. He bought them many years ago, in token of his admiration of the men and their principles. But, said he, after speaking of the sentiments of the Declaration—looking up as it hung in a costly frame—I am often tempted to turn its face to the wall, it is such a palpable contradiction of the spirit and practices of the American people at this time. This instrument was once the watchword of Freedom in this land, and the American people were regarded as the best friends and truest representatives of that sacred cause. But they are not so regarded now. They have allowed the crowned heads of Europe to outstrip them. While Great Britain has emancipated all her slaves, and is laboring to extend the blessings of Liberty wherever her power is felt, it seems, in the language of John Quincy Adams, that the preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery is the vital and animating spirit of the American Government. Even Hayti, the black Republic, is not to be spared; the spirit of Freedom, which a sanguinary and ambitious despot could not crush or extinguish, is to be exterminated by the free American Republic, because that spirit is dangerous to slavery. While the people of this country see such facts and indications, as well as the great fact that three millions of people are held in the most abject bondage, deprived of all their God-given rights—denied by law and public opinion to learn to read the sacred Scriptures, by a people professing the largest liberty and devotion to the religion of Jesus Christ—while they see this monstrous anomaly, they must

look elsewhere for a paragon of civil and religious freedom. Sir, I am earnestly and anxiously laboring to wipe off this foul blot from the otherwise fair fame of the American people, that they may accomplish in behalf of human freedom that which their exalted position among the nations of the earth amply fits them to do. Would they but arise in their moral majesty and might—repent and purify themselves from this foul crime—break the galling fetters, and restore the long lost rights to the sable bondmen in their midst—they would encircle her name with a wreath of imperishable glory. Her light would indeed break forth as the morning—its brilliant beams would flash across the Atlantic, and illuminate the Eastern world.

I am, dear sir, very gratefully yours,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹⁰⁹

To the Editor of the 'Protestant Journal.'

MR. EDITOR: My attention has just been called to an attack upon myself in your paper of the 18th July, which seems deserving a word of reply. This attack is contained in an article from an American newspaper, the *Boston Traveller*. Were I in the United States, I should deem a reply to an assault coming through that journal entirely uncalled for. I should regard its bitterest abuse as compliment rather than a condemnation. I know the paper, and am fully justified in declaring it to be notorious for its slaveholding malignity, and reckless disregard of truth in everything affecting the question of slavery in the United States. In the article before me I am pretty strongly accused of allowing the chairman of a meeting recently held in Finsbury Chapel, London, to state of me that which I knew to be false. The statement referred to is in the following words: 'Our friend Douglass has been obliged to escape from America, leaving his wife and four children there, for fear of being seized by his late owner, who is vowing vengeance. He is, therefore, an exile from that country, because there is not an inch upon which he can with safety set his feet.' The writer of the assault upon me says this statement 'was not corrected by Douglass.' I admit it was not, and for the best of all reasons—it was essentially true, and needed no correction. The writer professes to have lived in the same village with me for sev-

¹⁰⁹ *Liberator*, June 26, 1846.

eral years, and that the above is the first intimation he has ever seen or heard that I had any occasion to seek concealment or expatriation to avoid being again reduced to bondage. All I have to say to this is, that the writer's ignorance is through no fault of mine. I have repeatedly given as one of the reasons for leaving the United States, a fear, that in consequence of publishing a narrative of my experience in slavery, and exposing the conduct of my owner, he might, to gratify his revengeful disposition, attempt to reduce me to slavery. My object was to be out of the way during the excitement and exasperation which I had good reason to apprehend would follow the publication of my narrative. The wisdom of this course has been fully confirmed by what has transpired since I left the United States. My former owner, Mr. Thomas Auld, has transferred his legal right to my body to his brother Hugh, who has publicly declared that, cost what it may, as sure as I set my feet upon American soil, so sure I shall again be reduced to slavery. The laws of the land, and the Constitution of the United States, give him full power to arrest me anywhere in that country. There is not a State in the whole American Union, from Texas to Maine, in which I am not overshadowed with this terrible liability; and this my assailant very well knows, if he be not totally ignorant of the Constitution of the country. I think he has two purposes to serve in making the attack, and both are equally mean; one was to place me in an unfavorable light before the British public, in making me out a deceiver, and the other was to cover up the disgraceful fact, that in the United States, the land of boasted liberty and light, there is not a single inch of ground upon which a runaway slave may stand in safety. The writer speaks of my allegations against the American Board. He does not say what they are, but he says they have been nailed to the counter here (meaning in the United States.) I have never made a charge against that body which I am not prepared to prove. I have charged them with neglecting to give the Bible to the slave, and of taking the price of human blood, with which to send the gospel to the heathen. They admit it, and justify themselves by the conduct of the Free Church of Scotland. The writer says—'But our American readers will be amused at the course which things are taking, in reference to this high priest of anti-ministry, anti-churchism, and anti-Sabbathism.' If the writer means by this, that I have unmasked the slaveholding and woman-whipping churches and clergy of America, I plead

guilty to the charge. The writer exclaims, with apparent extacy, 'He is lost to his country forever; for one of the speakers said that they would support him handsomely during life in England.' Not quite so fast, young man. No inducement could be offered strong enough to make me quit my hold upon America as my home. Whether a slave or a freeman, America is my home, and there I mean to spend and be spent in the cause of my outraged fellow-countrymen.

Yours, &c.,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹¹⁰

Victoria Hotel, Belfast, July 23, 1846.

LONDON, August 18, 1846.

To the Lynn Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle:

MY DEAR FRIENDS—Owing to some cause at present unknown to me, but which you may understand and be able to explain, your kind letter of 16th June, did not reach me until the 3d of August. I mention this to account for what might otherwise be deemed culpable neglect. Now, what shall I say? for such are my circumstances that I can do little more than apologize for writing you a poor letter. Weighed down, oppressed, and almost overcome, by constant effort—by engagements, public and private, growing out of immediate contact with deeply interested friends here—I find it very difficult to gain a moment of calm repose, during which to commune with dear friends on your side the Atlantic: you will readily understand this, when you remember that the fact of my being a fugitive slave is new here. My peculiar position, without any personal attractions, subjects me to many calls and questions from which other lectures would be comparatively free. Thus engaged, and thus interested, you will readily see that what I write must be very imperfect. But, my dear friends, perfect or imperfect, with or without time, I have resolved to send you a line, responsive in spirit, if not in point of composition, to your warm and sympathetic letter. I thank you for it. I assure you that I speak nothing more than the truth when I say I felt gratified, cheered, and honoured, by that token of friendly interest, esteem, and affection. I felt proud in finding myself approvingly remembered by so many sterling friends, in and out of your choice circle, who placed their

¹¹⁰ *Liberator*, Aug. 28, 1846.

names under that friendly epistle. Next to the approbation of heaven and one's own conscience, stands that of clear-sighted and sincere friends; and while it is quite easy to conceive of contentment; with the former, it is difficult to conceive of happiness without the latter. A strong man may be able to stand without the proper sympathy; but I know of none so strong but who could be made stronger by it.

But I must not write you an essay on the excellence of human sympathy, but speak to you of the great cause which binds our hearts sympathetically together, the deliverance from thralldom of three millions of our long-neglected and deeply-abused race. I wish I could say something to cheer and strengthen you in this cause. I wish I were able to penetrate the future, and assure you of a speedy triumph of our cause; but this is not for me. I can only say, work on; your cause is good; work on; duty is yours—consequences the Almighty's.

I confess I feel sad, and sick at heart, by the present posture of political affairs in the United States. The spirit of Slavery reigns triumphant throughout all the land. Every step in the onward march of political events is marked with blood—innocent blood; shed, too, in the cause of Slavery. The war with Mexico rages; the green earth is drenched with warm blood, oozing out from human hearts; the air is darkened with smoke; the heavens are shaken by the terrible roar of the cannon; the groans and cries of the wounded and dying disturb the ear of God. Yet how few in that land care one farthing for it, or will move one inch to arrest and remove the cause of this horrible state of things? I am sad; I am sick; the whole land is cursed, if not given over to destruction. Massachusetts, the brightest of every other State, is now but the tool of Texas. Texas may be said to give laws to the whole Union. She leads the way in plunder and murder; and Massachusetts, with all New England, follow in the crusade like hungry sharks in the bloody wake of a Brazilian slaveship. What a spectacle for men and angels!—Gov. Briggs issuing his order to send the sons of those who fell in the cause of freedom on Bunker Hill, to fight the battle of Slavery in Mexico! Gov. Briggs, the teetotaller! Gov. Briggs, the Baptist! issuing his order to raise troops in Massachusetts, to establish with fire and sword the man-blasting and soul-damning system of Slavery! Who would have thought it? And yet it was to be expected. The deed was done long ago. The

foundation of this frowning monument of infamy was laid when the States were first declared the *United States*. This is but another link around your necks of the galling chain which your fathers placed about the heels of my race. It is the legitimate fruit of compromise—of attempting a union of Freedom with Slavery. All was lost in that sad moment. The American Anti-Slavery Society has the right on this question. Her ground is the true one. I believe that the salvation of the country depends, under God, upon the effort of that society. The Union must be dissolved, or New England is lost and swallowed up by the slave-power of the country. Work on, dear friends, work on! walk by faith, and not by sight. Come good, or come evil—prosperity or adversity—work on! See that all which can be done by patriotic and humane women for the salvation of millions groaning in chains, is done; and whoever else may approve, you shall have the approbation of a good conscience, and the tear of grateful hearts, for your reward.

You speak of your remaining together, though unorganized. I am of course glad to hear of your prosperity, though I cannot say as much of your being *unorganized*. While it is not for me to direct you, who have laboured so long and so well in this cause, how you shall help me and my race, generally, yet you must allow me to say, that my conviction of the utility and importance of organization is strengthened by every day's experience. I find that friend H. Clapp has seen the utter absurdity of carrying forward a moral enterprise without an organization. He has changed his views, or he should not have acted as a delegate, and held the office of secretary, in the temperance World's Convention, held here last week. This he did where free speech was not tolerated, and where men spoke—only by and with the consent of the chairman. Nor was this objected to by Mr. Clapp. Is organization a curse in New England, and a blessing in Old England? Consistency thou art a jewel.

One word more. You remind me of the poor, in this country. I thank you for it. We have poverty here, but no Slavery; we have crime here, but no Slavery; we have suffering here, but no Slavery, and in all this, England has a decided advantage over America. Still, my dear friends, I am by no means unmindful of the poor; and you may rely upon me as one who will never desert the cause of the poor, no matter whether black or white.

May kind heaven smile upon your righteous efforts, and

strengthen your hearts for every duty, is the sincere wish of your grateful and devoted friend.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹¹¹

REPLY OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS TO DR. COX.

Salisbury Road, EDINBURGH, Oct. 30, 1846.

SAMUEL HANSON COX, D. D.:

SIR—I have two objects in addressing you at this time. The first is, to deny certain charges, and to correct certain injurious statements, recently made by yourself, respecting my conduct at a meeting of the 'World's Temperance Convention,' held in Covent Garden Theatre, London, in the month of August last. My second object will be to review so much of your course as relates to the Anti-Slavery question, during your recent tour through Great Britain and a part of Ireland. There are times when it would evince a ridiculous sensibility to the good or evil opinions of men, and when it would be a wasteful expenditure of thought, time and strength, for one in my circumstances to reply to attacks made by those who hate me, more bitterly than the cause of which I am an humble advocate. While all this is quite true, it is equally true, that there are times when it is quite proper to make such replies; and especially so, when to defend one's self is to defend great and vital principles, the vindication of which is essential to the triumph of righteousness throughout the world.

Sir, I deem it neither arrogant nor presumptuous to assume to represent three millions of my brethren, who are, while I am penning these words, in chains and slavery on the American soil, the boasted land of liberty and light. I have been one with them in their sorrow and suffering—one with them in their ignorance and degradation—one with them under a burning sun and the slave-driver's bloody lash—and am at this moment freed from those horrible inflictions, only because the laws of England are commensurate with freedom, and do not permit the American man-stealer, whose Christianity you endorse, to lay his foul clutch upon me, while upon British soil. Being thus so completely identified with the slaves, I may assume that an attack upon me is an attack upon them—and especially so, when the attack is obviously made, as in the present instance, with a view to injure me in the advocacy of

¹¹¹ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Oct. 15, 1846.

their cause. I am resolved that their cause shall not suffer through any misrepresentations of my conduct, which evil-minded men, in high or low places, may resort to, while I have the ability to set myself right before the public. As much as I hate American slavery, and as much as I abominate the infernal spirit which in that land seems to pervade both Church and State, there are bright spots there which I love, and a large and greatly increasing population, whose good opinion I highly value, and which I am determined never to forfeit, while it can be maintained consistently with truth and justice.

Sir, in replying to you, and in singling out the conduct of one of your age, reputation and learning, for public animadversion, I should, in most cases, deem an apology necessary—I should approach such an one with great delicacy and guardedness of language. But, in this instance, I feel entirely relieved from all such necessity. The obligations of courtesy, which I should be otherwise forward to discharge to persons of your age and standing, I am absolved from by your obviously bitter and malignant attack. I come, therefore, without any further hesitancy to the subject.

In a letter from London to the New-York Evangelist, describing the great meeting at Covent Garden Theatre, you say:

‘They all advocated the same cause, showed a glorious unity of thought and feeling, and the effect was constantly raised—the moral scene was superb and glorious—when Frederick Douglass, the colored abolition agitator and ultraist, came to the platform, and so spoke *a la mode*, as to ruin the influence, almost, of all that preceded! He lugged in Anti-slavery or abolition, no doubt prompted to it by some of the politic ones, who can use him to do what they would not themselves adventure to do in person. He is supposed to have been well paid for the abomination.

What a perversion, an abuse, an iniquity against the law of reciprocal righteousness, to call thousands together to get them, some certain ones, to seem conspicuous and devoted for one sole and grand object, and then, all at once, with obliquity, open an avalanche on them for some imputed evil or monstrosity, for which, whatever be the wound or injury inflicted, they were both too fatigued and too hurried with surprise, and too straitened for time to be properly prepared. I say it is a trick of meanness! It is abominable!

On this occasion Mr. Douglass allowed himself to denounce America and all its temperance societies together, and a grinding community of the enemies of his people; said evil, with no alloy of good, concerning the whole of us; was perfectly indiscriminate in his severities, talked of the American delegates, and to them, as if he had been our schoolmaster, and we his docile and devoted pupils; and launched his revengeful missiles at our country, without one palliative, and as if not a Christian or a true anti-slavery man lived in the whole of

the United States. The fact is, the man has been petted, and flattered, and used, and paid by certain abolitionists not unknown to us, of the *ne plus ultra* stamp, till he forgets himself; and though he may gratify his own impulses and those of old Adam in others, yet sure I am that all this is just the way to ruin his influence, to defeat his object, and to do mischief, not good, to the very cause he professes to love. With the single exception of one cold-hearted parricide, whose character I abhor, and whom I will not name, and who has, I fear, no feeling of true patriotism or piety within him, all the delegates from our country were together wounded and indignant. No wonder at it! I write freely. It was not done in a corner. It was inspired, I believe, from beneath, and not from above. It was adapted to re-ignite, on both sides of the Atlantic, the flames of national exasperation and war. And this is the game which Mr. Frederick Douglass and his silly patrons are playing in England and in Scotland, and wherever they can find 'some mischief still for idle hands to do'! I came here his sympathizing friend—I am so no more, as I more know him.

My own opinion is increasingly that this abominable spirit must be exorcised out of England and America, before any substantial good can be effected for the cause of the slave. It is adapted only to make bad worse, and to inflame the passions of indignant millions to an incurable resentment. None but an ignoramus or a mad man could think that this way was that of the inspired apostles of the Son of God. It may gratify the feelings of a self-deceived and malignant few, but it will do no good in any direction—least of all to the poor slave! It is short-sighted, impulsive, partisan, reckless, and tending only to sanguinary ends. None of this, with men of sense and principle.

We all wanted to reply, but it was too late; the whole theatre seemed taken with the spirit of the Ephesian uproar; they were furious and boisterous in the extreme; and Mr. Kirk could hardly obtain a moment, though many were desirous in his behalf, to say a few words, as he did, very calm and properly, that the cause of Temperance was not at all responsible for slavery, and had no connexion with it. There were some sly agencies behind the scenes—we know!

Now, the motive for representing, in this connexion, 'the effect constantly raised,' the 'moral scene sublime and glorious,' is very apparent. It is obviously not so much to do justice to the scene, as to magnify my assumed offence. You have drawn an exceedingly beautiful picture, that you might represent me as marring and defacing its beauty, in the hope thereby to kindle against me the fury of its admirers.

'Frederick Douglass, the colored abolitionist and ultraist, came to the platform.' Well, Sir, what if I did come to the platform? How did I come to it? Did I come with, or without, the consent of the meeting? Had your love of truth equalled your desire to cover me with odium, you would have said that, after loud and repeated calls from the audience, and a very pressing invitation from the chairman, 'Frederick Douglass came to the platform.'

But, Sir, this would not have served your purpose—that being to make me out an intruder, one without the wedding garment, fit to be cast out among the unbidden and unprepared. This might do very well in America, where for a negro to stand upon a temperance platform, on terms of perfect equality with white persons, it would be regarded as an insolent assumption, not to be borne with; but, Sir, it is scarcely necessary to say, that it will not serve your purpose in England. It is now pretty well known throughout the world, that color is no crime in England, and it is becoming almost equally known, that color is treated as a crime in America. *‘Frederick Douglass, the colored abolition agitator and ultraist, came to the platform!’* Shocking! How could democratic Americans sit calmly by, and behold such a flagrant violation of one of the most cherished American customs—this most unnatural amalgamation! Was it not an aggravating and intolerable insult, to allow a negro to stand upon a platform, on terms of perfect equality with pure white American gentlemen! Monarchical England should be taught better manners; she should know that democratic America has the sole prerogative of deciding what shall be the social and civil position of the colored race. But, sarcasm aside, Sir, you claim to be a Christian, a philanthropist, and an abolitionist. Were you truly entitled to any one of these names, you would have been delighted at seeing one of Afric’s despised children cordially received, and warmly welcomed to a world’s temperance platform, and in every way treated as a man and a brother. But the truth probably is, that you felt both yourself and your country severely rebuked by my presence there; and, besides this, it was undoubtedly painful to you to be placed on the same platform, on a level with a negro, a fugitive slave. I do not assert this positively—it may not be quite true. But if it be true, I sincerely pity your littleness of soul.

You sneeringly call me an *‘abolition agitator and ultraist.’* Sir, I regard this as a compliment, though you intend it as a condemnation. My only fear is, that I am unworthy of those epithets. To be an abolition agitator is simply to be one who dares to think for himself—who goes beyond the mass of mankind in promoting the cause of righteousness—who honestly and earnestly speaks out his soul’s conviction, regardless of the smiles or frowns of men—leaving the pure flame of truth to burn up whatever hay, wood and stubble it may find in its way. To be such an one is the deepest

and sincerest wish of my heart. It is a part of my daily prayer to God, that he will raise up and send forth more to unmask a proslavery church, and to rebuke a man-stealing ministry—to rock the land with agitation, and give America no peace till she repent, and be thoroughly purged of this monstrous iniquity. While Heaven lends me health and strength, and intellectual ability, I shall devote myself to this agitation; and I believe that, by so acting, I shall secure the smiles of an approving God, and the grateful approbation of my down-trodden and long abused fellow-countrymen. With these on my side, of course I ought not to be disturbed by your displeasure; nor am I disturbed. I speak now in vindication of my cause, caring very little for your good or ill opinion.

You say I spoke 'so as to ruin the influence of all that had preceded'! My speech, then, must have been very powerful; for I had been preceded by yourself, and some ten or twelve others, all powerful advocates of the Temperance cause, some of them the most so of any I ever heard. But I half fear my speech was not so powerful as you seem to imagine. It is barely possible that you have fallen into a mistake, quite common to persons of your turn of mind,—that of confounding your own pride with the cause which you may happen to plead. I think you will upon reflection confess, that I have now hit upon a happy solution of the difficulty. As I look back to that occasion, I remember certain facts, which seem to confirm me in this view of the case. You had eulogized in no measured or qualified terms, America and American Temperance Societies; and in this, your co-delegates were not a whit behind you. Is it not possible that the applause, following each brilliant climax of your fulsome panegyric, made you feel the moral effect raised, and the scene superb and glorious? I am not unaware of the effect of such demonstrations: it is very intoxicating, very inflating. Now, Sir, I should be very sorry, and would make any amends within my power, if I supposed I had really committed, the '*abomination*' of which you accuse me. The Temperance cause is dear to me. I love it for myself, and for the black man, as well as for the white man. I have labored, both in England and America, to promote the cause, and am ready still to labor; and I should grieve to think of any act of mine, which would inflict the slightest injury upon the cause. But I am satisfied that no such injury was inflicted. No, Sir, it was not the poor bloated drunkard, who was '*ruined*' by my speech, but your own bloated

pride, as I shall presently show—as I mean to take up your letter in the order in which it is written, and reply to each part of it.

You say I lugged in anti-slavery, or abolition. Of course, you meant by this to produce the impression, that I introduced the subject illegitimately. If such were your intention, it is an impression utterly at variance with the truth. I said nothing, on the occasion referred to, which in fairness can be construed into an outrage upon propriety, or something foreign to the temperance platform—and especially a ‘world’s Temperance platform.’ The meeting at Covent Garden was not a *white* temperance meeting, such as are held in the United States, but a ‘world’s temperance meeting,’ embracing the black as well as the white part of the creation—practically carrying out the scriptural declaration, that ‘God has made of one blood, all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth.’ It was a meeting for promoting temperance throughout the world. All nations had a right to be represented there; and each speaker had a right to make known to that body, the peculiar difficulties which lay in the way of the temperance reformation, in his own particular locality. In that Convention, and upon that platform, I was the recognized representative of the colored population of the United States; and to their cause I was bound to be faithful. It would have been quite easy for me to have made a speech upon the general question of temperance, carefully excluding all reference to my enslaved, neglected and persecuted brethren in America, and thereby secured your applause;—but to have pursued such a course, would have been selling my birthright for a mess of pottage,—would have been to play the part of Judas, a part which even you profess to loathe and detest. Sir, let me explain the motive which animated me, in speaking as I did at Covent Garden Theatre. As I stood upon that platform, and surveyed the deep depression of the colored people of America, and the treatment uniformly adopted, by white temperance societies, towards them—the impediments and absolute barriers thrown in the way of their moral and social improvement, by American slavery, and by an inveterate prejudice against them, on account of their color—and beheld them in rags and wretchedness, in fetters and chains, left to be devoured by intemperance and kindred vices—and slavery like a very demon, standing directly in the way of their reformation, as with a drawn sword, ready to smite down any who might approach for their deliverance—and found myself

in a position where I could rebuke this evil spirit, where my words would be borne to the shores of America, upon the enthusiastic shouts of congregated thousands—I deemed it my duty to embrace the opportunity. In the language of John Knox, ‘I was in the place where I was demanded of conscience to speak the truth—and the truth I *did* speak—impugn it who so list.’ But, in so doing, I spoke perfectly in order, and in such a manner as no one, having a sincere interest in the cause of Temperance, could take offence at—as I shall show by reporting, in another part of this letter my speech as delivered on that occasion.

‘He was, no doubt, prompted to do it by some of the politic ones, who can use him to do what they themselves would not adventure to do in person.’ The right or wrong of obeying the promptings of another depends upon the character of the thing to be done. If the thing be right, I should do it, no matter by whom prompted; if wrong, I should refrain from it, no matter by whom commanded. In the present instance, I was prompted by no one—I acted entirely upon my own responsibility. If, therefore, blame is to fall anywhere, it should fall upon me.

‘He is supposed to have been well paid for the abomination.’ This, Sir, is a cowardly way of stating your own conjecture. I should be pleased to have you tell me, what harm there is in being well paid! Is not the laborer worthy of his hire? Do you preach without pay? Were you not paid by those who sent you to represent them in the World’s Temperance Convention? There is not the slightest doubt that you were paid—and *well paid*. The only difference between us, in the matter of pay, is simply this—you were paid, and I was not. I can with a clear conscience affirm, that, so far from having been well paid, as you supposed, I never received a single farthing for my attendance—or for any word which I uttered on the occasion referred to—while you were in all probability well supported, ‘well paid,’ for all you did during your attendance. My visit to London was at my own cost. I mention this, not because I blame you for taking pay, or because I regard as specially meritorious my attending the meeting without pay; for I should probably have taken pay as readily as you did, had it been offered; but it was not offered, and therefore I got none.

You stigmatize my speech as an ‘abomination’; but you take good care to suppress every word of the speech itself. There can be but one motive for this, and that motive obviously is, because

there was nothing in the speech which, standing alone, would inspire others with the bitter malignity against me, which unhappily rankles in your own bosom.

And is slavery only an *imputed* evil? Now, suppose I had lugged in Anti-Slavery, (which I deny,)—you profess to be an abolitionist. You, therefore, ought to have been the last man in the world to have found fault with me, on that account. Your great love of liberty, and sympathy for the down-trodden slave, ought to have led you to ‘pardon something to the spirit of Liberty,’ especially in one who had the scars of the slave-driver’s whip on his back, and who, at this moment, has four sisters and one brother in slavery. But, Sir, you are not an abolitionist, and you only assumed to be one during your recent tour in this country, that you might *sham* your way through this land, and the more effectually stab and blast the character of the real friends of emancipation. Who ever heard of a true abolitionist speaking of slavery as an ‘imputed evil,’ or complaining of being ‘wounded and injured’ by an allusion to it—and that, too, because that allusion was in opposition to the infernal system? You took no offence when the Rev. Mr. Kirk assumed the Christian name and character for slaveholders in the World’s Temperance Convention. You were not ‘wounded or injured,’—it was not a ‘perversion, an abuse, an iniquity against the law of reciprocal righteousness.’ You have no indignation to pour out upon him. Oh, no! But when a *fugitive slave* merely alluded to slavery as obstructing the moral and social improvement of my race, you were ‘wounded and injured,’ and rendered indignant! This, sir, tells the whole story of your abolitionism, and stamps your pretensions to abolition as brazen hypocrisy or self-deception.

You were ‘too fatigued, too hurried by surprise, too straitened for time.’ Why, Sir, you were in ‘an unhappy predicament.’ What would you have done, had you not been ‘too fatigued, too hurried by surprise, too straitened for time,’ and unprepared? Would you have denied a single statement in my address? I am persuaded you would not; and had you dared to do so, I could at once have given evidence in support of my statements, that would have put you to silence or to shame. My statements were in perfect accordance with historical facts—facts of so recent date, that they are fresh in the memory of every intelligent American. You knew I spoke truly of the strength of American prejudice against

the colored people. No man knows the truth on this subject better than yourself. I am, therefore, filled with amazement that you should seem to deny, instead of confirming my statements.

Much more might be said on this point; but having already extended this letter to a much greater length than I had intended, I shall simply conclude by a reference to your remark respecting your professed sympathy and friendship for me, previous to the meeting at Covent Garden. If your friendship and sympathy be of so mutable a character as must be inferred from your sudden abandonment of them, I may expect that yet another change will return to me the lost treasure. At all events, I do not deem it of sufficient value to purchase it at so high a price as that of the abandonment of the cause of my colored brethren, which appears to be the condition you impose upon its continuance.

Very faithfully,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Now, Sir, to show the public how much reliance ought to be placed on your statements, and what estimate they should form of your love of truth and Christian candor, I will give the substance of my speech at Covent Garden Theatre, and the circumstances attending and growing out of its delivery. As 'the thing was not done in a corner,' I can with safety appeal to the FIVE THOUSAND that heard the speech, for the substantial correctness of my report of it. It was as follows:—

Mr. Chairman—Ladies and Gentlemen—I am not a delegate to this Convention. Those who would have been most likely to elect me as a delegate, could not, because they are to-night held in the most abject slavery in the United States. Sir, I regret that I cannot fully unite with the American delegates, in their patriotic eulogies of America, and American Temperance Societies. I cannot do so, for this good reason—there are, at this moment, three millions of the American population, by slavery and prejudice, placed entirely beyond the pale of American Temperance Societies. The three million slaves are completely excluded by slavery—and four hundred thousand free colored people are almost as completely excluded by an inveterate prejudice against them, on account of their color. (Cries of shame! shame!)

I do not say these things to wound the feelings of the American delegates. I simply mention them in their presence, and before this audience, that, seeing how you regard this hatred and neglect of the Colored people, they may be induced, on their return home,

to enlarge the field of their Temperance operations, and embrace within the scope of their influence, my long neglected race—(great cheering and some confusion on the platform.) Sir, to give you some idea of the difficulties and obstacles in the way of the Temperance reformation of the colored population in the United States, allow me to state a few facts. About the year 1840, a few intelligent, sober and benevolent colored gentlemen in Philadelphia, being acquainted with the appalling ravages of intemperance among a numerous class of colored people in that city, and finding themselves neglected and excluded from white societies, organized societies among themselves—appointed committees—sent out agents—built temperance halls, and were earnestly and successfully rescuing many from the fangs of intemperance.

The cause went nobly on till the 1st of August, 1842, the day when England gave liberty to eight hundred thousand souls in the West Indies. The colored Temperance Societies selected this day to march in procession through the city, in the hope that such a demonstration would have the effect of bringing others into their ranks. They formed their procession, unfurled their teetotal banners, and proceeded to the accomplishment of their purpose. It was a delightful sight. But, Sir, they had not proceeded down two streets, before they were brutally assailed by a ruthless mob—their banner was torn down, and trampled in the dust—their ranks broken up, their persons beaten, and pelted with stones and brickbats. One of their churches was burned to the ground, and their best temperance hall was utterly demolished. (Shame! shame! shame! from the audience—great confusion and cries of ‘sit down’ from the American delegates on the platform.)

In the midst of this commotion, the chairman tapped me on the shoulder, and whispering, informed me that the fifteen minutes allotted to each speaker had expired; whereupon the vast audience simultaneously shouted, ‘Don’t interrupt!—don’t dictate! go on! go on! Douglass! Douglass!!’ This continued several minutes; after which, I proceeded as follows:—

‘Kind friends, I beg to assure you that the chairman has not, in the slightest degree, sought to alter any sentiment which I am anxious to express on the present occasion. He was simply reminding me, that the time allotted for me to speak had expired. I do not wish to occupy one moment more than is allotted to other speakers. Thanking you for your kind indulgence, I will take my seat.’

Proceeding to do so, again there were loud cries of ‘go on! go on!’ with which I complied, for a few moments, but without saying any thing more that particularly related to the colored people of America.

When I sat down, the Rev. Mr. Kirk, of Boston, rose, and said—'Frederick Douglass has unintentionally misrepresented the Temperance Societies of America. I am afraid that his remarks have produced the impression on the public mind, that the Temperance Societies support slavery—('No! no! no! no!!' shouted the audience.) If that be not the impression produced, I have nothing more to say.'

Now, Dr. Cox, this a fair, unvarnished story of what took place at Covent Garden Theatre, on the 7th of August, 1846. For the truth of it, I appeal to all the Temperance papers in the land, and the 'Journal of the American Union,' published at New-York, Oct. 1, 1846. With this statement, I might safely submit the whole question to both the American and British public; but I wish not merely to correct your misrepresentations, and expose your falsehoods, but to show that you are animated by a fierce, bitter and untruthful spirit toward the whole anti-slavery movement.

And for this purpose, I shall now proceed to copy and comment upon extracts from your letter to the New-York Evangelist. In that letter, you exclaim, respecting the foregoing speech, delivered by me, every word of which you take pains to omit: 'What a perversion, an abuse, an iniquity against the law of reciprocal righteousness, to call thousands together, and get them, some certain ones, to seem conspicuous and devoted for one sole and grand object, and then, all at once, with obliquity, open an avalanche on them for some imputed evil or monstrosity, for which, whatever be the wound or the injury inflicted, they were both too fatigued and too hurried with surprise, and too straitened for time, to be properly prepared. I say it is a trick of meanness! It is abominable!'

As to the 'perversion,' 'abuse,' 'iniquity against the law of reciprocal righteousness,' 'obliquity,' 'a trick of meanness,' 'abominable,'—not one word is necessary to show their inappropriateness, as applied to myself, and the speech in question, or to make more glaringly apparent the green and poisonous venom with which your mouth, if not your heart, is filled. You represent me as opening 'an avalanche upon you for some *imputed* evil or monstrosity.'¹¹²

MY DEAR FRIEND:

A severe illness of two weeks' duration, from which I have now but partially recovered, has prevented me from replying to, and

¹¹² *Liberator*, Nov. 27, 1846.

explaining certain representations and charges, which have recently found their way into the public press, seriously affecting my moral character.

Many reasons might be urged in favor of treating this mean and scandalous fabrication with silent contempt. The character which I have maintained for six years, open to the most searching investigation—the disguising nature of the imputations, and obvious motive for making them—and the well-known impurity and filthiness of the quarter from which they emanated—might afford some justification for pursuing a course of absolute silence; leaving the public to form what judgment they pleased of the truth or falsity, the justice or injustice of the attack upon me.

There is, however, something so direct, so impudent, and so apparently consistent in this malicious assault, that I feel that duty to the cause with which I am connected, to myself, and to the noble band of friends who have ever thrown around me the broad shield of their protection, requires at my hand a full, free and open explanation of the ground of the assault; and as complete a vindication of myself as the real facts in the case will permit me to make.

My first impulse, on being informed of this bold attempt to destroy my influence, and ruin me forever, was in favor of bringing the slanderers before some legal tribunal of the country. But upon reflection, I felt that such a course would be unwise, perplexing, and fruitless. This was not, however, because I lacked confidence in the law or its administrators, but from a knowledge of the loathsome creatures who stand forth as my accusers. The unscrupulous wretches who could string together such a list of lies, are not to be expected to have any very sacred regard for an oath. As a lawyer once said—‘When a case originates in Pandemonium, we are to expect none but demons for witnesses.’ If, however, it shall be found necessary to bring the matter before a legal tribunal, I shall not hesitate to adopt the necessary means to bring both the perpetrators and the circulators of this foul slander, where they may have an opportunity of making good their charges, if they can. Meanwhile, I will take up their articles, all filthy as they are, and examine every material sentence in them.

The first notice of my passage from Albany to New-York, I found in a paper called ‘The Switch,’ and purporting to be published in Albany. But on inquiry where it was printed, by whom edited and published, I found that those whereabouts are prudently

kept unknown. The editor is unknown, and it is the policy of the managers to keep unknown, that they may lie and slander with impunity. In any other country making pretension to civilization, such a nuisance would be speedily ferreted out, and abated. But, alas for the freest nation on the globe! liberty is too often made to license all conceivable brutality, and to give impunity to the vilest slanderers. The article in the 'Switch' begins as follows:

NIGGERS AND NASTINESS.

'The offence is rank—it smells to Heaven.'

A depraved portion of the people, and of the press, have for some time past been gratifying their morbid tastes in lionizing a disgusting, impertinent negro, who styles himself Frederick Douglass. The feelings of the decent portion of the community have, times without number, been outraged by having this 'soot head' thrust into their midst. It is a needless task for us to recapitulate the instances of this 'wool head's' sauciness.

Comment on this is only necessary to fix attention upon the *animus* of the writer. It is a fit introduction to what follows. Mark! 'depraved portion of the people and press'—'disgusting and impertinent negro'—'soot head'—'wool head's sauciness,' &c. These hail from the lowest of the American mould. Those who kindly regard me in this country are the purest and best in the world; they are in truth, the salt of the earth, the lights of the world; and therein is a motive for assaulting me.

My 'impertinence and sauciness' have ever consisted in presuming to be, and behaving as a man—in paying no more deference to a white man, than to a black man of equal moral and intellectual worth—in bowing to no skin-deep superiority, but rendering honor only where honor is due. I am said to be 'disgusting.' How, when, where, and to whom? Not as a coach-driver, dressed in tinselled livery, driving some delicate white ladies through Albany, or Broadway, New York. Not as a footman, on some gilded carriage. Not as a waiter in some fashionable hotel. Not as a servant, a barber, a cook, or a steward. No! I am never disgusting to the most refined white Americans, in any of these capacities! Even a white lady—a *white American lady*—might be seen near me, in these capacities, without exciting vulgar abuse and filthy insinuations. But when does white complacency, in this matter, cease, and ineffable disgust commence, in the bosoms of our alabaster

fellow-countrymen? Just when the colored man's inequality is dropped, and his equality is assumed. The negro then becomes horribly disgusting! I am not insensible to this feeling of disgust. There are constant occasions for calling it forth. I was never more disgusted in my life than when in Albany, low, filthy, tobacco-chewing, slobbering white blackguards presumed to insult me on account of the color of my skin. This, I think, is something at which we may properly be disgusted.

One word more about disgust. There is a strange diversity in its manifestation, indicating how completely a pure taste may be perverted. Some animals, for instance—and man among the number—display the strangest perversity of taste. The buzzard and the condor are utterly disgusted with sound meat, and prefer to flesh their talons in carrion. These birds go around, like the editor of the 'Switch,' dealing largely in the most disgusting and putrid flesh! A dog afflicted with hydrophobia, is utterly disgusted with the sight and scent of pure cold water; and a white man afflicted with colorphobia will invariably manifest signs of disgust at the sight of a respectable colored man. 'Colorphobia' and buzzards—mad dogs and condors—'think of these things!'

I will now pass to the next extract. Speaking of me, he says—

'Last week he was here, and was gallanted to the Assembly Chamber by a female of this city, who so far forgot what was due to the community and to the delicacy of her sex, as to introduce this offensive creature into the Ladies' Gallery, where she left him. Mr. Stoutenburgh, the gentlemanly and attentive officer having charge of that department, on discovering him, immediately told him that a place was especially designated for colored persons, and pointed it out to him, but Sambo refused to go, on which Mr. S. was compelled to eject him forcibly. The lady soon after returned, and asked Mr. S. where her 'friend and companion' had gone, on which Mr. S. informed her that he had turned him out, and directed him to the place appropriated to such as he. The female subsequently found her 'friend and companion,' and they left the Capitol 'cheek by jowl.'

It is perfectly true, that I was in Albany at the time here mentioned; and quite true, that I was accompanied to the Assembly Chamber by a lady—a *white lady*, (very criminal!)—and, naturally enough, she took me to that part of the House to which, as a lady, she felt herself entitled to go. It is not true, that when Mr. Stoutenburgh discovered me, he told me that a place was especially

designated for colored persons. He did point me to the gentleman's gallery, and there was no hesitancy, on my part, in going to it; and nothing imperious in his manner in pointing it out to me. Not an unfriendly word passed between us. The whole story of my being 'forcibly ejected' is a deliberate lie, to serve a purpose. I went into the gentlemen's gallery, and enjoyed a sight of the assembled wisdom of the great state of New-York, as I have frequently enjoyed a similar sight of the assembled wisdom of Great Britain. After having been permitted freely to enter Parliament—both Lords and Commons—and witness their deliberations, in company with white persons, it was not to be expected that I should be afraid to enter an Assembly Chamber, where that living embodiment of 'Subterranean' filth and fury, Mike Walsh, is recognized as an *honorable* member.

Having now glanced at the lighter shades, I come at once to the darker and more important aspects of the subject. The 'Switch' says—

'Shortly after this, these 'friends and companions' went to New-York in company. On the morning of their arrival, Captain Cruttenden observed that a negro came down from the state rooms with a white woman, and was indignant on learning that the pair had occupied state rooms which communicated with each other by a door, and cautioned his assistant against permitting the like occurrence. On a return trip of the Hendrick Hudson, a few days afterwards, the same oddly matched companions were again on board, and the woman sent the chambermaid to the captain's office for two state rooms, the keys of which the chambermaid delivered to her. The female, on inspection, told the chambermaid that the rooms were not what she wanted—that they must have a door leading into each other. The person in charge of the office, without hesitation, changed their location, and gave the same rooms which these friends and companions had occupied the night before. Capt. Cruttenden discovered it in the morning, and on their coming down told the nigger never to *darken* the saloon of any boat commanded by him again, and ordered him ashore. The fellow's wool bristled somewhat, and his companion colored slightly, and they departed in company.'

I will now state the circumstances of this transaction, in my own way, and shall admit all that I know to be true, and deny all that I know to be false in the above statement. On Monday, May 10th, I was in company with my wife, at Albany, where I went to see my daughter, whom I had not seen for nearly two years. Hav-

ing been announced to speak the next morning at the anniversary meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New-York, and suffering under severe cold and hoarseness, and well knowing the brutal manner in which colored persons are uniformly treated in steamers on the Hudson river—compelled sometimes to stroll the decks nearly all night, before they can get a place to lie down, and that place frequently unfit for a dog's accommodation—and being unwilling to risk my health to any such chances, I availed myself of the kindness of my friend alluded to, who secured for me a state room on board of the Hendrick Hudson; and also secured the adjoining one for herself. On going into mine, in the evening, I found, as above stated, that the two rooms communicated with each other by a door. But a thought of its propriety or impropriety never crossed my mind; and, at that time, I did not know but that every state room on board communicated in a similar manner. Myself and friend conversed together during the evening, when she went to her state room, and I remained in mine. I neither saw nor heard my friend till next morning, when we landed at New-York. I then went to her state-room door to assist her with her baggage; and after walking about a full half hour in the presence of the Captain, while the crowd was pressing on shore, we left the steamer together, without the slightest sign of disapprobation that I could see from any quarter. On my return from New-York, my friend secured similar state rooms, and we occupied them, without the least interruption from the Captain, or any officer, servant or passenger on board. When we left the steamer in the morning, the Captain did utter some filthy remarks, calling me a 'nigger,' &c., and telling me never to take a state room on board his steamer again. I made no reply, but went off about my business, well knowing that my color was the cause of his brutality, and that, had I been a white man, I might have occupied the state rooms a dozen times over, without calling forth any foul imputations from himself, or any one else. As to what is alleged to have been said by my friend to the chambermaid, it may or may not be true; and, true or false, it is a small matter. We needed neither bolts, bars, nor locks, to keep us in the path of virtue and rectitude. The 'Switch' closes its article as follows, which shows that, vile and profligate as it is, it is a shade less atrocious than the 'Subterranean':

'We wish it distinctly understood, that we cast no imputations on the character of the white woman, who thus gads about the country with a negro, but she certainly manifests a depravity of taste, that should induce her friends to look sharply after her—and as for this thunder-cloud, he should be kicked into his *proper place, and kept there*.

We shall resume this subject next week.'

Having disposed of the 'Switch,' I come to that loathsome dabbler in 'Subterranean' pollution, Mike Walsh. The depravity of the man is marvellous. My work with him will be necessarily short; for his statement is made up from the 'Switch,' and improved upon to suit his own impure fancy.

My answer to it is, that, aside from the simple fact that myself and friend occupied adjoining and communicating state rooms—and the fact that the Captain was indignant that I, a *colored* person, should do so—this whole story, from beginning to end, in gross and scope, in letter and spirit, in principle and inference, is a foul, deliberate, unmixed, and malicious fabrication. The whole narration, in all its details, particulars and specifications—so far as they relate to my conduct—is a series of the most daringly wicked falsehoods; and none, but one over whom the sway of the devil is complete, could have invented and penned them.

Ever yours in the cause of purity and liberty,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹¹³

Lynn, June 7th, 1847.

THE RANSOM.

LETTER TO FREDERICK DOUGLASS, WITH HIS REPLY.

DONCASTER, Dec. 12th, 1846.

DEAR FREDERICK:

This is the first letter of advice I ever wrote to you—it is the last. I like to bear the responsibility of my own existence. I like to see others bear theirs. I say what I am about to say, because I think it is my right and duty to say it; at the same time, not wishing to interfere with your right to follow my advice, or not, as you shall see fit. That Certificate of your freedom, that *Bill of Sale* of your body and soul, from that *villain*, Auld, who dared to claim you as a chattel, and set a price on you as such, and to demand and take a price for you as such, I wish you would not touch it. I can-

¹¹³ *Liberator*, June 11, 1847.

not bear to think of you as being a party to such a transaction, even by silence. If *others* will take that paper, and keep it as an evidence of your freedom, you cannot prevent them; but I wish you would see it to be your duty, publicly to disown the deed, and never to recognize that *hateful Bill!*—nor to refer to it, as of any authority to establish the fact that you are a *Freeman*, and not a *Slave*—a *Man*, and not a *Chattel*.

The moment you entered a non-slave State, your position ceased to be *Frederick Douglass*, versus *Thomas Auld*, and became *Frederick Douglass*, versus the *United States*. From that hour, you became the antagonist of that Republic.

As a nation, that confederacy, professing to be based upon the principle, that God made you free, and gave you an inalienable right to liberty, claims a right of property in your body and soul—to turn you into a chattel, a slave, again, at any moment. That claim you denied; the authority and power of the whole nation you spurned and defied, when, by running away, you spurned that miserable wretch, who held you as a slave. It was no longer a contest between you and that praying, psalm-singing slave-breeder, but a struggle between you and 17,000,000 of liberty-loving Republicans. By their laws and constitution, you are not a *freeman*, but a *slave*; you are not a *man*, but a *chattel*. You planted your foot upon their laws and constitution, and asserted your freedom and your manhood. You arraigned your antagonist—the slave-breeding Republic—before the tribunal of mankind, and of God. You have stated your case, and pleaded your cause, as none other could state and plead it. Your position, as the slave of that Republic, as the marketable commodity, the dehumanized, outraged *man* of a powerful nation, whose claim and power over you, you have dared to despise, invests you with influence among all to whom your appeal is made, and gathers around you their deep-felt, absorbing, and efficient sympathy. Your appeal to mankind is not against the grovelling thief, Thomas Auld, but against the more daring, more impudent and potent thief—the Republic of the United States of America. You will lose the advantages of this truly manly, and, to my view, sublime position; you will be shorn of your strength—you will sink in your own estimation, if you accept that detestable certificate of your freedom, that blasphemous forgery, that accursed Bill of Sale of your body and soul; or, even by silence, acknowledge its validity. So I think. I cannot think

of the transaction without vexation. I would see you free—you *are* free—you always *were* free, and the man is a villain who claims you as a slave, and should be treated as such; and the nation is a blasphemous hypocrite, that claims power over you as a chattel. I would see your right to freedom, and to a standing on the platform of humanity, openly acknowledged by every human being—not on the testimony of a bit of paper, signed and sealed by an acknowledged thief, but by the declaration of a penitent nation, prostrate at your feet, in tears, suing to you and to God for forgiveness, for the outrages committed against God and man, in your person.

That slave-breeding nation has dared to claim you, and 3,000,000 of your fellow-men, as chattels—slaves—to be bought and sold; and has pledged all its power to crush you down, and to keep you from rising from ignorance to knowledge—from degradation to respectability—from misery to happiness—from slavery to freedom—from a *Chattel* to a *Man*. As an advocate for yourself, and your 3,000,000 brethren, you have joined issue with it—and, in the name of God and humanity, you will conquer! The nation must and shall be humbled before its victims,—not by a blasphemous bill of sale, alias Certificate of freedom, for which £150 are paid, but by renouncing its claim, blotting out its slavery-sustaining constitution, acknowledge itself conquered, and seek forgiveness of the victims of its injustice and tyranny. The plea, that this is the same as a ransom paid for a capture of some Algerine pirate, or Bedouin Arab, is naught. You have already, by your own energy, escaped the grasp of the pirate Auld. He has no more power over you. The spell of his influence over you is forever broken. Why go to him? Why ask the sacrilegious villain to set a price upon your body and soul? Why give him his price? The mean, brutal slaveholder—daring to price your freedom, your soul, in dollars and cents, and with cool, consummate impudence, and villany unsurpassed, saying, ‘I’ll be satisfied with 750 dollars—I’ll give up my right of property in your person, and acknowledge you to be a freeman, and not a slave—a *man*, and not a *beast*—for £150.’ ‘Satisfied,’ forsooth! You cancelled his villanous claims, when you turned your back upon him, and walked away. But the nation claims you as a slave. It does! Let it dare to assert that claim, and attempt your re-enslavement! It is worth running some risk, for the sake of the conflict, and the certain result.

Your wife and children are there, it is true, and you must return to them; but the greater will be your power to grapple with the monster; the shorter and more glorious will be the conflict; the more sure and complete the victory, if you go as the antagonist of a nation that claims you as a slave, as a chattel, a man turned into an article of merchandise. You would be armed with an irresistible power, when, as a self-emancipated captive, you arraigned that piratical Republic before the world. You would be sheltered and sustained by the sympathies of millions. The advantages of your present position should not be sacrificed to a desire for greater security.

But I will go no further. You will think that what I have said has more of indignation than of reason in it. It may be so. Feeling is often a safer and a wiser guide than logic. Of all guilty men, the American slaveholder is the most guilty, and the meanest, the most impudent, most despicable, and most inexcusable in his guilt; except, it may be, those, who, in the non-slave States, and in Scotland and England, stand sponsors for his social respectability and personal Christianity, and who thus associate our Redeemer in loving fellowship with men who are the living embodiment of the sum of all villany.

Before concluding, I wish to add, that, in what I have said, I would not arraign the motives of those who have, as they believe, sought to befriend you in this matter. I believe Anna Richardson, and all who have taken part in this transaction, have been actuated by the purest motives of kindness to you and your family, and by a desire, through the purchase of your freedom, to benefit the American slaves. But they have erred in judgment, as it appears to me. Forgive this, if it needs forgiveness. I delight to see you loved and honored by all, and to see you made an instrument, by the God of the oppressed, of humbling in the dust, that gigantic liar and hypocrite, the American Republic, that stands with the Bible and Declaration of Independence in its hands, and its heel planted on the necks of 3,000,000 of slaves.

Thine sincerely,

H. C. WRIGHT.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS'S REPLY.

22, *St. Ann's Square, Manchester*, 22d Dec., 1846.

HENRY C. WRIGHT:

DEAR FRIEND:—Your letter of the 12th December reached me at this place, yesterday. Please accept my heartfelt thanks for it. I am sorry that you deemed it necessary to assure me, that it would be the last letter of advice you would ever write me. It looked as if you were about to cast me off for ever! I do not, however, think you meant to convey any such meaning; and if you did, I am sure you will see cause to change your mind, and to receive me again into the fold of those, whom it should ever be your pleasure to advise and instruct.

The subject of your letter is one of deep importance, and upon which, I have thought and felt much; and, being the party of all others most deeply concerned, it is natural to suppose I have an opinion, and ought to be able to give it on all fitting occasions. I deem this a fitting occasion, and shall act accordingly.

You have given me your opinion: I am glad you have done so. You have given it to me direct, in your own emphatic way. You never speak insipidly, smoothly, or mincingly; you have strictly adhered to your custom, in the letter before me. I now take great pleasure in giving you my opinion, as plainly and unreservedly as you have given yours, and I trust with equal good feeling and purity of motive. I take it, that nearly all that can be said against my position is contained in your letter; for if any man in the wide world would be likely to find valid objections to such a transaction as the one under consideration, I regard you as that man. I must, however, tell you, that I have read your letter over, and over again, and have sought in vain to find anything like what I can regard a valid reason *against the purchase of my body, or against my receiving the manumission papers, if they are ever presented to me.*

Let me, in the first place, state the facts and circumstances of the transaction which you so strongly condemn. It is your right to do so, and God forbid that I should ever cherish the slightest desire to restrain you in the exercise of that right. I say to you at once, and in all the fulness of sincerity, speak out; speak freely; keep nothing back; let me know your whole mind. 'Hew to the line, though the chips fly in my face.' Tell me, and tell me plainly, when you think I am deviating from the strict line of duty and

principle; and when I become unwilling to hear, I shall have attained a character which I now despise, and from which I would hope to be preserved. But to the facts.

I am in England, my family are in the United States. My sphere of usefulness is in the United States; my public and domestic duties are there; and there it seems my duty to go. But I am *legally* the property of Thomas Auld, and if I go to the United States, (no matter to what part, for there is no City of Refuge there, no spot sacred to freedom there,) Thomas Auld, *aided by the American Government*, can seize, bind and fetter, and drag me from my family, feed his cruel revenge upon me, and doom me to unending slavery. In view of this simple statement of facts, a few friends, desirous of seeing me released from the terrible liability, and to relieve my wife and children from the painful trepidation, consequent upon the liability, and to place me on an equal footing of safety with all other anti-slavery lecturers in the United States, and to enhance my usefulness by enlarging the field of my labors in the United States, have nobly and generously paid Hugh Auld, the agent of Thomas Auld, £150—in consideration of which, Hugh Auld (acting as his agent) and the Government of the United States agree, that I shall be free from all further liability.

These, dear friend, are the facts of the whole transaction. The principle here acted on by my friends, and that upon which I shall act in receiving the manumission papers, I deem quite defensible.

First, *as to those who acted as my friends, and their actions.* The actuating motive was, to secure me from a liability full of horrible forebodings to myself and family. With this object, I will do you the justice to say, I believe you fully unite, although some parts of your letters would seem to justify a different belief.

Then, as to the measure adopted to secure this result. Does it violate a fundamental principle, or does it not? This is the question, and to my mind the only question of importance, involved in the discussion. I believe that, on our part, no just or holy principle has been violated.

Before entering upon the argument in support of this view, I will take the liberty (and I know you will pardon it) to say, I think you should have pointed out some principle violated in the transaction, before you proceeded to exhort me to repentance. You have given me any amount of indignation against 'Auld' and the United States, in all which I cordially unite, and felt refreshed by

reading; but it has no bearing whatever upon the conduct of myself, or friends, in the matter under consideration. It does not prove that I have done wrong, nor does it demonstrate what is right, or the proper course to be pursued. Now that the matter has reached its present point, before entering upon the argument, let me say one other word; it is this—I do not think you have acted quite consistently with your character for promptness, in delaying your advice till the transaction was completed. You knew of the movement at its conception, and have known it through its progress, and have never, to my knowledge, uttered one syllable against it, in conversation or letter, till now that the deed is done. I regret this, not because I think your earlier advice would have altered the result, but because it would have left me more free than I can now be, since the thing is done. Of course, you will not think hard of my alluding to this circumstance. Now, then, to the main question.

The principle which you appear to regard as violated by the transaction in question, may be stated as follows:—*Every man has a natural and inalienable right to himself.* The inference from this is, *'that man cannot hold property in man'*—and as man cannot hold property in man, neither can Hugh Auld nor the United States have any right of property in me—and having no right of property in me, they have no right to sell me—and, having no right to sell me, no one has a right to buy me. I think I have now stated the principle, and the inference from the principle, distinctly and fairly. Now, the question upon which the whole controversy turns is, simply, this: does the transaction, which you condemn, really violate this principle? I own that, to a superficial observer, it would seem to do so. But I think I am prepared to show, that, so far from being a violation of that principle, it is truly a noble vindication of it. Before going further, let me state here, briefly, what sort of a purchase would have been a violation of this principle, which, in common with yourself, I reverence, and am anxious to preserve inviolate.

1st. It would have been a violation of that principle, had those who purchased me done so, *to make me a slave, instead of a free-man.* And,

2ndly. It would have been a violation of that principle, had those who purchased me done so with a view to compensate the slaveholder, for what he and they regarded as his rightful property.

In neither of these ways was my purchase effected. My liberation was, in their estimation, of more value than £150; the happiness and repose of my family were, in their judgment, more than paltry gold. The £150 was paid to the remorseless plunderer, not because he had any just claim to it, but to induce him to give up his legal claim to something which they deemed of more value than money. It was not to compensate the slaveholder, but to release me from his power; not to establish my *natural right* to freedom, but to release me from all legal liabilities to slavery. And all this, you and I, and the slaveholders, and all who know anything of the transaction, very well understand. The very letter to Hugh Auld, proposing terms of purchase, informed him that those who gave, *denied his right to it*. The error of those, who condemn this transaction, consists in their confounding the crime of buying men *into slavery*, with the meritorious act of buying men out of slavery, and the purchase of legal freedom with abstract right and natural freedom. They say, 'If you BUY, you recognize the right to sell. If you receive, you recognize the right of the giver to give.' And this has a show of truth, as well as of logic. But a few plain cases will show its entire fallacy.

There is now, in this country, a heavy duty on corn. The government of this country has imposed it; and though I regard it a most unjust and wicked imposition, no man of common sense will charge me with endorsing or recognizing the right of this government to impose this duty, simply because, to prevent myself and family from starving, I buy and eat this corn.

Take another case:—I have had dealings with a man. I have owed him one hundred dollars, and have paid it; I have lost the receipt. He comes upon me the second time for the money. I know, and he knows, he has no right to it; but he is a villain, and has me in his power. The law is with him, and against me. I must pay or be dragged to jail. I choose to pay the bill a second time. To say I sanctioned his right to rob me, because I preferred to pay rather than go to jail, is to utter an absurdity, to which no sane man would give heed. And yet the principle of action, in each of these cases, is the same. The man might indeed say, the claim is unjust—and declare, I will rot in jail, before I will pay it. But this would not, certainly, be demanded by any principle of truth, justice, or humanity; and however much we might be disposed to respect his daring, but little deference could be paid to

his wisdom. The fact is, we act upon this principle every day of our lives, and we have an undoubted right to do so. When I came to this country from the United States, I came in the *second* cabin. And why? Not because my natural right to come in the *first* cabin was not as good as that of any other man, but because a wicked and cruel prejudice decided, that the second cabin was the place for me. By coming over in the second, did I sanction or justify this wicked proscription? Not at all. It was the best I could do. I acted from necessity.

One other case, and I have done with this view of the subject. I think you will agree with me, that the case I am now about to put is pertinent, though you may not readily pardon me for making yourself the agent of my illustration. The case respects the passport system on the Continent of Europe. That system you utterly condemn. You look upon it as an unjust and wicked interference, a bold and infamous violation of the *natural* and *sacred* right of locomotion. You hold, (and so do I,) that the image of our common God ought to be a passport all over the habitable world. But bloody and tyrannical governments have ordained otherwise; they usurp authority over you, and decide for you, on what conditions you shall travel. They say, you shall have a passport, or you shall be put in prison. Now, the question is, have they a right to prescribe any such terms? and do you, by complying with these terms, sanction their interference? I think you will answer, no; submission to injustice, and sanction of injustice, are different things; and he is a poor reasoner who confounds the two, and makes them one and the same thing. Now, then, for the parallel, and the application of the passport system to my own case.

I wish to go to the United States. I have a natural right to go there, and be free. My natural right is as good as that of Hugh Auld, or James K. Polk; but that plundering government says, I shall not return to the United States in safety—it says, I must allow Hugh Auld to rob me, or my friends, of £150, or be hurled into the infernal jaws of slavery. I must have a ‘bit of paper, signed and sealed,’ or my liberty must be taken from me, and I must be torn from my family and friends. The government of Austria said to you, ‘Dare to come upon my soil, without a passport, declaring you to be an American citizen, (which you say you are not,) you shall at once be arrested, and thrown into prison.’

What said you to that Government? Did you say that the threat was a villanous one, and an infamous invasion of your right of locomotion? Did you say, 'I will come upon your soil; I will go where I please! I dare and defy your government!' Did you say, 'I will spurn your passports; I would not stain my hand, and degrade myself, by touching your miserable parchment. You have no right to give it, and I have no right to take it. I trample your laws, and will put your constitutions under my feet! I will not recognize them!' Was this your course? No! dear friend, it was not. Your practice was wiser than your theory. You took the passport, submitted to be examined while travelling, and availed yourself of all the advantages of your 'passport'—or, in other words, escaped all the evils which you ought to have done, without it, and would have done, but for the tyrannical usurpation in Europe.

I will not dwell longer upon this view of the subject; and I dismiss it, feeling quite satisfied of the entire correctness of the reasoning, and the principle attempted to be maintained. As to the expediency of the measures, different opinions may well prevail; but in regard to the principle, I feel it difficult to conceive of two opinions. I am free to say, that, had I possessed one hundred and fifty pounds, I would have seen Hugh Auld *kicking*, before I would have given it to him. I would have waited till the emergency came, and only given up the money when nothing else would do. But my friends thought it best to provide against the contingency; they acted on their own responsibility, and I am not disturbed about the result. But, having acted on a true principle, *I do not feel free to disavow their proceedings.*

In conclusion, let me say, I anticipate no such change in my position as you predict. I shall be Frederick Douglass still, and once a slave still. I shall neither be made to forget nor cease to feel the wrongs of my enslaved fellow-countrymen. My knowledge of slavery will be the same, and my hatred of it will be the same. By the way, I have never made my own person and suffering the theme of public discourse, but have always based my appeal upon the wrongs of the three millions now in chains; and these shall still be the burthen of my speeches. You intimate that I may reject the papers, and allow them to remain in the hands of those friends who have effected the purchase, and thus avail myself of the security afforded by them, without sharing any part of the responsibility of the transaction. My objection to this is one of honor. I do not

think it would be very honorable on my part, to remain silent during the whole transaction, and giving it more than my silent approval; and then, when the thing is completed, and I am safe, attempt to play the *hero*, by throwing off all responsibility in the matter. It might be said, and said with great propriety, 'Mr. Douglass, your indignation is very good, and has but one fault, and that is, *it comes too late!*' It would be a show of bravery when the danger is over. From every view I have been able to take of the subject, I am persuaded to receive the papers, if presented,—not, however, as a proof of my right to be free, for *that is self-evident*, but as a proof that my friends have been legally robbed of £150, in order to secure that which is the birth-right of every man. And I will hold up those papers before the world, in proof of the plundering character of the American government. It shall be the brand of infamy, stamping the nation, in whose name the deed was done, as a great aggregation of hypocrites, thieves and liars,—and their condemnation is just. They declare that all men are created equal, and have a natural and inalienable right to liberty, while they rob me of £150, as a condition of my enjoying this natural and inalienable right. It will be their condemnation, in their own hand-writing, and may be held up to the world as a means of humbling that haughty republic into repentance.

I agree with you, that the contest which I have to wage is against the government of the United States. But the representative of that government is the slaveholder, *Thomas Auld*. He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy. The whole civil and naval force of the nation are at his disposal. He may command all these to his assistance, and bring them all to bear upon me, until I am made entirely subject to his will, or submit to be robbed myself, or allow my friends to be robbed, of seven hundred and fifty dollars. And rather than be subject to his will, I have submitted to be robbed, or allowed my friends to be robbed, of the seven hundred and fifty dollars.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹¹⁴

LYNN, April 21, 1847.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I hasten to inform you of my safe arrival at home. I left Liverpool per steamship *Cambria*, at 12 o'clock on Sunday, April

¹¹⁴ *Liberator*, Jan. 29, 1847.

4th, and reached Halifax on Sunday evening, the 18th, and here on Tuesday afternoon, about 6,—thus performing the voyage in sixteen days and six hours.

My passage was not the most agreeable; for, aside from the head winds, a rough sea, and the innumerable perils of the deep, I had the cruel, and almost omnipotent and omnipresent spirit of American slavery with which to contend.

After an interesting tour of twenty months through the British isles,—during which, I made use of all the various means of conveyance, by land and sea, from town to town, and city to city, my feelings as a man, and my rights as a passenger, sacredly regarded, and never being able to detect the slightest dislike to me on account of my color,—I bid farewell to monarchical England, and look toward democratic America; and while yet three thousand miles away from her shores, at the first step, I am smitten with the pestilential breath of her slave system! I came home a proscribed man; and this, solely to propitiate American pro-slavery hate. The American public demanded my exclusion from the saloon of the steamship, and the company owning the steamer had not the virtue to resist the demand. The dominion of slavery is no longer confined under the star-spangled banner, but extends itself, and bears sway, even under that of Great Britain. But, without farther preface, I will at once put you in possession of the facts in the case.

On the 4th of last March, in company with my friend Mr. George Moxhay, of the Hall of Commerce, London, I called upon the agent of the Cunard line of steamers, for the purpose of securing a berth in one of the Company's vessels, to sail for the United States on the 4th of April. I was informed by the agent, that there was but one berth unsold, and that was berth 72, in the *Cambria*. This berth I took, and paid for—paying first class price. I then asked the agent, whether there would be any difficulty in my enjoying any of the rights and privileges on board the ship, granted to white passengers. 'Certainly not,' was the reply. On hearing this, I left the office.

Reposing on the honor and the integrity of the Company, and never dreaming of the possibility of a contingency to deprive me of my berth, I made myself perfectly easy till the afternoon of the 3d April, the day previous to our contemplated departure from Liver-

pool to Boston. I then went on board with my baggage; and here, to my surprise, disappointment and mortification, I learned that my berth was given to another—that on account of the color of my skin, it had been decided that I should not have the berth for which I had paid, and to which I was justly entitled! Confused and confounded by this intelligence, I went to the office of the agent in Liverpool, for an explanation of what I had heard on board the steamer, which was now lying in the Mersey, about two miles from the shore. The agent, Mr. McIver, with the harshness of an American slaveholder, told me that the agent from whom I had purchased my ticket, had no right to sell it to me. I replied that I knew nothing more of the authority of the agent to sell tickets, than what I learned from the public press. He was there advertised as the authorized agent of the Company, and persons wishing to secure passage in the Company's ships were requested to call upon him. I had as much right to regard Mr. Foord as the agent in London, as to regard Mr. McIver the agent in Liverpool. They were both the advertised agents of the Company. But here was not the difficulty, as I afterwards compelled him to confess. This was a deceitful stratagem, (I will say nothing of its meanness,) to deprive me of my berth, without openly incurring the responsibility of trampling upon, and robbing a traveller of his rights, on account of the color of his skin.

The agent said, that great dissatisfaction had been given to the *American* travelling public, by my having been permitted on the quarter deck, when crossing the Atlantic in the summer of 1845, and that much ill-feeling had been created against the line in America by what I said against American slavery during the voyage; and that while he would not undertake to defend American prejudice, he must, nevertheless, prevent the recurrence of any such event again; and that, if I went home in the ship, I must go in an apartment wholly separate from the white passengers; but that I should have every accommodation in the way of attention, and apartments enjoyed by other passengers. Subject to this restriction, I must never enter the saloon,—the part of the ship the most commodious, and where other passengers took their meals. I must eat alone—sleep alone—*be alone*. These were my limits on board the British steamship *Cambria*. By this regulation, I was not only deprived of the privilege of eating in the saloon, but also shut out from religious worship. We had two Sundays during

the voyage, and in conformity to the religious ideas of the Company, as well as of the British public, had regular religious services performed on board. They called upon '*our Father*,' the Creator of the heavens and the earth—the God who has made of one blood all nations, *the black as well as the white*—to bless them—while they cursed and excluded me on account of the color of my skin. This, I thought, was American slaveholding religion, *under British colors*, and I felt myself no great loser by being excluded from its benefits.

Aside from this proscription, I was as well provided for as any other passenger. Indeed, my apartments were much to be preferred to any which I saw on board. I was treated with the utmost politeness by every officer on board, and received every attention from the servants during the whole voyage. It may be asked, then, why do I yet complain? The answer is, that my position was one of coercion, when it ought to have been that of option. The difference is as wide as that of freedom and slavery; and the man who cannot see the one, cannot see the other.

In haste, yours, sincerely,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹¹⁵

AUSTINBURGH, (Ohio) August 20, 1847.

MY DEAR FRIEND—I can send you but the barest outline of our Western tour thus far. Friend Garrison and myself, are moving from place to place, with such rapidity, and the places of meeting are at such "magnificent distances" from each other, that we have little or no time left us to report progress. To make our tour useful, we are compelled to devote ourselves unreservedly to the work of enlisting by private, as well as public effort, the hearts of those with whom we are brought in contact. Our private society is sought for with as much honestness and avidity, as are our public addresses. Mr. Garrison is the honoured centre of every circle into whose midst we are brought. His conversational powers are inexhaustible; he seems as fresh at midnight as at midday. Our friends eagerly flock around to hear his words of strength and cheer, while our enemies as eagerly draw around to catch him in his words. The former go away delighted with the man, while the latter skulk away, disappointed and chagrined, that they have

¹¹⁵ *Liberator*, April 30, 1847.

found so little at which to be offended. Mr. Garrison's visit must do much to disabuse the public mind in this region, and to produce a mighty reaction in favour of radical Eastern Abolitionism. The Liberty party, and pro-slavery papers, have overshot themselves in regard to him.—They have so maligned, and slandered him, and have so distorted, perverted, and misrepresented his views, that they have created the most intense curiosity among the people to see and hear him, and having associated his person with the representations of his mind, that his bare presence, without the utterance of a word, is all sufficient to create an impression most favourable to him, and at once to dispel the dread, and gloomy apprehensions created concerning him. When he opens his mouth, and pours forth his truthful voice, the dark and foul spirit of slander falls before him, like Dagon before the ark.—People come expecting to see a fierce, proud, ambitious, and bitter looking man, a gloomy spirit, altogether dissatisfied with himself, and all the world around him; a stranger to peace, a man of war, if not of blood; completely wrapped up within the narrow limits of a single idea, perfectly above everything interesting to other men, an infidel, atheist, and madman, rejoicing over the triumphs of evil, and inflexibly bent upon the destruction of everything good. Such is the man which the pious, and pro-slavery papers of our land have taught the honest "Buckeyes" to look for in the person of William Lloyd Garrison, and in seeing him, they readily perceive how great has been the deception practiced upon them, and very naturally many of them are filled with indignation, and loathing, for their mean and dastardly deceivers. Thus the cause goes gloriously on, and thus is the wisdom of the crafty confounded, and the counsels of the ungodly brought to naught. Good is thus brought out of evil, and the wrath of man made to praise God.

On Wednesday, and Thursday, 11th and 12th August, we held five very interesting meetings in Pittsburg. The day meetings were held in the open air, and were very well attended. The evening meetings were held in Temperance Hall, a large room, but by no means sufficient to hold the numbers that pressed to hear.—The door-ways, and windows, and yard of the Hall, were crowded, while many were compelled to leave, without gaining admission to these. Hundreds remained on the outside of the building from an early hour till eleven o'clock at night. What a commentary on the religion of Pittsburg it is, that every church in the place was closed

against us. All were too holy in which to plead the cause of our own common humanity. The great Christian cause of the age, like early Christianity itself, is too much despised by the world, to be admitted into the house of God. When saving men in our land, shall have become as popular as killing men now is in Mexico, we shall not only have churches open to our use, but, perhaps, be voted into religious societies as honorary members. In that day, the philanthropic Garrison may possibly be regarded as religious as the pious man-butcher, Zachary Taylor.

On Friday morning, 13th, we took the steamboat Beaver, from Pittsburg to New Brighton—the home of our kind friend, Milo A. Townsend, and our Anti-Slavery poetess, Grace Greenwood. A number of our friends accompanied us from Pittsburg to that place, a goodly number of whom were coloured persons. It is usual to dine on this boat between Pittsburg and Beaver, but on this occasion, strange to tell, no dinner was furnished, for the very American reason, that a goodly number of persons on board were coloured, and it was deemed probable that some of them might presume to dine, and would thus give offence to the white skinned aristocracy. So like the American delegates to the Evangelical Alliance, we concluded to preserve the peace by “going without our dinners.”

We held two meetings at New Brighton, afternoon and evening, and here, too, the churches were closed against us, and we were compelled to take an upper room in a flour store. Thus making good the proposition, that humanity is received more cordially in the street than in the church. Our meetings at New Brighton were the last we held in Pennsylvania.

On Saturday, 14th instant, we took a boat on the Beaver and Warren Canal for Youngstown, Ohio, where Messrs. Foster and Walker were advertised to hold a meeting on the 14th, and 15th. On this boat, we received very kind and polite attention, and were allowed to take our meals with the other passengers. The trip from New Brighton to Youngstown, is exceedingly pleasant at this season of the year. The scenery on parts of the Beaver, is quite equal in beauty, if not in grandeur, to the Hudson. The hills on either side are lofty, precipitous, and covered with tall and finely proportioned trees. Verdant fields occasionally intersect the lofty and cragged hills, and form a beautiful variety of scene; now gratifying the eye, and at once leading it on to the discovery of new, and still more interesting points of beauty.

We reached Youngstown on Sunday morning, 15th instant, and were hospitably received by Mr. Andrews, the gentlemanly proprietor of the Youngstown Hotel. This gentleman kindly entertained us free of charge. The meetings in this place, like those held elsewhere on our Western tour, were held in the open air. Seats were arranged, and a platform erected in a beautiful grove, near the village. A good deacon of one of the churches whose doors were shut against us in this place, threatened us with prosecution, if we dared to arrange any seats on the ground during the Sabbath day. The threat, however, had no other effect than to summon a number of friends to the grove early in the morning, to arrange as many seats as might be necessary to accommodate the multitude. The meeting was large and spirited. The churches were all nearly vacated, and a large portion of their congregations came to worship in God's great temple, and to show their love for the All Good by doing good to His children.

Yours, sincerely,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹¹⁶

MY DEAR SIR—I am at home again; and, in compliance with your earnest request, avail myself of this, my first opportunity, to send you an article for your gallant little sheet. I have to thank you for the file you sent me on board the 'Hendrick Hudson.' I have given each number a hasty perusal, and have quite satisfied myself that you are on the right ground—of the right spirit—and that you possess the energy of head and of heart to make your paper a powerful instrument in defending, improving, and elevating our brethren in the (so called) free States, as well as hastening the downfall of the fierce and blood-thirsty *evangelical* tyrants in the slave States. Blow away on your 'Ram's Horn'! Its wild, rough, uncultivated notes may grate harshly on the ear of refined and cultivated *chimers*; but sure I am that its voice will be pleasurable to the slave, and terrible to the slaveholder. Let us have a full, clear, shrill, unmistakeable sound. 'No compromise—no concealment'—no lagging for those who tarry—no '*slurs*' for popular favor—no lowering your tone for the sake of harmony. The harmony of this country is discord with the ALMIGHTY. To be in harmony with God is to be in open discord and conflict with the powers of Church and State in this country. Both are drunk on the warm

¹¹⁶ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Aug. 20, 1847.

blood of our brethren. 'Blow on—blow on,' and may the God of the oppressed give effect to your blowing.

Through the kindness of a friend, I have before me the 'New-York Sun' of 13th May. It contains a weak, puerile, and characteristic attack upon me, on account of my speech in the Tabernacle, before the American Anti-Slavery Society on the 11th instant. The article in question affords me a text from which I could preach you a long sermon; but I will neither trespass on your space, nor weary the patience of your readers, by treating the article in that way. I do not call attention to it, because I am anxious to defend myself from its malevolent contents, but to congratulate you upon the favorable change in the public mind which it indicates, and to enjoy a little (I trust innocent) sport at the expense of the editor.

We have been laughed at and ridiculed so much, that I am glad, once in a while, to be able to turn the tables on our white brethren. The editor informs his readers, that his object in writing the article is, to protest against 'the unmitigated abuse heaped upon our country by the colored man Douglass.' Now, who will doubt the patriotism of a man who will venture so much on behalf of his country? The Sun is truly a patriot. 'The colored *man* Douglass.' Well done! Not '*nigger*' Douglass—not *black*, but *colored*—not *monkey*, but *man*—the *colored MAN* Douglass. This, dear sir, is a decided improvement on the old mode of speaking of us. In the brilliant light of the Sun, I am no longer a *monkey*, but a *MAN*—and, henceforth, I may claim to be treated as a man by the 'Sun.' In order to prepare the patient for the pill, and to prove his title to be regarded an unmixed American, he gilds the most bloody and detestable tyranny all over with the most holy and beautiful sentiments of liberty. Hear him—'*Freedom of speech in this country should receive the greatest LATITUDE.*' This sounds well; but is it not a strange text, from which to preach a sermon in favor of putting down freedom of speech by *mob violence*? 'If men do not speak freely of our institutions, how are we to discover their errors or reform their abuses, should any exist?' A pertinent question, truly, and worthy of the thought and study of the profound and philosophical editor of the 'Sun.' But now see a nobler illustration of the story of the 'cow and the milk pail'—blowing hot and blowing cold, and blowing neither hot nor cold. The editor says—'*There is, however, a limit to this very freedom of speech. We cannot be permitted to go into a gentleman's house,*

accept his hospitality, yet ABUSE his fare, and we have no right to abuse a country under whose government, we are safely residing and securely protected.'

Here we have it, all reasoned out as plain as logic can make it—the limit of freedom of speech accurately defined. But allow me to throw a little light upon the Sun's logic—if I can do so without entirely spoiling his *simile*. Poor thing, it would be a pity to hurt that. Does it not strike you as being first rate? To my mind, it is the best thing in the whole piece, and lacks only one thing—(but this probably makes no difference with the 'Sun'—it may be its chief merit,) and that is, *likeness*—it lacks likeness. A gentleman's house and the government of this country are wholly dissimilar. Let me suggest to him—without meaning any disrespect to you, that a cook shop (a thing which I am surprised he should ever forget) bears a far greater resemblance to the government of this country, than that of a gentleman's house and hospitality. Let cook shop represent Country—'Bill of Fare'—'Bill of Rights;' and the 'Chief Cook'—Commander-in-Chief.—(I fancy I hear the editor say, this looks better.) Enters editor of the 'Sun' with a keen appetite. He reads the bill of fare. It contains the names of many palatable dishes. He asks the cook for soup, he gets 'dish water.' For salmon, he gets a serpent; for beef, he gets bull-frogs; for ducks, he gets dogs; for salt, he gets sand; for pepper, he gets powder; and for vinegar, he gets gall;—in fact, he gets for you the very opposite of everything for which you ask, and which from the bill of fare, and loudmouthed professions, you had a right to expect. This is just the treatment which the colored people receive in this country at the hand of this government. Its Bill of Rights is to practise towards us a bill of wrongs. Its self-evident truths are self-evident lies. Its majestic liberty, malignant tyranny. The foundation of this government—the great Constitution itself—is nothing more than a compromise with man-stealers, and a cunningly devised complication of falsehoods, calculated to deceive foreign Nations into a belief that this is a free country; at the same time that it pledges the whole Civil, Naval and Military power of the Nation to keep three millions of people in the most abject slavery. He says I abuse a country under whose government I am safely residing, and securely protected. I am neither safely residing, nor securely protected in this country. I am living under a government which authorized Hugh Auld to rob me of

seven hundred and fifty dollars, and told me if I did not submit, if I resisted this robber, I should be put to death. This is the protection given to me, and every other colored man from the South, and no one knows this better than the Editor of the New York Sun. And this piece of robbery, the 'Sun' calls the *rights* of the Master, and says that the English people recognised those rights by giving me money with which to purchase my freedom. The 'Sun' complains that I defend the right of invoking England for the overthrow of American Slavery. Why not receive aid from England to overthrow American Slavery, as well as for Americans to send bread to England to feed the hungry? Answer me that! What would the 'Sun' have said, if the British press had denounced this country for sending a ship-load of grain into Ireland, and denied the right of the American people to sympathize, and succor the afflicted and famine-stricken millions of that unhappy land? What would it have said? Why, it and the whole American Press would have poured forth one flood of un-mixed censure and scathing rebuke. England would have been denounced; the British public would have been branded as murderers. And if England had forbidden Captain Forbes to land his cargo, it might have been regarded just cause for war. And yet the interference in the one case is as justifiable as in the other. My Dear Sir, I have already extended this letter to a much greater length than I at first intended, and will now stop by wishing you every success in your noble enterprize.

Ever yours in our righteous cause,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹¹⁷

Lynn, Mass. May 18, '47.

MY DEAR GAY:—I regret that my first letter for the Standard should be such an one as I am now about to write, and that I have to record facts which may create anxiety among the Anti-Slavery friends in the East, on account of the safety of friend Garrison, and myself. We were last night confronted by a most brutal and disgraceful mob—the first fruits of our Western tour, a sort of foretaste of what may await us further West. To the everlasting shame, and infamy of the people of Harrisburg, I record the fact that they are at this moment under the dominion of mob law; that the freedom of speech and the right of peaceably assembling is

¹¹⁷ *Liberator*, June 4, 1847.

cloven down; and that the officers appointed to preserve order and to protect the rights and privileges of the people, have basely, by their indifference, consented to this sacrifice to the Moloch of Slavery. Let this infernal act of devotion to tyranny be published and republished at home and abroad, in the New and in the Old World, that all may learn the true character of American freedom, and our republican love of law and order. But to the facts.

A meeting was convened in the court house of this town last night, to hear addresses on Slavery by Mr. Garrison and myself. At the time appointed Mr. Garrison was present, and commenced the meeting by a calm statement of facts respecting the character of Slavery and the slave power, showing in how many ways it was a matter deeply affecting the rights and interests of the Northern people. He spoke with little or no interruption for the space of an hour, and then introduced me to the audience. I spoke only for a few moments when through the windows was poured a volley of unmerchtable eggs, scattering the contents on the desk in which I stood, and upon the wall behind me, and filling the room with the most disgusting and stifling stench. The audience appeared alarmed, but disposed to stay, though greatly at the expense of their olfactory nerves. I, thinking I could stand it as well as my audience, proceeded with my speech, but in a very few moments we were interrupted and startled by the explosion of a pack of crackers, which kept up a noise for about a minute similar to the discharge of pistols, and being on the ladies' side, created much excitement and alarm. When this subsided, I again proceeded, but was at once interrupted again by another volley of addled eggs, which again scented the house with Slavery's choice incense. Cayenne pepper and Scotch snuff were freely used, and produced their natural results among the audience. I proceeded again and was again interrupted by another grand influx of rotten eggs. One struck friend Garrison on the back, sprinkling its *essence* all over his honoured head. At this point a general tumult ensued, the people in the house became much disturbed and alarmed, and there was a press toward the doorway, which was completely wedged with people. The mob was now howling with fiendish rage. I could occasionally hear amid the tumult, fierce and bloody cries, "*throw out the nigger*, THROW OUT THE NIGGER." Here friend Garrison rose, with that calm and tranquil dignity, altogether peculiar to himself, and said—(speaking for himself and

me.) Our mission to Harrisburg is ended. If there be not sufficient love of liberty, and self respect in this place, to protect the right of assembling, and the freedom of speech, he would not degrade himself by attempting to speak under such circumstances and he would therefore recall the appointment for Sunday night, and go where he could be heard. The wise ones knew the meaning of his speech. They saw that the character of the town was about to be consigned to deserved infamy and one of their number, a thin, delicate looking man rose, much excited. It was Mr. Petrigen, a private Secretary of the Governor of the State. He said that he for one, wished to hear Messrs. Garrison and Douglass speak, but he must defend the character of the people of Harrisburg from the charge of mobocracy, brought against them by Mr. Garrison. Nobody was to blame, as nobody could prevent the mob. It consisted of blackguards; the people of Harrisburg had nothing to do with it, nor could they prevent it, and he hoped that that gentleman (alluding to Mr. Garrison) would not go away and slander the people by making them responsible for the mob. He would repeat it, the people had nothing to do with it, and they could not prevent it. Now all this was saying to the mob—go on, mob on, there is no power anywhere to prevent you. This infamous incitement to the mob, was nobly rebuked by a gentleman of great respectability of the name of Rawen. He said, he rose to defend Harrisburg from the charge of incapacity to quell a mob, and protect the right of speech. They could do it, and if they did not do so, it was because they did not choose to do so. He asked Mr. Petrigen where was the police? If they had not the power to disperse a few blackguards and boys? Mr. Garrison again rose and said, his remarks were entirely hypothetical, and if a meeting could be conducted with order and propriety he was quite willing to remain and hold another meeting agreeable to public notice. In the midst of this discussion there was thrown in another volley of rotten eggs, and cries of “throw out the nigger, throw out the nigger,” was repeated about the doors and windows of the house. It was now impossible to proceed with the meeting, and there being no attempt on the part of anybody to disperse the mob, Mr. Garrison announced the close of the meeting. The audience however remained for some time. Very few seemed willing to venture out; the doorway continued crowded and for a long time it was difficult to pass out at all. The stones now began to fly, a pile of which

had been brought near the door; causing much trepidation for my safety. At this time a white lady kindly offered to walk with me and protect me, from the mob, I felt it best to decline her very disinterested offer, as I had good reason to believe that such an arrangement would exasperate the mob, and only enhance my danger. I finally took the arm of a coloured gentleman, Mr. Wolk, and several coloured friends filling up the rear, we walked out. As soon as I reached the steps I was discovered by the cowardly mob, who from their holes of darkness uttered infernal yells crying out "there he goes, there he goes," and at the same time throwing stones, and brick-bats at me—one went humming by my head and another striking me on the back, but without doing me serious injury. "Give it to him, give it to him," they cried, "let the d—d nigger have it." Two friends behind me received heavy blows, one of them was quite stunned and bruised, but they stood around me and received the blows intended for me. I very soon succeeded in disengaging myself from the crowd and by turning a corner I succeeded in very soon eluding my pursuers, and thus saved myself. All credit is due to a few coloured friends who seemed willing and glad to be ramparts for me and to receive all the blows intended for me. Mr. Garrison was not discovered by the mob. My coming out first drew off the mob from the door before he came out. I am happy to find he received no blows except the eggs, the stench of which was bad enough. Comment here, is unnecessary, the atrocious character of the proceedings is sufficiently palpable, and Harrisburg one day will be ashamed of it.

Friend Garrison and myself leave here to-morrow morning for Pittsburg, where we hope to meet with a more cordial welcome. In great haste, very sincerely yours,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹¹⁸

LYNN, July 18, 1847.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I have observed in the *Liberator*, of the two past weeks, with considerable surprise and much regret, that the conclusion to which I have come, with respect to publishing, *at present*, an anti-slavery newspaper, has very unwisely and unnecessarily been made the occasion of attack upon yourself, and of most unkind, uncharitable

¹¹⁸ *The National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Aug. 19, 1847.

and unjust imputations on the motives of leading friends of the cause in Boston. The parties engaged in this work of mischief imagine me hemmed in on every side—overpowered—and my will completely subjected to the Boston Board—and direct their efforts for my deliverance from thralldom, without stopping to inquire as to the correctness of their conjectures. This is absolutely grievous; and I feel it due to yourself and friends, and all concerned, to say at once, distinctly and publicly, that, in this matter, I have acted independently, and wholly on my own responsibility.

Yours, sincerely,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

■ This letter of Mr. Douglass is a sufficient reply to the unjust insinuations and impertinent remarks which have been made in certain quarters, in regard to the relinquishment of his original design to establish a newspaper on his return home, as contemplated by him in England, and approved of by his numerous friends abroad; on the supposition, however, that the enterprise would be *sui generis*, as well as serviceable to the anti-slavery cause, in this country. Those professed friends, who are so determined that he shall alter the decision to which he has come, and who do not scruple to malign those whose judgment on this point is not in accordance with their own, pay him a very poor compliment, in representing him to be without independence of judgment or freedom of action, and under the control of a few individuals in Boston, actuated by narrow or mercenary views. If this is their opinion of his stability of character, how they can regard him as fit to be entrusted with the management of a press, that shall reflect credit upon himself, and be distinguished for its efficiency, is more than we can comprehend. From all such friends, he may reasonably pray to be saved, while he is abundantly able to take care of his enemies.

The *Chronotype* has basely insinuated, that Mr. Douglass has been persuaded to abandon his intention, lest his paper should 'injure the circulation of two anti-slavery papers, [meaning, unquestionably, the Anti-Slavery Standard and the Liberator,] conducted by white men.' What special good-will the editor of that paper cherishes toward genuine, unswerving abolitionism, the

American A. S. Society, or Mr. Douglass as the advocate and representative of that Society, we have yet to learn. Advice from such a quarter is to be regarded with lively suspicion, and as of very doubtful value, to say the least. We have no desire to renew an old controversy, which will ever constitute a most instructive chapter in the history of the anti-slavery movement; but when an individual, who did what he could to divide our ranks, and who seceded from us to assist in building up a hostile organization, and who from that hour to the present has manifested an alien spirit, comes forward in the garb of disinterested friendship to counsel Mr. Douglass not to regard either his own convictions, or the opinions of his long-trying and faithful friends, as to the best manner of aiding our cause, it is time for him to be reminded that his old transgressions are not forgotten, and that he is not exactly qualified to be listened to as an impartial witness in the case, especially by those whom he has betrayed. It is an old device of an enemy, to attempt to excite suspicions and jealousies among attached friends, with the hope of causing a breach between them.

The next person who exhibited symptoms of dissatisfaction with the decision of Mr. Douglass, was an anonymous correspondent of the *Liberator*, signing himself '*Libertas*.' If he is a special friend of Mr. D., or one who has long and actively labored in our ranks, we see no reason why he should keep in the dark, or proffer his advice under a fictitious signature. He, too, charitably took up the fling of the *Chronotype*, and intimated that a selfish fear lest the circulation of certain papers might be abridged, in case the journal by Mr. Douglass should be commenced, may have induced the advice that has been given to Mr. D.

The last who has expressed his dissent is one of our subscribers at Mansfield, whose communication on the subject we published last week with his name appended to it, and who has sent us another one, the publication of which is rendered unnecessary by the letter of Mr. Douglass. To the low imputation cast upon us and others, by the *Chronotype* and *Libertas*, we declined to make any reply. Why we did so, our Mansfield correspondent says he is unable to understand. Indeed! If he does not regard us as being influenced by selfish considerations, then he ought to know that conscious integrity and due self-respect alike forbid our giving any heed to a charge so grovelling and unfounded, proceeding from such sources, and elicited under such circumstances. If he sup-

poses us actuated by such considerations, then we have nothing to offer to convince him that we are not of a despicable spirit.

As to the circulation of the *Liberator*, how to extend it, or how to prevent its being extremely limited, while under our control, we have never yet studied any policy about it. Although we are now, and always have been since its commencement, dependant upon its subscription list for subsistence, with such aid as a friendly spirit has from time to time rendered *impromptu* to keep it from extinction, we have had in view but one purpose,—the free, untrammelled utterance of our thoughts, at whatever cost, and the faithful advocacy of the cause of the imbruted slave. There is not another journal in the United States so widely unpopular, and so much denounced by the corrupt and tyrannical, as the *Liberator*; and yet we might, if we chose, greatly increase the number of its patrons, and make it an acceptable journal to the public, and elicit in its behalf general commendation,—*if* we would only be governed by policy instead of principle, and cease arraigning the people for their sins.

It should be recollected that those friends in England, who desired to give to Mr. Douglass a substantial token of their regard, were led to decide upon the presentation of a printing-press to him, solely at his own suggestion; and that he made the suggestion for the reasons he has already given to the public, through the medium of the *Liberator*. Instead of dreaming that he should find, on his return home, no less than four newspapers published and edited by colored persons, he expected to find the field entirely unoccupied. With this impression, it is not surprising that the philanthropic contributors abroad should deem it an excellent project to place Douglass at the head of a newspaper, to convince those, who are still inclined to disparage the intellect of the colored race, that they are governed by an unreasonable prejudice. Probably, they were generally ignorant of the fact, that, within the last fifteen years, several journals of this character, such as 'The Colored American' in New-York, and 'The Elevator' in Philadelphia, had been published; so that *the day has long since gone by* for the people of this country to be surprised at the appearance of a periodical, edited with ability by a man of color.

Our Mansfield correspondent says that not one of the four newspapers now published by colored men is located in New England; and hence he thinks there is ample scope for another to be con-

ducted by Mr. Douglass. In his opinion, it would have an immense circulation; and though he seems inclined to believe it would speedily close the existence of the *Liberator* and *Emancipator*, (which papers, he says, 'have had their day, and can no longer arouse the mass of the community to action,') he is equally sanguine that it would as speedily put an end to slavery. Indeed, he gravely asks us, as though it were a certain event, whether we ought not to be willing to have the slave system smitten to the dust by this summary process, rather than to insist on the preservation of the *Standard* and *Liberator* as of paramount importance! Our friend is highly imaginative, and he finds no difficulty whatever in securing for the contemplated journal unprecedented patronage, and in clothing Mr. Douglass with Jove-like power to destroy with his thunderbolts the demon slavery, by a single discharge.

Now, we have not been slow to perceive, nor backward to acknowledge, the genius and talent of our friend Douglass; and we have no doubt that, as the editor of a newspaper, he would be in a situation to bring credit to himself, and to exert a good influence. But we are not very sanguine as to the amount of patronage he would obtain, and permanently secure, for his journal. It is true, that his case is a somewhat peculiar one, and that circumstances have occurred to render him an object of special interest, both at home and abroad. But it is dangerous to build upon novelty, or popular curiosity. This is capricious, volatile, evanescent. We claim to have some practical acquaintance of twenty years with the difficulties and perplexities to be encountered by every one, no matter how brilliant his talents, who attempts to launch a reformatory journal on the sea of popular conflict. It would not be in the power of Gabriel himself to obtain much patronage or applause as an editor, if he were faithful to his trust, and utterly indifferent to the length of his subscription list.

It may be, that the *Standard* and *Liberator* would obtain a wider circulation, if they were conducted with more ability; but we suspect that no additional amount of genius or talent infused into their columns would essentially augment their income, so long as they continued to enunciate the same unpalatable truths, and maintain the same 'ultra' positions, that they now do. Now, a paper edited by Mr. Douglass would be scarcely less objectionable to the public, in its advocacy of the anti-slavery cause, than the *Standard* or *Liberator*. Who, then, would be eager to give it their support?

The Whigs? But it would sternly reprobate the course pursued by them as a party. The Democrats? But they would find in its columns, the most scorching reproofs of their bastard democracy. The adherents of the Liberty party? But it would reprobate that party as an obstacle to the spread of genuine abolitionism. The personal friends of Mr. Douglass, and those who go for 'ultra' reform? Doubtless, to them, chiefly, would he be compelled to look for encouragement; nor would he look in vain. But, with the many heavy burdens already imposed upon them by the exigencies of the times, their support would be necessarily partial, and, it is to be apprehended, inadequate. It is absurd to suppose that his attacks upon Church and State, and his denunciations of the American Constitution and Union, and his castigations of the existing political parties, would be tolerated, nay, approved, on account of the color of his skin, any more than those of the editor of the *Standard* or the *Liberator*.

Will it be said, that the friends in England would ensure success to the enterprise by their subscriptions? We do not under-rate their willingness to extend their assistance in this manner; but, if they should give the press and printing materials, it would hardly be just, and certainly would not be in accordance with their expectations, to tell them that they must also furnish a large portion of the subscribers. The truth is, much as very many persons in England desire to receive American papers in which they feel a special interest, with the present high rates of postage they are generally debarred from gratifying their wishes. Had it not been for this excessive tax, we might have easily procured many subscribers for the *Liberator* during our mission abroad. It would operate against a paper published by Mr. Douglass, if not to the same extent, at least so far as to make the number of permanent subscribers comparatively small.

It may be said that the free colored population of the North could easily sustain such a paper, without any co-operation on the part of their white friends. Yes, they could, if they would! But what are the probabilities in this case?

In the first place, all past experiments have failed through their apathy, or lack of union, or want of a just appreciation of the value of a press consecrated to the assertion of their rights. This is not conclusive, but admonitory.

In the second place, four papers are now struggling for exist-

ence among them; and, for the time being, what patronage they can give has been solicited for these, and to some extent secured.

In the third place, Mr. Douglass has no special influence over them; nor would the doctrines he would feel compelled to enunciate be any more palatable to them, than those which they are unable to understand or to practice, as set forth in other anti-slavery periodicals. The fact of his complexional identity with them would scarce have the weight of a feather in the scale; for the color of a man's skin is with them a matter of trifling importance, and very justly too!

In the fourth place, the anti-slavery struggle has almost wholly transcended them as a distinct class, and thus demonstrated the sublime fact, that it is not a struggle in behalf of the black man, but of MAN as such. Many of them are politicians, like the whites—Whigs, Democrats, Liberty men, &c. &c. Ask them to sacrifice their party predilections, to disfranchise themselves under this government for conscience sake, to practically endorse the doctrine of 'no union with slaveholders,' in order that the props which sustain the huge system of slavery may be cast down, and they are as reluctant to do so as the white electors. A still larger number of them are connected with pro-slavery churches, either directly or indirectly, but most inconsistently and injuriously. Enforce upon them the duty of separation, 'come-outism,' and they cling as tenaciously to their church relationship as the whites. As a body, they are much priest-ridden; and those who ride them will have no motive to induce them to subscribe for any paper that will advocate their religious freedom and independence.

In the last place, whatever patronage they might be prompted to extend to a paper edited by Mr. Douglass, would be of very uncertain duration. They now find so many to advocate their cause, they feel no particular interest in any periodical. Certainly, by all the remembrances of 'auld lang syne,' if there were any paper, one might suppose, that they would continue to cherish and support, it would be the *Liberator*—the paper which has stood foremost in their behalf, and never compromised their cause to the breadth of a hair—the paper which has confessedly shaken slavery to its foundation, frustrated the plot of African colonization, and rallied around their standard a strong and invincible host. But how stands the account? We state the fact, not by way of complaint, but simply of illustration. For some time after the *Libera-*

tor commenced, and while it was battling single-handed against the enemies of freedom, we had four hundred subscribers among the free colored population in the city of New York, and as large a number in Philadelphia. Now they do not take a dozen copies in either city. If this striking disparity is not very creditable to them—and we are constrained to say that we hardly think it is—still, there are many reasons (some of them very good ones) why they have ceased to feel that lively interest in us personally, and in the *Liberator*, that they once manifested. Among these, prominently, is the multiplication of anti-slavery advocates and presses. Hence, we argue, that to add one more press to the number, even though it is to be conducted by our gifted friend Douglass, would not, in all probability, be very likely to secure much support from them.

It was a knowledge of facts like these, that led us carefully to weigh the proposition for establishing a newspaper, at the present time, by Frederick Douglass; and that brought us to the conclusion, that it would be wise in him to defer the risk and the drudgery of such a task, and to give himself unreservedly to the great and successful work of addressing the multitudes who are every where eager to hear his eloquent and triumphant appeals.

We have had too much experience in the printing business, and in editing a newspaper, not to know how difficult it is for any man, destitute of capital, to place a new journal upon a solid foundation, even if its object be not to conflict with the religion and politics of the times for being in league with tyranny. Thousands have made the attempt, sanguine of success, but the result has been disastrous. The land is full of the wrecks of such experiments. But an 'ultra' reformatory journal is the last to receive a living patronage, however ably conducted. Besides, it is not every one who has talents, even if they are of a high order, who can successfully edit a newspaper. Of those who attempt to fill the editorial station, a large majority prove themselves to have mistaken their vocation. We have known men eminent for scholarship and literary ability, who were unable to make an interesting journal, for lack of experience, judgment and *tact*. It can be affirmed of no one, positively, in advance, that he will make a capital editor. The result may be successful, or signally abortive. We have no doubt that Mr. Douglass would display much editorial ability, but the experiment remains to be made. Of one thing, we and his friends are certain: as a lecturer, his power over a public assembly is very

great, and it is manifestly his gift to address the people *en masse*. With such powers of oratory, and so few lecturers in the field where so many are needed, it seems to us as clear as the noon-day sun, that it would be no gain, but rather a loss, to the anti-slavery cause, to have him withdrawn to any considerable extent from the work of popular agitation, by assuming the cares, drudgery and perplexities of a publishing life. It is quite impracticable to combine the editor with the lecturer, without either causing the paper to be more or less neglected, or the sphere of lecturing to be seriously circumscribed.¹¹⁹

AUSTINBURG, September, 1847.

The infernal system of Slavery is receiving a powerful shock in the West. The enthusiasm of our friends is unequalled. I am informed, on all sides, that the meetings now being held, are such as were never held before. The whole Western Reserve is now in a healthy state of Anti-Slavery agitation. The theme is on every lip, and is spreading far and wide. We are having a real Anti-Slavery revival. The most astonishing crowds flock to hear, and, I trust, to believe. Opposition to our holy cause seems stunned. Scarce a head is seen above the multitude to oppose the triumphant success of our glorious enterprise. The power of Church and State are shaken. The pro-slavery priesthood look woful as they behold their glory departing. The people are fired with a noble indignation against a slaveholding Church, and filled with unutterable loathing of a slave-trading religion. The real character of our Government is being exposed. The flimsy arguments with which our Liberty party friends have attempted to make out a case of Anti-Slavery for the Constitution are blown into fragments.—The present administration is justly regarded as a combination of land-pirates and free-booters. Our *gallant* army in Mexico is looked upon as a band of legalized murderers and plunderers. Our psalm-singing, praying, pro-slavery priesthood are stamped with hypocrisy; and all their pretensions to a love for God, while they hate and neglect their fellow-man, is branded as impudent blasphemy. The fire is lighted,—let it rise—let it spread. Let the winds of an approving Heaven fan it, and, guided by the hand that stays the thunder-bolt, and directs the storm, its holy flames shall burn up, and utterly consume the last vestige of tyranny in our land. The

¹¹⁹ *Liberator*, July 23, 1847.

West is decidedly the best Anti-Slavery field in the country.—The people are more disposed to hear—less confined and narrowed in their views, and less circumscribed in their action by sectarian trammels, than are the people of the East. I seriously believe, had we the means to follow up the agitation already commenced in this State for six months, twelve months would not pass, ere every black law which now disgraces the statute-books of Ohio would be repealed, and the free coloured people stand on as good a footing as that enjoyed by the coloured people of Massachusetts. The field here is truly ripe for the harvest, and my spirit is only cast down when I remember how few there are to labour in this part of our vineyard. With money and right-minded men we could place Ohio in advance of Massachusetts in twelve months. The people of this vast State are now ready to hear, believe, and act, but how can they hear without a preacher? We have now five lecturing agents in this field, besides Messrs. Foster, Garrison and myself; we are all labouring ardently, but we are few when you consider the vastness of the field and the readiness to hear on the subject.

I meant ere this to have sent you a hasty sketch of the character and proceedings of the Anniversary Meeting of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, but have been so hurried and driven by appointments, and so completely occupied with immediate and indispensable duties, as to make attention to this impossible. I have attended many Anti-Slavery meetings in the East, and in the West, but this exceeded, by far, any which I ever attended. It will long be remembered as one of the most interesting gatherings ever summoned at the bugle call of liberty. The presence of friends Garrison and Foster did much to give a zest and glory to the occasion, but added to these we had our cause pleaded by the magic eloquence of Music. The charms of liberty were set forth in song by the "Cowles family" of Austinburg, and greatly was the cause enhanced by their efforts. I shall never forget the impression made upon the audience by the first song. Four thousand persons stood charmed, and overcome by the melting melody of our friends; there was scarcely a dry eye among the vast audience, and all hearts seemed melted into one. The meeting was held three days, and was full of interest to the last. The first day was rather unpropitious, the weather being uncomfortably cold and cloudy, but the second and third were fine, clear, bright, warm, and beautiful. The heavens above and the earth below smiled naturally and lov-

ingly upon our philanthropic gathering, and added their beauty and splendour to the scene, making the whole "superb and glorious." The meeting was held in what is extensively known in this region as the great "Oberlin Tent." Some idea of its greatness may be learned by the fact that it will hold five thousand persons. This portable "Fanuil Hall" was spread out in an open field near the main road through Lyme, and for three days was the scene of more human life than has been witnessed in these regions since the days of "hard Cider and Coonskins." Besides the thousands who crowded to hear on the subject of Slavery, there were hundreds who came from curiosity to see the crowd, and many for purposes of gain. Those who came for gain had their booths, and tents, and covered wagons, pitched all around us. There was a constant auctioneering going on without, while our meetings were going on within. In this respect our meeting resembled more the great political gatherings of the day than our usual Anti-Slavery meetings, except that our meeting was more orderly than they. It was pleasant to see our cause *look* popular for once. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon the Anti-Slavery friends in New Lyme. Their industry, and hospitality were abundant and soul-cheering. You will be pleased to know that the women of the place took an active and intelligent interest in the meeting, and in the cause. When in the West four years ago, the lack of interest on the part of the women was, (you will remember,) the most painful part of our experience. I have observed that where an interest is taken in this subject there is more intellectual life and vigour among women, and much more happiness. Anti-Slavery is doing much here for the elevation and improvement of woman. The political Anti-Slavery meetings, are generally regarded as meetings with which women have nothing to do, and they can do little or nothing toward quickening their energies or expanding their intellects. On this occasion the *women* held Anti-Slavery fairs, and though little was realized, it was not for want of persevering effort. There was one mistake on their part which caused a failure, but it was a mistake on the side of liberty. They admitted all persons free of charge; and curiosity being on tiptoe, the room was so crowded with spectators that no room was left for buyers. Not one half of the useful and beautiful articles brought together were sold. They intend holding another in a few days at Ravenna, where I presume they will profit by their experience at New Lyme. The leading lady of

this Bazaar movement, is well entitled to be called the Mrs. Chapman of the West. I think she will eventually be quite as successful. She is young in the cause but thoroughly devoted to it. She became deeply interested in the movement by the noble efforts of that faithful, eloquent, and intrepid advocate of the fettered bondman, Abby Kelley Foster. To this friend of God and man, the praise belongs of giving to the West, and to the cause, another Maria Weston Chapman.

Since the anniversary, we have held large meetings at Painsville, Munson, Twinsburg, Oberlin, Richfield, and Medina. All the meetings have been well attended, but those of Munson, and Richfield may be called monster meetings, numbering from three to six thousand. At all of these meetings, aside from the Anti-Slavery speeches, and the good resulting from them, a great deal of practical work has been done. No opportunity is missed to get in our publications, a great many useful books are sold, and subscribers to our papers obtained. We have done but little yet for the Standard or Liberator, as our efforts have been mainly directed to the support of the Bugle. We go to Massillon to-morrow.¹²⁰

CLEVELAND, (O.) September 17, 1847.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—Mr. Garrison and myself are still pursuing our Western course, and steadily persevering (though much worn with our labours) in the fulfilment of our appointments, which are only like angels visits in that they are “far between.” Our industrious and devoted friend, the general agent, in making our appointments thus far, has studied more the wants of the cause than the weakness of our frames. We have an appointment for every day, and some of these are thirty and forty miles apart. I know that these distances will appear quite paltry to our Eastern friends, in the land of railroads and steamboats. But as the Rev. Bishop Meade says, in his celebrated sermon, on reconciling slaves to *evangelical floggings*, “if you consider it right you must needs think otherwise of it.” We are carried by horses, fed with corn instead of fire—bone instead of iron. And you know, as said a certain rather windy orator, when a locomotive passed the house in which he was holding forth, and completely drowned his voice, “*wind* must yield to the superiority of *steam*.” We have any number of railroads, but they are quite similar to those you passed over four

¹²⁰ *The National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Sept. 9, 1847.

years ago, during the ever memorable "One Hundred Conventions." The mention of these conventions will be sufficient to initiate you into some of the hardships of our journey.

The enthusiasm of our friends, out here, is glorious.—They cannot wait for our arrival into their towns, but come twenty, thirty, and even forty miles, with their own teams, to meet us. They generally commence their kind communications to us by giving us some idea of the great importance of their locality, and of the importance of being promptly on the ground, and occupying every available moment in the propagation of our principles and measures; and when we are about to leave we are sympathetically informed, sometimes by the same persons, that we are fast wearing ourselves out, and that we ought to stay a day or two longer, omitting some appointment ahead, and thus secure time for necessary rest. These speeches, though somewhat inconsistent, are the natural outpourings of kind hearts. Thus far, we have resisted this sort of eloquence, and fulfilled all our appointments. Since the meetings at Medina and Richfield, of both which I believe you have been informed, we have held four meetings at Massillon and four at Leesburgh. Our meetings in these places were not so large as those held in other parts of this State, yet they would appear large in any part of New-York or New England.

This State is very justly called the giant of the West. Everything connected with it is on the most gigantic scale. She is a giant in population, in energy, and in improvement. She possesses, too, those moral elements of greatness which might easily make her the pioneer State, in resisting, successfully, the aggressions of Slavery on the North, and leading the way to the redemption of millions in the South. Her contiguity to a slave State gives her many advantages over States more removed from Slavery. Ohio may, if she will, abolish Slavery in Kentucky, and Western Virginia. At present her hands are tied,—the fetters of Slavery are on her giant limbs,—she is corrupted by Slavery. The moral pestilence that walketh in darkness along her southern border, has spread blight and mildew over her legislation. Her statute-book is polluted,—she is disgraced by her villainous black laws. Let her repeal those infernal laws—blot them forever from her statute-book, and thus cease to afford impunity to every white ruffian who may desire to insult, or plunder, who may desire to rob, or commit other outrages on her coloured population, and her power to do good would be

come apparent, and her moral greatness would be equal to her numerical and political strength. Till this is done, she is not in a position to exert much moral influence on the South. Before she can ask freedom for the coloured man of Kentucky, she must do justice to the black man of Ohio.

You are aware that what are called the black laws of this State, disallow and prohibit the testimony of coloured persons against white persons in courts of law. By this diabolical arrangement, law, as a means of protecting the property and persons of the weak, becomes meaningless, since it gives a "Thug" commission to any and every white villain, and permits them to insult, cheat, and plunder coloured persons with the utmost impunity. A score of facts might be mentioned of cases where persons having the fortune to have a white skin, have, in the presence of coloured persons, taken away their property without remuneration, and the guilty persons could not be brought to condign punishment, because their victims were black.

These shameful laws are not the natural expression of the moral sentiment of Ohio, but the servile work of pandering politicians, who, to conciliate the favour of slaveholders, and win their way into political power, have enacted these infernal laws. Let the people of Ohio demand their instant repeal, and the complete enfranchisement of her coloured people, and their gallant State would speedily become the paragon of all the free States, securing the gratitude and love of her coloured citizens, and wiping out a most foul imputation from the character of her white citizens. She might then well boast that *justice* within her borders, like its author in Heaven, is without respect to persons. I may mention that our friends here have it in contemplation to get up an agitation this winter, against those laws, which it is hoped will end in their repeal. Should they succeed, a staggering blow will be given to Slavery in Kentucky. The slaveholders will begin to feel that the North is fast combining against them, and must soon make their calling a bye-word and a hissing throughout all the land. Should Ohio take the step, Indiana may follow; this done and Kentucky is forsaken. The work must be done soon, or the moral effect will be lost; for the time is coming, when it will be but small work to repeal such laws, even in the slave States. The power to do good, if not soon embraced, must soon be taken from the North.

Since the above was written, we have held meetings at Salem,

New Lisbon, Ravenna, Warren, and Cleveland. Our meeting at Salem was a great one—in some respects the greatest of the series. It was held two days, commencing Saturday morning, and continuing till late Sunday afternoon, deepening in interest to the last. In addition to the lofty appeals and powerful eloquence of Messrs. Garrison and Foster, we had with us, James and Lucretia Mott. I have never seen Mrs. Mott under more favourable circumstances. It was admirable to see her rise up in all her elegance and dignity of womanhood—her earnest but tranquil countenance, overshadowed and animated with the inspiration of sincere benevolence—at once arresting attention, dispelling prejudice, and commanding the entire respect of the assembled thousands. A slight pause, and all eyes are fixed, and all ears turned—a deep stillness pervades the audience, and her silvery voice, without effort or vehemence, is distinctly heard, even far beyond the vast multitude. Her truthful words came down upon the audience like great drops of summer rain upon parched ground. Mrs. Mott attended the meetings at Warren, Ravenna, and New Lisbon, and greatly added to the interest of the meetings in all these places. She parted with us at Ravenna, and pursued her course toward Indiana, where she is intending to hold religious meetings. Our meetings in this place have been well attended, and exceedingly spirited, and nothing occurred (as we somewhat feared from intimations thrown out in the Plaindealer) to mar the harmony and beauty of the occasion.

We shall leave here this morning for Buffalo, N. Y. where our next meeting is to be held. But one hasty word before we leave, with respect to western hospitality. Our tour thus far has been made very agreeable and happy by the noble generosity, and the kind and affable deportment of all with whom we have come in contact. There is nothing mean, narrow, or churlish about a true Buckeye—find him where or how you will, rich or poor, in a miserable log cabin, or a magnificent mansion, he is the same open, free, and truly generous man. Agreeing with or differing from you, of the same religious faith and politics, or differing from you in both, it makes no difference. Once make him feel you are an honest man and you are welcomed with all the fullness of genuine hospitality, to his heart and his home.

“I ask not for his lineage
I ask not for his birth
If the stream be pure what matters it,
The source from which it burst.”

Since we have been in this State, we have been as warmly welcomed and as cordially received at the homes of Liberty party men, as by Old Organizationists; and so may I say of Whigs, and sometimes Democrats. And in no case was there unfaithfulness or shunning to declare the whole truth, with reference to each and all these parties.

F. D.¹²¹

From the *North Star*.

TO H. G. WARNER, ESQ., (EDITOR OF THE ROCHESTER COURIER.)

SIR:—My reasons—I will not say my apology, for addressing to you this letter, will become evident, by perusing the following brief statement of facts.

About the middle of August of the present year—deeply desiring to give my daughter, a child between nine and ten years old, the advantages of a good school—and learning that ‘Seward Seminary’ of this city was an institution of that character—I applied to its principal, Miss Tracy, for the admission of my daughter into that Seminary. The principal—after making suitable enquiries into the child’s mental qualifications, and informing me of the price of tuition per term, agreed to receive the child into the school at the commencement of the September term. Here we parted. I went home, rejoicing that my child was about to enjoy advantages for improving her mind, and fitting her for a useful and honorable life. I supposed that the principal would be as good as her word—and was more disposed to this belief when I learned that she was an abolitionist—a woman of religious principles and integrity—and would be faithful in the performance of her promises, as she had been prompt in making them. In all this I have been grievously—if not shamefully disappointed.

While absent from home, on a visit to Cleveland, with a view to advance the cause of education and freedom among my despised fellow countrymen—with whom I am in all respects identified, the September term of the ‘Seward Seminary’ commenced, and my daughter was promptly sent to that school. But instead of receiving her into the school according to agreement—and as in honor the principal was bound to do, she was merely thrust into a room separate from all other scholars, and in this prison-like solitary confinement received the occasional visits of a teacher appointed to

¹²¹ *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Sept. 23, 1847.

instruct her. On my return home, I found her still going to school, and not knowing the character of the treatment extended to her, I asked with a light heart, as I took her to my side, well my daughter, how do you get on at the Seminary? She answered with tears in her eyes, '*I get along pretty well, but father, Miss Tracy does not allow me to go into the room with the other scholars because I am colored.*' Stung to the heart's core by this grievous statement, and suppressing my feelings as well as I could, I went immediately to the Seminary to remonstrate with the principal against the cruelty and injustice of treating my child as a criminal on account of her color—subjecting her to solitary confinement because guilty of a skin not colored like her own. In answer to all that I could say against such treatment, I was answered by the principal, that since she promised to receive the child into school, she had consulted with the trustees, (a body of persons I believe unknown to the public,) and that they were opposed to the child's admission to the school—that she thought at first of disregarding their opposition, but when she remembered how much they had done for her in sustaining the institution, she did not feel at liberty to do so; but she thought if I allowed her to remain and be taught separately for a term or more, that the prejudice might be overcome, and the child admitted into the school with the other young ladies and misses. At a loss to know what to do for the best interest of the child, I consulted with Mrs. Douglass and others, and the result of the consultation was, to take my child from the Seminary, as allowing her to remain there in such circumstances, could only serve to degrade her in her own eyes, and those of the other scholars attending the school. Before, however, carrying out my determination to withdraw the child from the Seminary, Miss Tracy, the principal, submitted the question of the child's reception to each scholar individually, and I am sorry to say, in a manner well calculated to rouse their prejudices against her. She told them if there was one objection to receiving her, she should be excluded; and said if any of them felt that she had a prejudice, and that that prejudice needed to be strengthened, that they might have time to whisper among themselves, in order to increase and strengthen that prejudice. To one young lady who voted to receive the child, she said, as if in astonishment; 'did you mean to vote so? Are you *accus-tomed* to black persons?' The young lady stood silent; the question was so extraordinary, and withal so ambiguous, that she knew

not what answer to make to it. Despite, however, of the unwomanly conduct of the principal, (who, whatever may be her religious faith, has not yet learned the simplest principle of Christianity—do to others as ye would that others should do unto you)—thanks to the uncorruptible virtue of childhood and youth, in the fulness of their affectionate hearts, they welcomed my child among them, to share with them the blessings and privileges of the school; and when asked where she should sit if admitted, several young ladies shouted ‘By me, by me, by me.’ After this manifestation of sentiment on the part of the scholars, one would have supposed that all opposition on the part of the principal would have ceased; but this was not the case. The child’s admission was subjected to a severer test. Each scholar was then told by the principal, that the question must be submitted to their parents, that if one parent objected, the child would not be received into the school. The next morning, my child went to school as usual, but returned with her books and other materials, saying that one person objected, and that she was therefore excluded from the Seminary.

Now, sir, these are the whole facts, with one important exception, and that fact is, that you are the person, the only person of all the parents sending young ladies and misses to that Seminary, who was hardened and mean enough to take the responsibility of excluding that child from school. I say, to you exclusively belongs the honor or infamy, of attempting to degrade an innocent child by excluding her from the benefit of attending a respectable school.

If this were a private affair, only affecting myself and family, I should possibly allow it to pass without attracting public attention to it; but such is not the case. It is a deliberate attempt to degrade and injure a large class of persons, whose rights and feelings have been the common sport of yourself, and such persons as yourself, for ages, and I think it unwise to allow you to do so with impunity. Thank God, oppressed and plundered as we are and have been, we are not without help. We have a press, open and free, and have ample means by which we are able to proclaim our wrongs as a people, and your own infamy, and that proclamation shall be as complete as the means in my power can make it. There is a sufficient amount of liberality in the public mind of Rochester to see that justice is done to all parties, and upon that liberality I rely. The young ladies of the school who saw the child, and had the best means of determining whether her presence in the school-

room would be offensive or degrading to them, have decided in favor of admitting her, without a dissenting vote. Out of all the parents to whom the question of her admission was submitted, not one, excepting yourself, objected. You are in a minority of *one*. You may not remain so; there are perhaps others, whom you may corrupt, and make as much like yourself in the blindness of prejudice, as any ordinarily wicked person can be.

But you are still in a minority, and if I mistake not, you will be in a *despised minority*. You have already done serious injury to Seward Seminary. Three young ladies left the school immediately after the exclusion of my daughter, and I have heard of three more, who had intended to go, but who have now declined going to that institution, because it has given its sanction to that anti-democratic, and ungodly caste. I am also glad to inform you that you have not succeeded as you hoped to do, in depriving my child of the means of a decent education, or the privilege of going to an excellent school. She had not been excluded from Seward Seminary five hours, before she was welcomed into another quite as respectable, and *equally* Christian to the one from which she was excluded. She now sits in a school among children as pure, and as white as you or yours, and no one is offended. Now I should like to know how much better are you than me, and how much better your children than mine? We are both worms of the dust, and our children are like us. We differ in color, it is true, (and not much in that respect,) but who is to decide which color is most pleasing to God, or most honorable among men? But I do not wish to waste words or argument on one whom I take to be as destitute of honorable feeling, as he has shown himself full of pride and prejudice.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹²²

ROCHESTER, June 7, 1851.

GENTLEMEN :

I am deeply sensible of the honor you have done me, by inviting me to join you, in the token of respect to George Thompson you propose to give in Boston, on the eve of his departure from the United States to his native land. To participate, how humbly soever, in such a demonstration, would afford me sincere pleasure. But I cannot be present, and I much regret that I cannot.

¹²² *Liberator*, Oct. 6, 1848.

In common with all the sable sons of America, I owe George Thompson a mighty debt of gratitude, respect and love. His labors in behalf of my afflicted, enslaved and plundered people have been productive of good, to an extent which eternity alone can fully disclose. My heart grows warm at the mention of his name. That name is associated in my mind with the names of the noblest benefactors of suffering man. There were two courses plainly set before George Thompson, when he landed on the shores of this republic, in the autumn of 1850. He was a free man. He was not compelled to adopt any given course. There are men, many of them, who seem doomed, by virtue of their very organization, to a limited and contracted sphere of action. In them the ability to wish is present, but the ability to do is absent. George Thompson belongs not to this class. Long before he came to this country, his philanthropy, zeal, industry, and splendid genius, rendered him before the whole civilized world a light of surprising brightness—a gem greatly to be coveted—a prize worth securing.

Wealth, honor and ease invited him to their sumptuous entertainments, only asking as a condition that he should array himself in the smooth garments of worldly prudence. Had he complied, instead of being assailed, maligned, calumniated, mobbed and threatened with assassination, as he has been, he would have been welcomed, applauded, caressed, and hailed every where as a distinguished guest from one end of this Union to the other. His early anti-slavery sentiments would have been charitably forgiven—as those of Theobald Mathew and Daniel Webster have been—and his course might have been one series of brilliant demonstrations. But George Thompson had a heart—he saw the poor, weak, emaciated bondmen in chains—his heart was touched by the mournful wail; wealth, luxury and ease lost their gilded charms; he turned his back upon the scorner, and his face to the despised, and generously gave himself to toil. With the disinterested spirit of the Israelitish deliverer, he preferred to suffer affliction with the people of God, to enjoying the pleasures of sin for a season.

Honor him who is an honor to humanity. He is a man of many millions. We do not often meet his like—a miracle of true courage—daunted by no danger—disheartened by no opposition—a moral hero, not less than an intellectual giant, whom all the reproaches of a mighty nation have been unable to silence or subdue.

God bless George Thompson! and methinks I hear from every slave dungeon in the land a responsive Amen.

I am, gentlemen, with many regrets that I cannot be with you,
Very truly yours,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹²³

To Messrs. S. E. Sewall, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker,
Committee.

XIII. SLAVERY AND THE CHURCH

The whites and blacks promoting the anti-slavery cause did not fail to expose the church as the bulwark of slavery. Doing this, of course, they incurred the ill will of the potentates who branded such abolitionists as infidels, just as any one of our day would be dubbed, should he countenance the thought that an oppressor of the Negro is not a righteous man. These Negro writers, however, kept up the attack as the letters below indicate.

FROM SAMUEL R. WARD, BOSTON

BOSTON, April 3, 1850.

Gentlemen: I was not at home when your letter of the 20th ult. came to my office. It was forwarded to me by my clerk, but by some delay in the mails for which I cannot account, it did not reach me till day before yesterday. Since that time, I have been more than ordinarily occupied with professional engagements: wherefore, I pray you to pardon the non-answering of your very kind invitation sooner.

It would give me great pleasure to meet the friends of Freedom and of Zion in Cincinnati on the 17th inst. I know that your call will of necessity attract a great many of the truest hearts in your own State and all the free States, and not a few of the citizens of the slave States. To meet such men, and to be profitted by their wise and learned counsels, would be to me, would my engagements allow it, a gratification such as I seldom enjoy.

My opinion in respect to "the present position of our American Israel, and on the proper course to be pursued to deliver the churches from the terrible stain which slavery inflicts upon their

¹²³ *Liberator*, June 27, 1851.

character," are the opinions of too humble and obscure an individual to be of any weight in your Convention. But such as they are, you are welcome to them.

My view of the case, may be peculiar to myself, but I regard the churches, the orthodox churches of our country, as having departed from God and the Bible, on the subject of Slavery, and as a consequence they have yielded up the truth on other great vital subjects.

No one sin is more frequently nor more strongly prohibited and rebuked in the Sacred Volume, than the sin of oppression. Of no sin does the Old Testament make more marked demands that the Ancient Israel of God should repent, than of the sin of oppression. And from the first preaching of our Lord and Master, to the last forgiving words that fell from his dying lips, He ever laid down principles, as fundamental to His system of religion, which in their very nature are the directest opposites to the oppression of man, and are also the clearest enunciations of the inviolability of human rights. There is, to my mind, no one point in which the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testaments more perfectly harmonize than in this. Of course, I treat, and hold as bordering upon heresy of a damnable character, those monstrous assumptions which declare the Bible to favor Slavery. I regard this doctrine as one of the saddest evidences of our relapse from the "truth as it is in Jesus." When St. Paul, who knew all about it, says that "the heir differeth nothing from a servant," it makes no odds what translation be given to *doulas*, it is certain that, according to the Jewish laws and customs, the heir and the servant were in the same civil and social condition. To say otherwise, is to contradict the plainest teachings of the Divine Word. So, when the Apostle tells us, that "the law was made for men-stealers," and places men-stealers among the worst and most abominable of all wicked men, it is very near to downright infidelity to say either that the Bible sanctions or that it does *not directly* condemn and interdict Slavery. In too many directions around us, these horrible positions are taken, while in too many others, the Word of the Lord against oppression is made less controlling and authoritative, than the demands of sectarianism. So, it seems to my humble vision, our American churches have indulged an "evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God."

The neglecting the cause of the poor and needy, who have

Jehovah for their especial Guardian, cannot be done without involving with it other transgressions of a most alarming, because of a most aggravating character. So to do, is to act most unlike God, most unlike Him, who being "the express image of the Father's glory," "went about doing good," and who demands of us, that we should in this, as well as in every thing else, follow Him. If, however, it is in our heart to neglect, overlook, disregard, much more to oppose, this part of His life and teaching; if, unlike Him, we can suffer the sick and the imprisoned, or any other class of the unfortunate and suffering, to appeal to us in vain for sympathy, prayer, effort for their relief, then is our religion *fundamentally* corrupt, as much so as was that of ancient Scribes and Pharisees, and its corruption flows from the source whence *that* originated. "Pure religion, and undefiled before God and the Father, is this: *to visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction*, and to keep himself unspotted from the world." Now, the neglecting of the "fatherless and the widows in their affliction," is the opposite to "pure and undefiled religion," and it is without the power of "keeping himself unspotted from the world." I grieve to say it, but the truth must be plainly spoken, such seems to be the state of the church in the present day. She has refused to be what the Corinthian church was, a laborer together with God on this great subject, and as there is no medium ground betwixt the two; that very refusing makes her the co-worker of Satan. "He that is *not* for me, *is* against me, and he that *gathereth not* with me scattereth abroad," saith He who will judge us all in the final day, by that simplest and most searching of all criteria, "Inasmuch as ye did it or did it not to *these least*," the hungry, thirsty, naked, sick and imprisoned.

It is not strange, then, that sectarianism, respect of persons, pride, and avarice, should be more dominant in the church, than are their opposites. These are but the legitimate fruits of our neglect of the "two great commandments" upon which "hang all the law and prophets;" commandments, obedience to which is indispensable to the inheriting of eternal life, as the Savior taught.

"The course to be pursued to deliver the churches from the terrible stain which slavery has inflicted upon them," is to seek to bring them back again to God. It pleased God "to save by the foolishness of preaching." This must be the means to reclaim "our American Israel." Salvation is in no other name than the

name of Jesus. He, and He only, is the Savior of His people from their sins. Let the truth home to their hearts, plainly, kindly, perseveringly, "whether they shall hear or forbear to hear," and trust "Him who giveth the early and the latter rain," for the results. Speak out, in your resolutions and your address, against the crying abominations of that institution, "truth," as Isaiah did, as Jesus did, and God's pledge is, that the "word shall not return to Him void."

I cannot but hope and pray, that great and good results will flow from your Convention. God is always pleased with our efforts to draw nearer to Him, and to reclaim our wandering brethren. May His smiles attend you, and His Spirit guide you.

In Christian bonds, your obedient servant,

SAM. R. WARD.¹²⁴

FROM LEWIS WOODSON, PITTSBURGH, PA.

PITTSBURGH, April 15, 1850.

Gentlemen: Your note of the 15th ult., inviting me to attend the Christian Anti Slavery Convention, in Cincinnati, on the 17th inst., came duly to hand, and it would give me much pleasure to comply with your invitation, but circumstances will not admit of it.

The object of your Convention is a good one, and the time at which it is to be held most opportune.

That slavery should exist in the Church, is a most intolerable abuse. No two institutions could be more unlike each other than Slavery and Christianity. View them in any light we may, they are a perfect contrast. There is not a virtue, not a grace in Christianity, whose opposite may not be found in Slavery. How, then, can they be made to maintain a consonant and co-equal existence? The thing is self-evidently absurd.

A Christianity without humanity, without benevolence, without mercy, without justice, is no Christianity at all. It is a libel upon the character of true Christianity and the examples and teachings of its Divine Author. His life was spent in doing good to the *bodies*, as well as the souls of men; in rendering them *happy on earth*, as well as preparing them for heaven. * * * The great Author of Christianity never intended that slavery * * * should

¹²⁴ *Minutes of the Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, April 17-20, 1850, 66-68.*

become a part and parcel of it. The example which he set, the precepts which he uttered, the GREAT PRINCIPLES which he laid down, show that this was not his intention. On the contrary, if they were reduced to practice and fully carried out, they would extirpate slavery from the earth.

The removal of slavery from the Church, is the appropriate work of Christian men. Infidels cannot do it. Their meddling with the vices of the Church, has a tendency to make her cling to them.

The time of the Convention, as I have said, is most opportune. The nation is agitated. Light is called for, and it is the duty of the Church to give it. God has made his Church the light of the world,—the salt of the earth. It is the source of knowledge on all questions of morals and piety; and when men would know what they should believe and practice in reference to their present and eternal happiness, they should enquire of the Church. In the Church is deposited that moral salt which is to save the world from moral putrefaction; but if this salt lose its savor, how then can the world be saved?

It is a principle in natural things, that the value and efficacy of every article is in proportion to its purity. Hence, the purer the Church is, the more valuable and efficacious she will be in promoting the happiness and salvation of the world.

The purification of the Church I have long desired to see; for I know that the day in which it is cast out of the Church, is the day of its destruction.

That God may preside over the deliberations of your Convention, and conduct to the best of conclusions, is my most humble and devout prayer.

LEWIS WOODSON.¹²⁵

XIV. EMIGRATION TO CENTRAL AMERICA

One of the ways in which the free Negroes expressed their opposition to African colonization was by presenting a counter proposal to the effect that such emigrants should be settled in the tropics of America. The various countries to which their attention was directed were Texas, Trinidad,

¹²⁵ *Minutes of the Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, April 17-20, 1850,*

Haiti, and other points in the West Indies. The following letters addressed to F. P. Blair, as a result of his speech bearing on the emancipation and colonization of the Negroes, present this point of view.

FROM REV. JAMES T. HOLLY, OF NEW HAVEN, CONN.,
RECTOR OF ST. LUKE'S

Hon. Sir: As the communication I voluntarily intruded upon your attention in relation to your recent speech in favor of colonizing the free blacks in Central America has been so kindly received by you, I am encouraged to pursue the subject, especially since you have given me the liberty to do so.

I have already called your attention to the fact that the subject has actively occupied the attention of this class of persons themselves since 1854, when an organization was formed among them, to promote their own emigration to the West Indies, Central and South America. I now wish to speak of the extent of this organization, its sympathizers, and the steps that have been taken to attain its end.

You have doubtless noticed, by the copy of the published proceedings of its organic Convention which I transmitted to you, that delegates from the British Province of Canada and eleven States of this Union (three of them being slave States) assembled in that Convention. And in the official organization of the National Board as a Central Executive Committee, corresponding members among the free colored people of no less than five slaveholding States were attached to that Board.

But even the organization in its extent is but a feeble expression of the growing feelings of discontent at their anomalous condition in this country, now rife among the free blacks, both North and South. Many are not identified with this movement, because they look upon the effort to remove and colonize themselves as wholly impracticable without the helping hand of men of power, influence, and wealth, among the whites of this country. And despairing now to obtain this influence in favor of their removal to the intertropical regions of this continent whilst the African colonization scheme preoccupied the attention of the American people, they have looked upon this organization of their own people as a fond Utopia, to be dreamed of, but never to be realized. Hence

they have been too hopeless of accomplishing their heart's desire to join publicly in this movement hitherto.

But now that your speech in Congress opens a new era in their hopes, and they thereby witness the dawn of a brighter day for the successful accomplishment of their hopes, I can assure you that thousands can be readily enrolled as emigrants to the intertropical regions of our continent with the slightest effort. I speak now from a familiar and somewhat extended acquaintance and intercourse with them, with especial reference to this subject, during the past five years, by travelling and sojourning among them in the New England, Middle, and Northwestern States and Canada—having at the same time met and conversed with free colored men from almost every slave State in our Union.

I am confident that with proper inducements to be held out before them in regard to security for liberty, property, and prospects for well doing, I could muster two hundred emigrant families, or about one thousand free colored persons, annually, for the next five years, of the very best class for colonial settlement and industry, from various parts of the United States and Canada, who will gladly embark for homes in our American tropics. At the end of this period, it would need no especial efforts to promote the emigration, because it would regulate itself thereafter. Five thousand pioneers by this time having already settled themselves in Central America, having commenced to do well in their new homes, would spread the glad tidings among friends and relations remaining behind them in the United States, and the intelligence flying from family to family like an electric spark, a spontaneous emigration, double that of the first, will follow in the second five years, and this number will be trebled or quadrupled in the succeeding decade.

The feelings of the free blacks in relation to African colonization are no criterion by which to judge of the success of American intertropical emigration. The blacks have the most inveterate prejudice against being separated from the New World, that has been the field of their labors and sufferings for the past three centuries. It is a little hard even to leave the very spot on which they chanced to be born, for they are a very domestic race, and strong in their local attachments. Nevertheless, they can and will easily reconcile themselves to the irresistible fate of local separation from the whites of this country, when they can locate on the same continent, within a few days sail of the scenes of their nativity, and

situated, as they would be, in the grand American thoroughfare between our Atlantic and Pacific States. This constant intercourse they would enjoy with white Americans, by means of travel through the tropics between the two ocean shores of our country, would make the blacks feel as if they had not lost their homes with us; and, therefore, would render them contented and happy in their lot. This can never be the case in African colonization, since by this scheme they are not only expatriated from their country, but also exiled from our Western World. Hence, I believe, I have data from personal knowledge, which will fully justify the expectation, that with proper efforts, more emigrants of this class will be removed to Central America in ten years than has been removed to Liberia during the forty years efforts of the colonization scheme. As a further insight to you of the depth and extent of this movement among the free blacks themselves, I send you a copy of the proceedings of a Convention held by the colored people of the United States and Canada as early as 1853, in which the subject of emigration to the West Indies, Central and South America, was broached. And I also transmit another pamphlet, published early in 1854, containing a newspaper controversy between three of the ablest negro writers in the country, on the subject of this self-same emigration. This controversy was preliminary to the assembling of their organic Convention in the same year.

This movement, although almost entirely confined among the blacks, so far, yet it can boast some interested sympathizers among the whites, to whose attention it has been presented, and who only await a more tangible and influential organization, and a more definite knowledge of what is to be done, in order to lend it a helping hand. Among others, I may mention C. W. Elliot, Esq., author of a History of New England, and F. L. Olmsted, Esq., author of a recent work entitled *Our Seaboard Slave States*. Numerous others can be easily interested, when the subject has been put in working shape by those who have the practical ability to do it. Having now spoken of the extent of this movement among the free blacks themselves, and also referred to a few sympathizers it has already invoked in an unostentatious manner among the whites, I now turn to speak of the practical efforts this organization has put forth in pursuance of its objects.

In one year after its organic Convention, a commissioner was appointed by the National Board or Central Committee of the

same, to proceed to Hayti on a mission to Faustin First, for the purpose of making and receiving propositions on the subject of encouraging colored Americans to emigrate to that island, by holding a conference thereon with the Haytien Government. This commissioner went to Port-au-Prince during the summer of 1855 to prosecute his mission, and returned and reported its results at the biennial session of this Board of Emigration, held in Cleveland, Ohio, August 26, 27, 1856. The commissioner was cordially received by the Haytien Government, and his propositions kindly entertained and considered; but in consequence of the domestic complications arising out of the internal feuds, and the civil war then brewing between Hayti and Dominica, the Government of the Emperor Faustin was not prepared to accede to or advance any propositions on the subject of this emigration, any further than the announcement of the fact that it would be happy to welcome all such emigrants whenever they might be pleased to come to Hayti.

The propositions submitted by the commissioner were substantially as follows:

1. The Haytien Government was desired to offer encouragements to emigrants of color coming to Hayti, to establish themselves in the mountains and valleys of that island, to cultivate with their own hands private homesteads to be donated to them by the Government.

2. The Haytien Government to guaranty to these emigrants the enjoyment and equal civil and political rights with the natives of the country, and liberty of conscience in religious worship.

3. None of the emigrants or their children to do military duty until seven years after their arrival in Hayti; ministers of the gospel, physicians, lawyers, and school teachers, to be always exempt from that duty.

4. The Government to aid in the erection of manufacturing establishments, sugar refineries, grist and saw mills, for such emigrants as might be competent to conduct such works. The advances of the Government in this respect to be reimbursed out of the future profits of these works.

5. The Government to exempt from duty all materials, tools, furniture, &c., brought or imported by emigrants in the island for the purpose of carrying on their labors.

6. The emigrants to become Haytien citizens, invested with all the privileges, prerogatives, and immunities of the same, after one year's residence, on taking the oath of allegiance.

7. The Haytien Government to appoint a commissioner to reside in the United States and co-operate with the National Board or Central Committee of the Emigration Society in the general supervision of the embarkation of the emigrants from the United States.

8. On condition that the Haytien Government would fulfil the above requirements, the National Board would guaranty a select emigration of two hundred families or one thousand persons per annum for five years, and one thousand families or five thousand persons in addition thereto, if these governmental inducements should be continued two years longer. After seven years duration, the scheme to be abandoned, and left to regulate itself as a voluntary and spontaneous individual emigration thereafter.

These propositions were left open for the subsequent consideration and action of the Haytien Government. But as the Government has not since responded any further on this subject, the prospect of a movement in that direction remains *in statu quo*. But whilst darkness seems to be still brooding over the one, yet on the other hand new prospects seem to be dawning in the direction of Central America, by the bold and unequivocal position you have been pleased to assume voluntarily, in the Congress of the United States. It is fit that the subject should be agitated there by such an able advocate as you have proved yourself to be, in order that it may go forth with a telling effect upon the whole country. But opportune agitation in Congress in this manner is all that I believe can be done for years to come, with our Government, on the subject. The practical details of the movement must now be laid and carried out in its incipency, by a company or an association of private individuals, of influence, character, and standing, throughout the whole country, but who shall at the same time be backed, animated, and cheered, by able supporters and defenders in Congress. This association ought to be formed as early as possible, and when formed, it ought to patronize and encourage the organization that the colored people have affected among themselves for this purpose. An intelligent and able commissioner ought to be dispatched in behalf of this association, to enter into stipulations with the Central American Government in regard to these contemplated emigrants. And this commissioner might be accompanied by some intelligent colored man, to be named by their Board or Central Committee, in whom they might repose the utmost con-

fidence, when he brought back a report of the condition, prospects, and advantages, of that country.

Arrangements thus made for emigration, and a pioneer list of emigrants enrolled, consisting of agricultural laborers, mechanics, teachers, and professional men, then this association, composed of distinguished individuals, will invoke philanthropic contributions of money, mechanics' tools, and agricultural implements, to fit out and facilitate the removal of such of this number of emigrants as might need aid in these respects.

Thus prepared, the first expedition will sail, consisting of fifty families, or two hundred and fifty persons, and every three months thereafter, for the ensuing five years, let the same number be quietly transported. At the end of this period, I will guaranty the most skeptical and prejudiced will be converted to the scheme, and our Government will at last feel the necessity of making it a national movement, by throwing in some way her protecting aegis over this rapidly-accumulating portion of her own depleted population, that will then promise to be so advantageous to her in every respect, commercially and politically, in their newly-acquired homes in our highway to the Pacific. . . .

With this hope, I remain your obedient servant,

JAMES THEODORE HOLLY,¹²⁶

Corresponding Secretary.

NEW HAVEN, January 30, 1858.

LETTER FROM J. M. WHITFIELD, EDITOR OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN REPOSITORY, (A COLORED MAN).

BUFFALO, NEW YORK, Feb. 1, 1858.

Dear Sir: Having read a portion of your late speech in Congress in favor of colonizing free blacks in Central or South America, I have taken the liberty of addressing you, feeling, as one of that race, and an advocate of the same policy, a vital interest in its success.

In August, 1854, a Convention was held at Cleveland of those colored men in favor of emigration to the West India islands, Central and South America. That Convention organized a Board of Emigration, which appointed a commissioner (Rev. J. T. Holly,

¹²⁶ *An Address delivered before the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, Massachusetts, 34 to 37.*

now rector of St. Luke's church, New Haven) to go to Hayti, and confer with the Haytien Government upon this subject.

That Government expressed itself ready to offer the most liberal inducements to emigrants, and to grant them every assistance in its power. It was also intended to send a commissioner to the British islands, New Granada, and the Central American States, but for lack of pecuniary means were unable to do so. And here, allow me to say, is one of the curses of our condition in this country: we are all so miserably poor that we are unable to help each other, and so scattered that it is impossible to have union of action even where there is perfect unanimity of sentiment; so that while there are hundreds—yes, thousands—of enterprising and industrious colored men, ready and anxious to embark immediately in any feasible movement of emigration to either of the places named, the means to commence such a movement properly are not attainable among them. . . .

The Colonization Society removes to Africa a few hundreds yearly, at an expense which, if judiciously applied according to the practical principles developed by Mr. Thayer in his organized system of Kansas emigration, would plant twice as many *thousands* in Central America, with everything requisite for their rapid progress; and the true interest of both the white and black races seems to require such a policy.

The fact is, the Saxon and negro are the only positive races on this continent, and the two are destined to absorb into themselves all the others; and, like two positive poles, they repel each other; and if the one is destined to occupy all the temperate regions of this hemisphere, it is equally certain that the other will predominate within the tropics. The Slavery propagandists unwittingly admit the same, when they declare negro labor to be indispensable in those regions. The question which suggests itself to the intelligent mind is, shall things be permitted and encouraged to reach their natural developments, which no combination of circumstances can prevent, (however much it may retard it,) by the peaceful influence of free labor? or shall the Slavery propagandists be allowed to interfere and check for a time the march of civilization, when the ultimate result must be to usher in, through war and anarchy, the very same state of things, which might have been much sooner and easier reached by peaceful and legitimate means, to the great benefit of the whole civilized world? You have an-

swered the question in a manner which indicates the far-seeing statesman as well as the noble-hearted philanthropist, and I sincerely hope that a majority of Congress may be induced to adopt the same just and liberal policy.

Respectfully, yours,

J. M. WHITFIELD.¹²⁷

LETTER FROM M. R. DELANY, (A BLACK MAN).

CHATHAM, C. W., Feb. 24, 1858.

Sir: I take the liberty of sending you, which I beg you will at your earliest leisure peruse, a paper written and reported by myself to a Convention of colored people at the place indicated, which was then accepted in the form of a report emanating from a committee.

I beg, sir, that you will give it your earliest attention, and favor me with your opinion thereon, knowing that as an enlightened statesman you will readily account for anything that may be too pointed or tart.

I have not as yet had the gratification of seeing your speech, but have been strongly requested by Messrs. Holly and Whitfield, of New Haven and Buffalo, to communicate with you on the subject. I was at the time I wrote the report a resident of Pittsburgh, Pa.

See report on the Political Destiny of the Colored Race on the American Continent, page 33.

I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

M. R. DELANY.¹²⁸

LETTER FROM ALFRED V. THOMPSON (A BLACK MAN).

CINCINNATI, OHIO, June 5, 1858.

Sir: I have read your speech two or three times on the colonizing of colored people in South America, and am much interested in it, and must say I am highly pleased with the plan. I have showed it to several, and they are much pleased with the document, and have worn out the speech, and hope you will send us three copies.

It is just the plan for us disfranchised Americans. I am nat-

¹²⁷ *An Address delivered before the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, Massachusetts, 37-38.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

urally of an enterprising disposition, and have never found any cause to so elate me since I espoused emigration in 1842, when we left for Liberia with the view that we as a people could not attain to any honorable position in this country, nationally speaking. I was much pleased with our condition in Africa, from the fact that I saw no superior on account of color. (The Government was a Republic something like this. I don't like the British Government, though I prefer it to our condition in this.) Our reason for leaving Liberia, after living there for eighteen months, was on account of bad health, and through the advice and persuasion of Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel, our attendant family physician, who said if we remained we should certainly die; therefore, we left for Jamaica. Out of the company of emigrants that left America for Africa, numbering two hundred and twenty-five, at the expiration of eighteen months there was not living more than eighty-five or one hundred. We lost two children in the undertaking; my wife and myself suffered immensely. After we left for Jamaica, we stopped for three months at Sierra Leone, Africa. We lived in Kingston for three years, and in other parts of the island. Lived in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, for two years, having remained out of the United States several years, and having travelled considerable at my own expense, I might say I have some experience in emigration. But, notwithstanding all this loss of time and deprivation, I have acquired a small property and a nice little business. But, with the proper assistance, I am willing to try it again, though my wife says she will never leave the land of her forefathers. There is a great demand on me from the colored population for information in regard to this project, and I hope you will send me the necessary documents to post myself. You mention in your speech several documents that would be of immense advantage in defending my position. I wish to know how and by what means the necessary aid and protection is to be given, and if in your opinion the Government will give any assistance. We have had three meetings on this subject, and thought of forming ourselves into a joint stock company, and issue \$100 bonds and aid ourselves as much as possible, and to beg from individuals, State Governments, sell bonds, &c., &c. Please inform me where I can obtain a constitution and by-laws of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society. I learned my trade with Mr. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, Ex-Governor, now member of the Senate, who can give any infor-

mation in regard to me. He will recollect the boy he used to call Alfred. You will do me a great favor to answer this soon.

I am, with much respect, your most obedient servant,
ALFRED VANACTER THOMPSON.¹²⁹

LETTER FROM J. D. HARRIS, (A BLACK MAN).

CLEVELAND, OHIO, Dec. 10, 1858.

Dear Sir: Having full faith in the principle of your able speech delivered in Congress Jan. 14, 1858, in which you urge the necessity of acquiring territory outside of the United States for the settlement of the freed colored people, I take the liberty of addressing you this letter.

I assure you that the thinking portion of the colored people appreciate your efforts in that direction; for while it is evident that the white and black races cannot exist in this country on terms of equality, it is equally certain the latter will not long be content with anything less.

Against the Government, its laws, and its customs, they are fast beginning to rebel; and even while I write, in consequence of a late fugitive slave case, this spirit is spreading to a marvellous extent.

The Government drives us to Canada, where we are indeed free, but where it is plain we cannot become a very great people. We want more room, where it is not quite so cold—we want to be identified with the ruling power of a nation; and unless this be obtained, Canada must be looked to as a strong military post for future use, in the very vitals of America.

But you will not forgive me for addressing you (if at all) in a tone so pointed, and I therefore cease, humbly beseeching you will bring the subject again before Congress; and when you have so far progressed as to need an agent among our people, whether it be to spread such information as will awaken them to their true interests, or to carry out some plan or expedition that may be devised, begging to be remembered as one who deeply feels the present embarrassing condition of his race, and who is willing to sacrifice his time, his comfort, and his life, in order to create for them a higher and more ennobling position.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

J. D. HARRIS.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ *An Address delivered before the Mercantile Library Association of Boston, Massachusetts, January 26, 1859, 33.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

XV. THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN BROWN

There must be some historic value in learning what the Negroes thought of John Brown, the martyr, who died that they might be free. Reading the comments of others, one would think that he was universally condemned, for we seldom hear a good word spoken in behalf of John Brown today. A professor of history at Harvard University confessed that he hates the very memory of John Brown to the extent that whenever he passes his statue in the home of a friend he feels like kicking it in the back. A Columbia University professor of history classifies John Brown as a highwayman and a cutthroat. These comments show how prejudiced and biased are the leading "historians" who are shaping the thought of the youth of tomorrow with respect to our dramatic makers of history. As these prominent writers are not yet sufficiently enlightened to appreciate John Brown's martyrdom any more than the contemporaries of his race in 1859, it may be well to learn from the following letters what the Negroes said of John Brown when he was passing through the ordeal.

FROM FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

CANADA WEST, Oct. 31, 1859.

MR. EDITOR: I notice that the telegraph makes Mr. Cook (one of the unfortunate insurgents at Harper's Ferry, and now in the hands of the thing calling itself the Government of Virginia, but which in fact is but an organized conspiracy by one party of the people against the other and weaker,) denounce me as a coward—and to assert that I promised to be present at the Harper's Ferry Insurrection. This is certainly a very grave impeachment, whether viewed in its bearings upon friends or upon foes, and you will not think it strange that I should take a somewhat serious notice of it. Having no acquaintance whatever with Mr. Cook, and never having exchanged a word with him about the Harper's Ferry insurrection, I am induced to doubt that he could have used the language concerning me which the wires attribute to him. The lightning, when speaking for itself, is among the most direct, reliable and truthful

of things; but when speaking for the terror-stricken slaveholders at Harper's Ferry, it has been made the swiftest of liars. Under their nimble and trembling fingers, it magnified seventeen men into seven hundred—and has since filled the columns of the *New York Herald* for days with interminable contradictions. But, assuming that it has told only the simple truth, as to the sayings of Mr. Cook in this instance, I have this answer to make to my accuser: Mr. Cook may be perfectly right in denouncing me as a coward. I have not one word to say in defence or vindication of my character for courage. I have always been more distinguished for running than fighting—and, tried by the Harper's Ferry insurrection test, I am most miserably deficient in courage—even more so than Cook, when he deserted his old brave captain, and fled to the mountains. To this extent Mr. Cook is entirely right, and will meet no contradiction from me or from anybody else. But wholly, grievously, and most unaccountably wrong is Mr. Cook, when he asserts that I promised to be present in person at the Harper's Ferry insurrection. Of whatever other imprudence and indiscretion I may have been guilty, I have never made a promise so rash and wild as this. The taking of Harper's Ferry was a measure never encouraged by my word or by my vote, at any time or place; my wisdom or my cowardice has not only kept me from Harper's Ferry, but has equally kept me from making any promise to go there. I desire to be quite emphatic here—for of all guilty men, he is the guiltiest who lures his fellow-men to an undertaking of this sort, under promise of assistance, which he afterwards fails to render. I therefore declare that there is no man living, and no man dead, who if living, could truthfully say that I ever promised him or anybody else, either conditionally or otherwise, that I would be present in person at the Harper's Ferry insurrection. My field of labor for the abolition of slavery has not extended to an attack upon the United States arsenal. In the teeth of the documents already published, and of those which hereafter may be published, I affirm no man connected with that insurrection, from its noble and heroic leader down, can connect my name with a single broken promise of any sort whatever. So much I deem it proper to say negatively.

The time for a full statement of what I know, and of *all* I know, of this desperate but sublimely disinterested effort to emancipate the slaves of Maryland and Virginia, from their cruel taskmasters, has not yet come, and may never come. In the denial which I

have now made, my motive is more a respectful consideration for the opinions of the slave's friends, than from my fear of being made an accomplice in the general *conspiracy* against Slavery. I am ever ready to write, speak, publish, organize, combine, and even to conspire against Slavery, when there is a reasonable hope for success. Men who live by robbing their fellow-men of their labor and liberty, have forfeited their right to know anything of the thoughts, feelings, or purposes of those whom they rob and plunder. They have by the single act of slaveholding voluntarily placed themselves beyond the laws of justice and honor, and have become only fitted for companionship with thieves and pirates—the common enemies of God and of all mankind. While it shall be considered right to protect oneself against thieves, burglars, robbers and assassins, and to slay a wild beast in the act of devouring his human prey, it can never be wrong for the imbruted and whip-scarred slaves, or their friends, to hunt, harass and even strike down the traffickers in human flesh. If anybody is disposed to think less of me on account of this sentiment; or because I may have had a knowledge of what was about to occur, and did not assume the base and detestable character of an informer, he is a man whose good or bad opinion of me may be equally repugnant and despicable. Entertaining this sentiment, I may be asked, why I did not join John Brown—the noble old hero whose one right hand has shaken the foundation of the American Union, and whose ghost will haunt the bed-chambers of all the born and unborn slaveholders of Virginia through all their generations, filling them with alarm and consternation! My answer to this has already been given, at least, impliedly given: 'The tools to those that can use them.' Let every man work for the abolition of Slavery in his own way. I would help all, and hinder none. My position in regard to the Harper's Ferry insurrection may be easily inferred from these remarks, and I shall be glad if those papers which have spoken of me in connection with it would find room for this brief statement.

I have no apology for keeping out of the way of those gentlemanly United States Marshals, who are said to have paid Rochester a somewhat protracted visit lately, with a view to an interview with me. A government recognizing the validity of the *Dred Scott* decision, at such a time as this, is not likely to have any very charitable feelings towards me; and if I am to meet its representatives, I prefer to do so, at least, upon equal terms. If I have com-

mitted any offence against Society, I have done so on the soil of the State of New York, and I should be perfectly willing *there* to be arraigned before an impartial jury; but I have quite insuperable objections to being caught by the hands of Mr. Buchanan, and 'bagged' by Gov. Wise. For this appears to be the arrangement. Buchanan does the fighting and hunting, and Wise 'bags' the game.

Some reflections may be made upon my leaving on a tour to England, just at this time. I have only to say, that my going to that country has been rather delayed than hastened by the insurrection at Harper's Ferry. All knew that I had intended to leave here in the first week of November.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.¹³¹

FROM COLORED CITIZENS OF CHICAGO TO JOHN BROWN.

CHICAGO, November 17.

Dear Friend: We certainly have great reasons, as well as intense desires, to assure you that we deeply sympathize with you and your beloved family. Not only do we sympathize in tears and prayers with *you* and *them*, but we *will* do so in a more tangible form, by contributing material aid to help those of your family of whom you have spoken to our mutual friend, Mrs. L. Maria Child. How could we be so ungrateful as to do less for one who has suffered, bled, and now ready to die for the cause? "Greater love can no man have, than to lay down his life for the poor, despised, and lowly."

Your friends,

H. O. W., and others.¹³²

FROM A WOMAN OF THE RACE HE DIED FOR.

KENDALVILLE, INDIANA, Nov. 25.

Dear Friend: Although the hands of Slavery throw a barrier between you and me, and it may not be my privilege to see you in your prison-house, Virginia has no bolts or bars through which I dread to send you my sympathy. In the name of the young girl sold from the warm clasp of a mother's arms to the clutches of a libertine or a profligate,—in the name of the slave mother, her heart rocked to and fro by the agony of her mournful separations,—

¹³¹ *Liberator*, Nov. 11, 1859.

¹³² James Redpath, *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, 391.

I thank you, that you have been brave enough to reach out your hands to the crushed and blighted of my race. You have rocked the bloody Bastile; and I hope that from your sad fate great good may arise to the cause of freedom. Already from your prison has come a shout of triumph against the giant sin of our country. The hemlock is distilled with victory when it is pressed to the lips of Socrates. The Cross becomes a glorious ensign when Calvary's page-browed sufferer yields up his life upon it. And, if Universal Freedom is ever to be the dominant power of the land, your bodies may be only her first stepping stones to dominion. I would prefer to see Slavery go down peaceably by men breaking off their sins by righteousness and their iniquities by showing justice and mercy to the poor; but we cannot tell what the future may bring forth. God writes national judgments upon national sins; and what may be slumbering in the storehouse of divine justice we do not know. We may earnestly hope that your fate will not be a vain lesson, that it will intensify our hatred of Slavery and love of freedom, and that your martyr grave will be a sacred altar upon which men will record their vows of undying hatred to that system which tramples on man and bids defiance to God. I have written to your dear wife, and sent her a few dollars, and I pledge myself to you that I will continue to assist her. May the ever-blessed God shield you and your fellow-prisoners in the darkest hour. Send my sympathy to your fellow-prisoners; tell them to be of good courage; to seek a refuge in the Eternal God, and lean upon His everlasting arms for a sure support. If any of them, like you, have a wife or children that I can help, let them send me word.

Yours in the cause of freedom,

F. E. W.¹³³

FROM THE COLORED WOMEN OF BROOKLYN.

BROOKLYN, Nov. 26.

In behalf of the colored women of Brooklyn. Dear Sir: We, a portion of the American people, would fain offer you our sincere and heartfelt sympathies in the cause you have so nobly espoused, and that you so firmly adhere to. We truly appreciate your most noble and humane effort, and recognize in you a Saviour commissioned to redeem us, the American people, from the great National Sin of Slavery; and though you have apparently failed in the

¹³³ James Redpath, *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, 418.

object of your desires, yet the influence that we believe it will eventually exert, will accomplish all your intentions. We consider you a model of true patriotism, and one whom our common country will yet regard as the greatest it has produced, because you have sacrificed all for its sake. We rejoice in the consciousness of your perfect resignation. We shall ever hold you dear in our remembrance, and shall infuse the same feelings in our posterity. We have always entertained a love for the country which gave us birth, despite the wrongs inflicted upon us, and have always been hopeful that the future would augur better things. We feel now that your glorious act for the cause of humanity has afforded us an unexpected realization of some of our seemingly vain hopes. And now, in view of the coming crisis which is to terminate all your labors of love for this life, our mortal natures fail to sustain us under the trying affliction; but when we view it from our religious standpoint, we feel that earth is not worthy of you, and that your spirit yearneth for a higher and holier existence. Therefore we willingly give you up, and submit to His will "who doeth all things well."

Yours with warm regard,

M. S. J. T.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ James Redpath, *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, 419.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Negro and His Songs. By HOWARD W. ODUM, Ph.D., Kenan Professor of Sociology and Director of the School of Public Welfare, University of North Carolina, and GUY B. JOHNSON, A. M., Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. (Chapel Hill, N. C., The University of North Carolina Press, 1925.)

This is one of the several volumes printed by certain scholars of North Carolina now making a study of the Negro. From this group have already come two other such books, namely, a biography of Booker T. Washington by Prof. W. C. Jackson and a book on poetry by American Negroes by Professors White and Jackson. Reading these volumes, we are glad to learn that, while the authors are far from a clear understanding of the philosophy underlying the life of the Negro, they are nevertheless exhibiting a change in the attitude toward the study of this neglected aspect of history. Whereas most of such former writers dealt largely with what the Negro is not, what he has not done, and what he cannot do, these authors are making an attempt to introduce the public to the world as the Negro sees it.

This particular volume dealing with Negro music is not the first in its field. We have already had the works of Krehbiel, Marsh, Work, Allen, Fox, Tally, Harris, Peterson, Fenner and Pike, forerunners in studying the Negro and his songs. The original treatment and the additional facts of this volume, however, will make for it a place in the libraries of schools and homes.

The aim in this work is to present the material "for what it is and not for cosmic generalization or ethnic interpretation." The authors do not pretend to present here songs typical of all the Negro race. It is stated that some of these are not even folk songs in the accurate sense of the word. The songs, as the authors intimate in the preface, do not show sufficient parallelism to guide the student of any particular period of the history of the Negro or of any special community of Negroes. The trouble lies in the fact that this is "a rather small large collection." We are still short of adequate materials to show either the evolution of the dialect or variation of

the songs. The collection at best can be considered only as giving additional evidence of the incalculable value to be derived from scientific study of Negro thought as reflected in his music.

The lofty intent and purpose of the authors may be seen in the following: "If, as W. T. Dawson says, the secret of true poetry is to see and to feel, then there is poetry in the Negro songs. If images and allegories are better than material things, then the Negro singer is good. But if one is to find poetry, like some Richard Jeffries, dwelling on the mystery and beauty of the flesh, on the sensitive elegance of nature and the soul, or like Wordsworth's man-to-man poet, there will be many who dissent from such a judgment of crude creative effort. For there abounds much coarseness. Well it is that this collection has no duty to evaluate overweening physical expression alongside spiritual aspiration, to judge whether buttercups are grazing grass or the substance of sun-split immortal gold! Other contrasts there are: stately measures and broken rhythm, forced triseme and ragged trochee, illogical asyndeton and mixed meters, and such other untamed technique as will undoubtedly do justice to the singer of the songs."

A better idea of the book may be obtained from a resume of what it covers. The work begins with a sort of stage-like presentation of the Negro singer. It then treats of the religious strivings of the Negro as expressed in his music. Two chapters of the book are devoted to examples of these religious songs. Then come the social songs of the Negro as understood by the author, followed by two chapters of examples of such songs. The work songs of the Negro receive some consideration, but the treatment of this aspect of Negro music is not so extensive as the others. Probably the most valuable part of the book is the closing chapter devoted to imagery, style and poetic effort. Into this part of the book, however, there crept some other misunderstanding of the man who thinks black.

Southern Pioneers. By HOWARD W. ODUM, Ph. D., Kenan Professor of Sociology and Director of the School of Public Welfare, University of North Carolina. (Chapel Hill, N. C., The University of North Carolina Press, 1925. Pp. 221. Price \$2.00.)

This is another work proceeding from the same group of scholars of North Carolina. It is a collection of biographical sketches of distinguished men of the South, written by Southern authors of

note. The sketches are restricted to Woodrow Wilson by Gerald W. Johnson, Charles Brantley Aycock by Edwin A. Alderman, Seaman A. Knapp by Jackson Davis, Augustus Baldwin Longstreet by John Donald Wade, Joel Chandler Harris by Julia Collier Harris, Booker T. Washington by Monroe N. Work, Madelin McDowell Breckinridge by S. P. Breckinridge, and Edward Kidder Graham by Robert D. W. Connor. All of these sketches are not appearing in this volume for the first time. Some of them have seen light in the *Journal of Social Forces*. Published in this handy form, however, the volume has some value and will doubtless find considerable circulation.

The selection of subjects for these sketches seems to have been determined by that characterization of a leader as one who "worked while we his fellows lived." Whether all of these persons will measure up to that standard or not will be a question for the public itself to answer. It is clear, however, that most of these gentlemen thus sketched were great men who rendered their fellows yeoman service in the midst of great crises. Others herein mentioned are not so well known; but, feeling that "there are strong personalities of charm and force whose ideals have not yet found full expression" the author has herein presented their case to the critical world.

In the introductory chapter the thought of the editor is well set forth. There is an inquiry as to why the South is so barren of distinguished leaders after having produced such great men as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Robert E. Lee, Andrew Jackson and Walter Hines Page. The author does not believe that the South is alone in its present dearth of distinctive leadership, if it be compared with the other regional divisions of the country. He thinks, too, that the changing basis upon which leadership is now developed has had something to do with the matter. In short, we are passing through a transition. In the future leaders will be the antithesis of the former chieftains of the political, military and religious type. "These will be leaders who represent movements, and their leadership will draw its strength from the cause represented rather than from the overpowering individual."

Passing from the dearth of leadership in the South, the author considers also the lack of accredited universities. This he attributes somewhat to the lack of resources and to the poverty of mate-

rial things. Finally he expresses the regret that the South has lacked an atmosphere conducive to achievement and distinction. He believes that there has been no suitable social, cultural, and spiritual atmosphere in which leadership could develop or distinction survive. Then there have been handicaps in the conflict between races, between classes, between denominations, between visible and invisible government, and between dominant demagogues and their following.

Men of Maryland. By REV. GEORGE F. BRAGG, Jr., D.D., Rector St. James, First African Church, Baltimore, Maryland; Editor of *The Church Advocate*; Author of *The History of the Afro-American Group of the Episcopal Church* and of other Publications. (Church Advocate Press, Baltimore, Md., 1925. Pp. 160. Price \$1.25.)

This is the second edition of the author's work bearing this same title. This has been revised and enlarged to include the sketches of notable characters who have recently appeared. It is, therefore, brought down to date so as to make mention of practically all of the Negroes who have figured in the history of Maryland even since the World War. In this book is found also honorable mention of such prominent white persons as Charles Bonaparte, Cardinal Gibbons, and Henry Winter Davis, who showed their friendship for the Negro.

The aim of this work is to disseminate information concerning the Negro race among the youth of the schools of Maryland and wherever there may be an interest in these sketches of men, most of whom toiled faithfully and successfully in other parts. In fact, some of these characters like Frederick Douglass and Benjamin Banneker are persons of national and international standing rather than of local repute like most of those included in this treatment. The work is not published in the form of a textbook, but the sketches are readable and are so arranged as to supply valuable material for the study of the Negro.

The book first accounts for the presence of the Negro in Maryland by a rather hasty sketch covering only two pages. Slavery itself is then briefly treated under the caption of "Black Slaves in Maryland." In the same way the free blacks in Maryland are presented. The author then writes of educational awakening before the Civil War, mentioning such participants in this renaiss-

sance as Bishop Alexander Payne, Rev. Moses Clayton, Dr. Harvey Johnson and Josiah Henson.

The rest of the book is devoted altogether to biographical sketches. Among those thus honored are Sarah Allen, wife of Bishop Richard Allen, Benjamin Banneker, Daniel Coker, Josiah Henson, William Levington, Ira F. Aldridge, Leonard A. Black, J. J. G. Bias, L. J. Coppin, T. J. Dorsey, H. H. Garnet, Frances E. W. Harper, J. T. Holly, J. W. C. Pennington, Harriet Tubman, Alexander W. Wayman, Samuel R. Ward, and Frederick Douglass. The men of the recent period are persons well known to the public today.

Negro Orators and Their Orations. By CARTER G. WOODSON.
(The Associated Publishers, Washington, D. C. Pp. 730.
Price \$5.25.)

This work was to be edited by another who because of many duties had to abandon the task. It was then taken up by the author, in whose hands the plan was decidedly changed. Whereas the original plan required the editing of a smaller number of discourses showing literary attainment the present volume presents practically all of the important speeches of Negroes in print. This book, then, may serve not only as a valuable aid to students of English as the Negro developed the use of it, but is at the same time a source book. It is a companion volume of another work of the same author to be entitled *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters Written During the Crisis, 1800-1860*.

The work begins with a valuable introduction devoted to a discussion of oratory largely from the point of view of the world's great thinkers. Exactly what they have said of the orator from age to age is herein presented in the very comments made by the distinguished thinkers themselves. An effort is made also to show the development of the attitude toward the orator. Whereas he was a magnetic figure in the ancient world he became less so during the rise of modern nations, and has had to play an unimportant rôle in the life of the people of today.

The editor finds that the Negro spokesmen were in no sense different from the orators of other groups, although they were not usually so well educated. The hard and fast lines of definition indulged in by some writers on oratory may eliminate the real orator. The orator, the editor believes, does not need to conform to

all of the requirements of rhetoric and logic. Many of the best speeches extant fail to impress the reader when he examines the woof and texture. We wonder, therefore, how they could have impressed the people; but if we remember that the main factor, the effective manner in which these eloquent appeals were delivered, cannot be determined by a study of the form, we shall better appreciate the Negro orator who had "an eye that tears can on a sudden fill, and lips that smile before the tears are gone."

Their tones were beautiful, and their gestures natural. They could suit the word to the action and the action to the word. Using skillfully the eye and the voice, they reached the souls of man. Unable to hear these orations, however, the public is thus deprived of the ideal method of studying them. They must, therefore, be judged not so much by their style as by the effect which they produced on their hearers. As this varies according to the taste, experience and environment of the hearers, an absolute standard in regard to their oratory, then, is impossible.

This work gives an unbroken development of the thought of the Negro as presented by these spokesmen of the race. Each leader is introduced with an informing sketch of his life. Then follows the oration in which the spokesman has given expression to the feelings of his particular group and suggested a program for the realization of its dreams. How these utterances connected with other thought and what they accomplished for the good of the cause may be studied further by using the footnotes appearing from page to page.

The sketches in themselves constitute a brief history of the Negro in America and the speeches give the inside view of the forces at work among the blacks and their reaction to such agencies. In each case there is a striking portraiture of a great subject, and, on the whole, an absorbing story of palpitating life, a panoramic picture of all the leading activities of the Negro.

NOTES

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America through its Information Service makes the following comment on Negro Life in West Virginia:

A report of the Bureau of Negro Welfare and Statistics of West Virginia for 1923-24 recently published gives a good picture of Virginia life and race relations in that state. The Negro population increased rapidly, nearly doubling in ten years, the total in 1920 being 85,573 and estimated over 90,000 in 1924. More than one-third, or 38.6 per cent, of this population was born in the state, about one-third was born in Virginia, 6,512 in North Carolina, the remainder coming from many states of the union, mainly the South. The male population exceeds the female population 108.9 to 100, but the marital conditions show that 67.1 per cent of the female persons 15 years of age and over were married in comparison with 54.5 per cent of the males.

Health conditions, while improving, are serious. There were 1,387 deaths in 1922, 12.1 per cent of them being from tuberculosis, and 1,621 deaths in 1923, 13.88 per cent from tuberculosis, as compared with 7.2 per cent of the total number of deaths of white people in the latter year from the same disease. The total births make a favorable showing of 1,912 in 1922 and 2,139 in 1923.

The relations of the Negro to industry are reported significant: "These have demonstrated their ability to live and work side by side in peace and harmony with their white fellow workers." Their employers willingly testify to "the Negro employe's loyalty, good nature, peaceful qualities and to his efforts to give a full day's work for a day's pay." The percentage of Negro male persons employed appears greater in West Virginia than most other states, there being 83.8 of those ten years of age and over gainfully employed. The percentage of Negro males employed in the United States in 1920 was 81.1.

In West Virginia the greatest number are employed in the coal industry as miners and laborers in mine operations. Of about 32,279 males ten years of age and over gainfully employed in 1920, about 17,923 were so employed. Negro miners and mine workers

are steadily increasing in number and proportion among the total workers in this industry in this state. The report states that more than 60 per cent of the male Negroes sixteen years of age and over who are gainfully employed are engaged at the coal mines of the state. It is estimated that in 1923 more than 23,000 were so employed. In striking contrast, a lower percentage of Negro female persons was employed than in any other state in the United States. This is accounted for by the fact that about three-fourths of Negro males sixteen years of age and over are in coal mining with the higher relative wages it offers. Negro physicians, dentists and lawyers are increasing in numbers and are increasingly employed by their own group. The Bureau of Negro Welfare and Statistics has made efforts to induce Negroes coming into the state to buy farms in order to have means of employment during successive depressions of the coal industry.

Home ownership by Negroes in West Virginia is considerably less than in other states, 17.7 per cent in 1920 owning the homes they occupied. This condition is explained by the fact that the Negro population nearly doubled itself between 1900 and 1920 and that more than 70 per cent of the colored workers were employed by coal corporations and live in houses owned by these corporations where neither houses nor land can be bought.

The church connections of Negroes in the state seem low, reported membership being less than one-fourth of the total Negro population, in comparison with about 50 per cent for the United States. The Baptist enrollment is about two-thirds of the total number reported; the Methodist Episcopal and the African Methodist Episcopal have all but a small fraction of the remaining enrollment. Negro education is apparently above the standard of adjoining states that have separate schools as indicated by the grade of teachers and salaries. There is great need of improvement in building and equipment. The total enrollment in the elementary and high schools shows an increase of more than five thousand since 1922. A large number of adults were enrolled in night schools as the result of an effort to reduce illiteracy.

The report speaks in enthusiastic terms of race relations in the state: "They were never better than they are now and have been during the past two years." The Bureau has sent representatives to communities wherever friction threatened, to take steps neces-

sary to prevent trouble and to remove the danger of ill feeling. Understandings through conference between representatives of both races, enforcement of the law without regard to race or color, fair division of school funds, the impartial use of public parks and bathing beaches, establishment of playgrounds for all children, equality of housing conditions about industrial plants, and welfare activities conducted among Negroes by members of that race are named as measures contributing to interracial cooperation. The report mentions especially the services of the press, both white and colored, in furthering these amicable relations.

The remaining "Letters to Antislavery Workers and Agencies" appear in this issue as "Documents." In the next issue there will be printed a series of personal, private, and business letters covering the same period. These, together with those which have been published in the April and July issues, will be reprinted and bound in book form as *The Mind of the Negro as reflected in letters written during the Crisis, 1800-1860*.

INDEX TO VOLUME X

A

A "Carpetbagger" in South Carolina, 10-79
 "A Man of Color," letter of, 404-406; 409-411
 Aberdeen Bill, 627, 629-630, 636
 Abbott, Robert S., remarks of, 587; contribution of, 589
 Adams, Enos, 365
 Adams, Jane E., *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade* by, 607-637
 Africa, trade on the coast of, 322, 610, 613
 African Chiefs and the slave trade, 613
 African Mission supported by Negroes, 298
Aftermath of the Civil War, the, review of, 568-569
 Alexander, Rev. Mr., 353
 Allen, Ellen, 545
 Allen, Joseph, 506
 Allen, Macon B., letter of, 464-465
 Allen, Wm., 543
 Allen, William G., letters of, 466-474
 Allen, 507
 Allen, Rev. Mr., of Pembroke, 505
 American Colonization Society, letters of Negroes to, 155-311
 American Missionary Association, 2, 3, 136, 138, 139, 144, 145, 147, 149
 American Reformed Board of Disfranchised Commissioners, 435, 436
Amherstburg, Terminus of the Underground Railroad, 1-9
And Who is My Neighbor? a review of, 316-317
 Anderson, Francis S., letter from, 450-451
 Anderson, Jacob, letters from, 207-208
 Angell, Dr. James R., interest of, 602

Angola, vessels from, 621
Ann, the schooner, the capture of, 1
 Anthony, Susan B., efforts of, 558, 561, 562, 563, 564
 Anti-Corn Law movement, 681
 Antigua, 321
 Antislavery workers, letters to, 343-367, 648-774
Aphra Behn's "Oroonoko," 334-342
 Archer, S. H., remarks by, 584
 Argentina and the slave trade, 612
 Armstrong, S. C., first efforts of, at Hampton, 142, 146
 Artist, N. D., letters from, 250-259
 Ashburton treaty, criticism of, 438
 Ashe, Simon, 310
 Assassination of Negroes in South Carolina, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59
 Atkins, Dr. S. G., interest of, in the work of the Association, 110, 580
 Attucks, Crispus, celebration, 532-533
 Auld, Thomas, letters to, 386-397; mention of, 683, 692
 Austria, 80; slave trade connections, 610, 612
 Averill, Captain, information from, 7
 Avery, J. M., the welcome of, 579, 580

B

Bahia, slavers at, 620; reports of English consul at, 631, 632
 Baker, David, 558
 Baker, E. W., letter from, 250
 Baltimore, George H., letter from, 201-203
 Barlon, John, letter from, 304
 Barrington, Richard W., 269
Basis of Racial Adjustment, The, review of, 572-573
 Bayard, Taylor, cousin of, married to David T. Corbin in South Carolina, 78
 Beans, mention of, 509

- Bebee, Benjamin S., letters from, 280-285
 Beecher, Henry Ward, 516
 Bell, John, of Tennessee, a friend of J. B. Jordan, 271
 Bell, William, mention, 365
 Bell, Dr. John, 229
 Bell, Wm., 373
 Beman, J. C., of Connecticut, 521
 Benguela, vessels from, 621
 Bening, Rev. Thomas, 240
 Bennett, Edward, 505
 Berry, Edward, 219
 Black Code of South Carolina, 24-26, 75
 Black, Lavinia, pledge of, 589
 Blair, F. P., emigration proposal of, 758-768
 Blake, Edward, inquiry of, 331
 Bland, James M., letter from, 227
 Bolivar, Carl, 637
 Bolivia and the slave trade, 612
 Bolling, Peter B., letter from, 204-205; mention of, 310
 Boozer, Lemuel, a figure in South Carolina politics, 32
 Bordeaux, ships from, 326
 Bowen, Anthony, 307
 Bowen, C. C., a figure in South Carolina politics, 31
 Bowen, Nathaniel, letter from, 307-308
 Bowman's, 509
 Bowser, David Bustill, 646
 Boyd, William K., discourse of, 578; interest of, 604
 Bradburn, George, 485
 Bradford, Captain, family of, 506
 Bradley, Henry, 538, 539
 Bragg, George F., *Men of Maryland* by, reviewed, 778-779; remarks of, 588
 Bratton, Dr. J. Rufus, the escape of, 61; the kidnapping of, 330-333
 Brazil, the abolition of the slave trade in, 607-637
 Bridgeman, 501
 Briggs, Rev. Mr., 507
 British Guiana, visit of Aphra Behn to, 334
 Britton, Wiley, *The Aftermath of the Civil War* by, reviewed, 568-569
 Brock, British commander in 1812, 1
 Brodie, the connections of, 530
 Brooks, C. H., 306, 634, 638
 Brough, Wm. F., 529, 530
 Brown, Charles, 567
 Brown, John, letters to, 768; Frederick Douglass's letter about, 768-772
 Brown, Josephine, 547, 548
 Brown, Roscoe C., address by, 579
 Brown, Dr. Thomas I., paper read by, 108-109; remarks of, 558
 Brown, Samuel G., 65
 Brown, William Wells, a fugitive and a worker, 3, 470; letters of, 397-400, 533-567; history of, mentioned, 599
 Brown, Rev. Mr., agent of the American Colonization Society, 231
 Buchanan, James, a supporter of, 566
 Buckner, a Negro in Canada, 8
 Buffum, 660, 669, 672, 676
 Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 141, 142
 Burlingame, Anson, 523
 Burnham, W. H., letter from, 243
 Burns, Anthony, letter from, 452-453
 Burr, 535
 Bustill, Cyrus, 638-640
 Bustill, David, 640-644, 645-647
 Bustill, Joseph Cassey, 641, 642, 643, 646
Bustill Family, The, 638-647
 Butler, B. F., escape of slaves to lines of, 133; interest of, in the freedmen, 140; words of, 143
 Butler, John, 649
 Butler, M. C., efforts of, 37
 Butler, Peter, 373
 Butler, Peter, letters from, 246-247
 Butler School, the establishment of, 137, 146
 Buxton, Sir Edward North, 678

C

- "C. D. T.," letter of, 345-347
 Cabot, Miss, 469, 545
 Cain, R. H., a figure in South Carolina politics, 31
 Camp, Abraham, a letter from, 155-156
 Campbell, Dr., resolutions moved by, 680, 683
 Campbell, J. P., 530
 Canada, underground railroad in, 1-9; migration of Negroes, 1-9; the black code in, 321-329; Dr. Rufus Bratton in, 330-333; trouble of Negroes in, 363-375; fugitives to, 438-439; emigration delegates from, 759, 760
 Canadian law, lack of distinction in, 5
 Canfield, Philemon, 514
 Cape Blanc, trade to, 322
 Cape of Good Hope, trade to, 322
 Cardozo, F. L., a figure in South Carolina politics, 31, 32
 Carnegie Corporation, support of, 602
 Carey, Wm. R., a student at Oberlin, 286
 Carpenter, R. B., a candidate in South Carolina, 37
 Carroll, Mollie Ray, *Labor and Politics* of, reviewed, 312-313
 Carter, Bishop R. A., address by, 588; contribution of, 589
 Castlereagh, letter of, 609; efforts of, 610, 614
 Central America, emigration of Negroes to, proposed, 758-768
 Chace, 501
 Chamberlain, D. H., a figure in South Carolina, 31, 32; Governor, 72; defeat of, 72, 74, 76, 77
 Chandler, D., 310
 Chandler, J. B., 511
 Chandler, of Concord, 510
 Change of English ministry, the effect of, 82, 83
 Chapman, Maria W., letter to, 378-379; mention of, 745
 Charles II, attention of, attracted to Aphra Behn's story, 334-335
 Charleston, S. C., opinions of a free man of color in, 157-161
 Chase, Salmon P., 554
 Chatham, a colony in Canada, 2
 Chesnut, James, activities of, in South Carolina, 30
 Chili and the slave trade, 612
 Chinn, Judge, a Louisiana slaveholder, 539, 540, 541
Christianity and the Race Problem, a review of, 101-102
 Clapp, of Lynn, 510, 562, 595
 Clark, Peter H., letter of, 285-286
 Clark, Dr. W. J., welcome address of, 107
 Clarkson, Thomas, the leadership of, 608
Clash of Color, The, review of, 100-101
 Clay, Cassius M., press of, 659
 Clayton, John M., 540
 Cleveland, a point on the underground railroad, 4
 Coates, Benjamin, 296
 Coates, Edwin, 633
 Cobbs, Rev. N. H., a colonizationist, 219
 Cobden, Richard, 541, 543
 Coddington, Mr., lecture of, 478
 Coddington, William, settlement by, 356
Code Noir, Le, 321-329
 Cole, T., letter of, 479
 Cole, Thomas, letter of, 355-358
 Coller, A. C., 264, 265, 267
 Collier, H. W., a colonizationist, 219
 Collins, J. A., 229
 Collins, Mr., 495, 509
 Colman, Mr., 563, 564
 "Colored American, A," letter from, 427-428
 "Colored Baltimorean, A," letter from, 422-425
 "Colored Citizen of Brooklyn, A," letter from, 422
 Colored Citizens of Chicago, letter from, 772

- "Colored Man in Maryland, A," extract from, 419-420
 "Colored Philadelphian, A," letter of, 408-409, 411-414
 Colored Women of Brooklyn, letter of, to John Brown, 773-774
 Colonization as presented in letters of Negroes, 155-311; criticism of, 408; Negro advocates of, 758-768
 Columbia, the trip of Louis F. Post to, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17
 Colver, Rev. N., 496
 Compagnie de Guinée, 322
 Compagnie des Indes, trade of, 327
 Compagnie du Sénégal, 322
 Compagnie Royale d'Afrique, La, 328-329
 Condition of Negroes in Tuscaloosa, 216-227; in the West, 250-259
 Confiscation Acts, 135
 Congress of Vienna, 609, 614
 Congressional reconstruction, 26-79
 Conrad, Mr., a friend of J. B. Jordan, 271
 Contrabands, 132, 134, 136
 Cook, Mr., 769
 Cook, John F., letter from, 206
 Cook, George W., interest of, 601
 Cooper, G. M., 534
 Coppinger, Mr., of Philadelphia, 303
 Corbin, David T., a reconstructionist in South Carolina, 13, 15, 32, 37, 38, 41-42, 66, 74, 76, 77
 Cornwall, J. B., clerk, 331, 332
 Corruption in South Carolina, 16, 17, 18, 135
 Cox, Dr., letter to, 696-704, 704-706
 Cox, S. H., 297
 Craft, Charles Estlin Phillips, 448
 Craft, Ellen, letter from, 446-447, 449
 Craft, William, letter from, 446-447, 447-448; mention of, 449, 523, 524, 545
 Crandall, Prudence, 353, 354
 Crandall, Prudence, school of, 633
 Crane, A. J., testimonial from, 250
 Cravath, E. M., a trustee of Hampton, 147
 Crawford, James E., 522
 Cresson, E., 236
 Crittenden, Mr., a friend of J. B. Jordan, 271
 Cromwell, J. W., remarks of, 586
 Crummell, Alexander, 532
 Cutter, J. B., letter from, 377
- D
- Daggett, Judge, decision of, denounced, 353-354
 Dales, R. B., 229
 Dangerfield, Abraham, 365
Darker Phases of the South, review of, 90-100
 Dartmouth College, Negroes at, 525
 Davidson, R. B., 229
 Davis, Dr. G. E., remarks by, 584
 Davis, Jackson, remarks by, 107
 Davis, Mr., of Providence, 654
 Davis, Rev. Mr., 530
 Day, William H., 552, 553
 DeLamotta, C. L., letters from, 263-268
 DeLamotta, Martha A., 266
 Delany, Martin R., letters of, 476-477, 766
 Denmark and the slave trade, 612
 Dennison, Rev. H. M., 554
 Deputie, Charles, letters from, 302-304
 De Tocqueville, Madame, 542
 Dewey, Orville, letters to, 454-464
 Dick, John, 512
 Dickinson, A. H., letters of, 276
 Dillard, Dr. James H., addresses by, 107, 584; interest of, 601, 604
 Dissension among Negroes in Canada, 363-375
 Dodge, Cleveland H., support of, 601
 Dom Pedro II, 622
 Douglass, Frederick, letters of, to his master, 386-397; letters to others, 648-754, 769-772; mention of, 380, 381, 383, 502, 503, 525, 526, 527, 528, 549, 550; meeting of, broken up, 732-734
 Douglass, Robert, 635, 638
 Douglass, Sara Mappes, 635, 636

Douglass, Wm., 637
 Dow, Lorenzo, 565, 566
 Dowd, Jerome, interest of, in Negro History, 604
 Downing, George T., letter of, 532-533
 Drayton, Samuel, 302
 Dred Scott decision, 531
 Drew, Benjamin, mention of the visit of, 5, 7, 8
 Drew, James, letters from, 166-167
 Dunlap, William, a printer, 637
 Dunstan, E., letter from, 205
 Durbin, J. B., 229
 Durham, Plato T., interest of, 604
 Durham, Spring Conference at, 576-581, 592-593

E

Eastern Virginia, affairs in, 135
 Ecuador and the slave trade, 612
 Edward Waters College, pledge of, 589
 Elgin settlement, opposition to, 6
 Elliot, C. W., author, 761
 Elliott, Robert Brown, a figure in South Carolina politics, 31
 Elliott, Judge William, decision of, 332
 Emerson, Ralph W., 516
 Emigration, proposal of, 758-768
 English blockade, effect of, 80, 81, 82
 Epps, Charles E., remarks by, 579
 Estlin, John B., 469, 547
 "Euthymus," letter of, 416-418
 Evans, Alfred, letter from, 206-207

F

Farler, Terry McHenry, letter of, 310-311
 Fenemur, Mariah, letter from, 262-263
 Fenner, Thomas P., a singer, 148
 Ferguson, Rev. Mr., a colonizationist, 219
 Field Work, 592
 Fifteenth Amendment Celebration, 634

Financial report for the first ten years, 603
 Financial statement of the Secretary-Treasurer, 590
 Findlay, W. W., letter of, 275
 First Consul, instructions of, 80-98
 Fisher, Mr. M., address of, on the Negro Church in the World War, 109; remarks of, 586, 588
 Follen, Mrs., 469, 545
 Folsom, of Dover, 510, 511
 Ford, L., 506
 Fort Malden, Amherstburg, 1-9
 Forten, James, letter of, 359
 Fortress Monroe, the teaching of slaves at, 131, 137; the flight of slaves to, 134
 Foss, Mr., 563, 564
 Foster, Joel, 16
 Foster, Abby Kelley, 745
 Foster, S. S., 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 556
 France and the slave trade, 610
 Free Church, 686, 692
 Free Democracy, 519
 Free Soil Party, 519
 Freedmen's Bureau, 141, 142, 143, 144, 147
 "Freedom and Slavery for African-Americans," 456-464
 Frelinghuysen, 296
 French, J. R., 511
 French of Concord, efforts of, at Anti-slavery meeting, 510
 French West India Islands, the black code in, 321-329
 Fugitive Slave Act, the operation of, 7-8, 530, 531

G

Garner, Margaret, 532
 Garnet, H. H., letter from, 378-379; mention of, 530, 531, 532
 Garrison, William L., 520, 525, 526, 535; letters to paper of, 343-567, 648-754
 Gay, S. H., 501
 Gebbard, Dr. S. P., 229
 George, Henry, preceded by Negro legislators, 28

George, Lloyd George, forestallment of, 28
 Germans in Liberia, 114
 Gibson, T. K., remarks of, 586
 Giddings, Joshua R., 520
 Gilbert, E. W., 229
 Gilmore, Gen. Q. A., order of, 21
 Givens, F. R., remarks of, 584
 Glascock, Alex., a colonizationist, 219
 Goldenweiser, A. A., remarks of, 600
 Gomez, W., address by, 585
 Gordon, General, order of, 140
 Goree, trade in, 322
 Grant, Elihu, 508
 Grant, President U. S., suspension of the writ of habeas corpus by, 41, 43; order 46 of, 135
 Granville-Fox ministry, attitude of, 608
 Gray, James B., pack of, turned loose, 651
 Gray-Hilyer, Amanda V., remarks of, 586
 Gear, Martin, 219
 Great Britain, treaties with, 609, 610; slave trade connections, 607-637
 Green, John R., work of, compared, 500
 Greenwood, Grace, 727
 Gregg, Dr. James E., paper read by, 110
 Greimage, Alexander, 302
 Grossley, R. S., remarks by, 584
 Guadeloupe, mention of, 80; note on, 321
 Guiana, 80
 Guinea Coast, trade to, 326
 Gurley, mention of, 495

H

Haiti, and Santo Domingo, 80-98;
 Slave trade to, 612; designs on, 690; emigration to, proposal of, 762, 763-765
 Hale, John P., 520
 Hale, Captain, a victim, 44
 Hall, George C., interest of, in Negro history, 599

Hamilton, W. T., 310
 Hamlin, Myron, 538
 Hammett, Rev. Mr., address of, 423, 424
 Hammonds's Governor, letters of, read, 665
 Hampton, Wade, the mansion of, 14; election of, as Governor, 72, 76
Hampton Institute, The Origin of, 131-149
 Hancock, G. B., remarks by, 584
 "Hannibal," letter of, 411
 Hanse Towns and the slave trade, 612
 Harding, W. G., endorsement of Liberman loan proposal, 117
 Harlow, 507
 Harpers Ferry, John Brown at, 769-774
 Harris, Abraham L., paper prepared by, 584
 Harris, Alexander, letter from, 262
 Harris, J. D., letter from, 768
 Harris, Philip, 365, 373
 Harris, Sion, letter from, 237
 Harrisburg, meeting at, disturbed, 732-734
 Hart, W. O., remarks of, 584
 Hartgrove, W. B., interest of, in the Negro, 599
 Hathaway, J. C., 534, 535, 537, 539
Hatin Tai, letters from, 250-259
 Haughton, James, 659, 660, 661
 Haughtons, 540
 Hawks, Rev. William N., 230
 Hawkins, J. R., discourse of, 576; remarks of, 583, 584; interest of, 601
 Hawley, Rev. Mr., 538
 Hayden, Lewis, 520-521
 Haynes, George E., remarks of, 586; interest of, 589, 601
 Hazelhurst, J., 229
 Hazzard, Mr., of Connecticut, conduct of, 658, 665-666
 Headley, J. T., 516
 Heath, H. A., 558, 559
 Hedgman, a Negro sold from Kentucky, 4
 Henderson, Hon. Joseph, 303
 Henderson, Mr., 564

Hensey, Andrew F., *My Children of the Forest* by, reviewed, 313-314
 Hewitt, Rodolphus W., 536
 Hewitt, Rev. Mr., of Abington, 505
 Hicks, Mary, 638
 Higham, C. S. S., *The Negro Policy of Christopher Codrington* by, 150-153
 Higgins, Mary, letter from, 248-249
 Hoffman, F. L., estimate by, 600
 Holbert, Lewis C., letters from, 200-201
 Holly, J. Theodore, letters of, 278-280, 759-764
 Holly, Myron, 517
 Holly, Sallie, 517
 Hopper, Isaac T., reliability of, 442
 Hopper, John, confidence expressed in, 442
 Hover, John, 302
 Hover, Rachel, 301
 Howard, O. O., commissioner of Freedmen's Bureau, 141-142; a trustee of Hampton, 147
 Howden, Lord, report of, 620, 623, 632
 Howe, Dr. Samuel G., data collected by, 7, 8, 9
 Howland, Mr., 566-567
 Howard, President, 117
 Hughes, Benjamin F., 354
 Hughes Branch, letter from, 205
 Hughes, Charles E., interest of, in Liberian loan, 117
 Hugo, Victor, mention of, 541
 Hull, Morton D., support of, 601
 Hunker press, 516
 Hunt, Ida Gibbs, pledge of, 589
 Hunton, Frederick, 509, 510
 Huntsville, Alabama, Negroes in, favorable to colonization, 223, 224, 225
 Hurley, Timothy, a figure in South Carolina, 31
 Hurst, Bishop John, remarks of, 589
 Hutchinson, Charles, a deputy, 331
 Hutchinson, of Lynn, 510
 Hutchinson family, 663

I

Iberville, 327, note
 Impey, Catherine, a worker for human rights, 104-106
 Income of the Association, 590-591
 Ingersoll, a colony in Canada, 2
 "Inquiry, The," *And Who is My Neighbor?* by, reviewed, 316-318
 Ireland, Frederick Douglass in, 654-658
 Irvin, Hon. James, 303
 Irvings, 509
 Isle of France, 80

J

Jackson, A. L., interest of, in the Negro, 599
 Jackson, Andrew, mention of, 565, 566
 Jackson, Fannie, 635
 Jackson, Francis, letter to, 482
 Jackson, J. A., remarks of, 586, 587-588
 Jackson, L. P., an address of, 109-110; an address by, 131-149; remarks of, 586
 Jackson, Sherry J., a letter from, 214-216
 Jamaica, a visit to, 767
 Jameson, Dr. J. Franklin, support of, 602
 Janeway, T. L., 229
 Janneys, 509
 Jarnagin, D. M., address of, 577
 Jay, John, reliability of, 442
 Jefferson, Thomas, sentiment of, 410
 Jennings, Samuel K., a colonizationist, 219
 Jerry escape, the, 523
 Johnson, Alice E., a teacher of Negroes, 78
 Johnson, Andrew, the reconstruction policy of, 19-22, 26; a Negro apprentice under, as tailor, 767
 Johnson, Charles S., paper of, on the "Scientific Study of the Negro," 109

- Johnson, Edwin D., *Aphra Behn's "Oroonoko"* by, 334-342
- Johnson, Robert, 521
- Johnson, Guy B., joint author, *The Negro and His Song* by, review of, 775-776
- Jones, John, letter from, 162
- Jones, J., 229
- Jones, John W., letters from, 308-309
- Jones, P. T., 229
- Jones, S. Wesley, letters from, 216-227
- Jones, Thomas, 649
- Jones, Watkins, mention of, 242; letter from, 248
- Jordan, J. B., letters from, 269-275
- Jordan, Dr. L. G., address of, 107-108
- Journal of Negro History*, the status of, 593-594
- Joycelin, of Duxbury, 506
- Judson, Andrew T., a letter to, 351-352; mention of, 353
- Jullian, Mons., 529
- K
- Kennard, J. H., 229
- Ketchum, Hiram, reliability of, 442
- Kimberly, Dennis, 353
- King, C. D. B., president of Liberia, 114, 116
- King, William, the efforts of, 6
- Kirk, James, 513
- Kirk, Rev. Mr., attack of, on Frederick Douglass, 706
- Kline, 502
- Kossuth, L., criticism of, 471-476
- Ku Klux Klan, 29, 40-72, 332
- Kyles, Bishop L. W., address by, 588
- L
- Labor and Politics*, review of, 312-313
- "Lady of Color, A," appeal from, 415-416
- Lancaster, Missouri, as presented in the letters of Titus Shropshire, 208-214
- Land Scrip Fund, 146, 147
- Landon, Fred, *Amherstburg, Terminus of the Underground Railroad* by, 1-9; *The Kidnapping of Dr. Bratton* by, 330-333
- Lane, Jane D., a sufferer, 442
- Laprade, W. T., address by, 580, 585
- Larwill, a politician, 6; resolution suggested by, 6
- La Salle, 327
- Latimer, George, the affair of, 524, 650, 651, 652
- Latimer Convention, 437, 438
- Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, support of, 602-603
- Le Code Noir*, 321-329
- Leclerc, General, instructions to, 80-98
- Lee, Daniel, friend of Abolition, 487
- Leeward Islands, Christopher Codrington in, 150-153; Negroes of, befriended by Codrington, 150-153
- Lennmons, R., 229
- Lennmons, W., 229
- "Leo," a letter of, 406-407
- Leonard, Elias, 537
- Leslie, C. P., a factor in the reconstruction of South Carolina, 16, 31
- Letcher, Governor, estimate of slave loss by, 132
- Letters of Negroes to the American Colonization Society, 155-311
- Letters of Negroes to Antislavery Workers and Agencies*, 343-367, 648-774
- Lewis, Israel, letters of, 365-367; mention of, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375
- Lewis, J. N., 253, 254
- Lewis, Samuel J., letters from, 241-243
- Lewis, Rev. Mr., of Providence, 653
- Libby Prison, the interest of, 14
- Liberia after the World War*, 113-130
- Liberia, straits of, 113-130; receivers for, 114; loan for, proposed, 115, 116, 117, 118; statistics of, 119-122; population of, 124; the

- government of, 125; education in, 127-129; condition of, 345-347, 766
- Liberty party, 726
- Lincoln, Abraham, the reconstruction policy of, 20, 75
- Linn, Rev. M., 303
- Lintons, 509
- Loan to Liberia, proposal of, 114, 115, 116; opposition to, 117, 118
- Loando, vessels from, 621
- Locke, Alain Leroy, address by, 584
- Lockwood, L. C., a missionary, 137
- Logan, Rayford, remarks of, 588
- Logue, Sarah, letter of, 401-402
- Loguen, J. W., letter of, 402-403; letter from, 451-452; mention of, 523
- Lokke, Carl Ludwig, *The Leclerc Instructions* by, 80-98
- London, a colony in Canada, 2
- Lord, Rev. John, 507, 516
- Louisiana, the black code in, 321-329
- Louverture, Toussaint, capture of, 85
- Lumpkins, Benjamin, 302
- Lundy, Benjamin, mention of, 370
- Lyon, Cecelia D., letters from, 203
- M
- McConnell, J. P., interest of, in Negro history, 604
- McCurdy settlement in Canada, 9
- McDonogh, John, 285, 296
- McDougle, I. E., interest of, 604
- McDowell, J. W., 229
- McKim, J. Miller, 470, 545
- McKinney, T. E., paper by, 579; remarks by, 586
- Macdonald, Sir John, prime minister, 332
- Mackey, A. C., in South Carolina politics, 31
- Mackey, E. W. M., a figure in South Carolina politics, 31
- Magills, 509
- Maloney, C. M., an address by, 111
- Malta, the fall of, 82
- "Man of Color, A," letter of, 404-406, 409-411
- Manigault, Gabriel, aid of, asked, 330
- Mann, Alexander, 513, 514
- Mann, Burell W., letters of, 168-200
- Mann, Horace, criticism of, 466-468; mention of, 520
- Mann, Rev. Mr., 507
- Mappes, Grace, 638
- Marsh, E. M., of Buffalo, 379
- Marshall, Seth, 443, 444
- Martindale, Mr., 563
- Martineau, Harriett, reference to, 4
- Martyn, Henry, quotation from, 515
- Mathew Theobald, 753
- Mathew, Father, 669, 670, 671
- Matthews, Basil, *The Clash of Color* by, reviewed, 100-101
- May, Samuel J., mention of, 497, 498, 516
- Mead, 502
- Mechanics, colored, 565
- Men of Maryland*, review of, 778-779
- Merrill, Major Lewis, efforts of, in South Carolina, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45-50, 61
- Miller, Kelly, remarks of, 586; estimate by, 600; interest of, 601
- Miles, Archibald, 525
- Mind of the Negro, The*, 595
- Minernone, Rev. Mr., of Syracuse, 538
- Minor, L. W., a student at Oberlin, 286
- Missionary Societies, efforts of, 136
- Mitchell, C. E., remarks of, 586
- Mitchell, Elizabeth, 589
- Mitchell, Robert Hayes, a prisoner, 65
- Mitchell, S. C., interest of, 604
- Mitchell, Samuel V., letter from, 247-248
- Mitchell, William, reference to, 4
- Mobile Colored Missionary Society, letter of, 310-311
- Mobley, Hardy, letters from, 298-299
- Mobly, H., 302
- Monroe, 501, 502
- Moody, Samuel Harris, a letter from, 420-421
- Moorland, J. E., custodian of funds, 599

Moore, Mary, letter from, 261
 Moore, Charles, letter from, 305
 Morey, Elizabeth, 638, 645
 Morgan, Rev. Mr., of Baltimore, 279
 Morris, John B., 523
 Morris, Robert, 521
 Morse, Milly, a worker in Canada, 3
 Moses, Frank J., private secretary,
 17; an officer in South Carolina, 17,
 31, 32, 39, 72
 Moss, R. Maurice, address by, 584
 Mott, Lucretia, 748
 Mott, James, 748
 Mott, Misses, of Albany, 502
 Moulton, 507
 Moxhay, George, 723
 Munro, W. B., opinion of, 600
My Children of the Forest, a review
 of, 313-314

N

Nantes, ships from, 326
 Napoleon's instructions to Leclerc,
 80-98
 Nash, Alanson, reliability of, 442
 Nash, Beverly, a factor in the recon-
 struction of South Carolina, 15, 16,
 31, 77
 Negro education, 525
 Negro-made constitution of South
 Carolina, 32-37
 Negro militia in South Carolina, 50-
 63
 Negro population in Canada, 1, 2, 3
Negro Orators and Their Orations, re-
 view of, 779-780
 Negro, the, in Amherstburg, Canada,
 1-9
 "Negro, in Baltimore, A," letter
 from, 305-306
 Negro volunteers, 1
 Negroes employed as soldiers, 135; in
 Lancaster, Missouri, as presented
 in the letters of Titus Shropshire,
 208-214; in Richmond, Virginia,
 according to the letters of B. W.
 Mann, 168-200
 Nell, William C., letters of, 385-386,

512-532; mention of, 522, 532, 599,
 636
 Nickerson House, 38
 Netherlands and the slave trade, 618
 Newbold, N. C., paper of, 577
 New England Freedman's Aid Soci-
 ety, 136, 144
 New York Freedman's Relief Asso-
 ciation, 136, 144
 Norfolk, freedmen at, 138
 Northampton Association of Educa-
 tion and Industry, 439
 Norway and the slave trade, 612

O

O'Connell, Daniel, introduction to,
 360; addresses by, 485, 486, 487;
 mention of, 490, 494, 660, 661, 662
 O'Connell, John, 662
 O'Connell, Pezavia, remarks of, 586
 O'Conner, Wm., 670
 Odd Fellows, interest of Bustills in,
 634
 Odum, H. W., and G. B. Johnson,
The Negro and His Song by, re-
 viewed, 775-776
Of One Blood, a review of, 102-103
 Oldham, J. H., *Christianity and the
 Race Problem* by, reviewed, 101-
 102
 Oliver, Mr., 564
 Olmsted, F. L., work on Seaboard
 Slave States, 761
 Ontario, Western, 1-9
 Orr, James L., Governor of South
 Carolina, 23, 24, 26
 Ousley, W. Gore, remark of, 633-634
 Outhwaite, Leonard, inquiry of, 579

P

Paine, Bishop, 554
 Paney, John W., 536
 Park, Mr., information from, 7
 Park, R. E., interest of, in the Negro,
 599, 601
 Parker, J., 229
 Parker, Niles G., a figure in the poli-
 tics of South Carolina, 32

- Parker, Theodore, mention of, 516, 522
- Parkman Manor, the governor of, 339
- Parliament, Frederick Douglass' visit to, 685
- Parrish, Dilwyn, 641
- Paul, Benjamin, 365, 370
- Paul, Nathaniel, letters of, 347-354: in Canada, 363, 365
- Paxton, John H., 252, 254, 255, 257, 258
- Payne, Alfred, letter from, 248-249
- Peabody Fund, 146
- Peacock, Pres. J. L., remarks by, 584
- Peake, Mary, a teacher, 137
- Pearson, William G., address by, 585
- Pearsons, Rev. Mr., 507
- Pease, Elizabeth, mention of, 487
- Peck, Rev. Mr., a colonizationist, 219
- Pennington, Rev. Mr., 653, 654
- Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association, 136, 144
- Perrell, John, a colonizationist, 219
- Pernambuco, slavers at, 620
- Perry, B. F., Provisional Governor of South Carolina, 22, 23, 24
- Peterson, Samuel, 373
- Phelps, A. G., 296
- Philadelphia Union League, 634
- Phillips, Bishop C. H., remarks of, 586
- Phillips Wendell, mention of, 476 516, 517, 533, 535
- Phinney, Captain Lot, 435
- Pickard, 502
- Pierpont, John, 516
- Pierce, Edward L., a writer and worker, 133
- Pierce, President, and his coadjutors, 557
- Pilkington, Capt. G., 353
- Pillsbury, Parker, 546
- Pinkett, John, address by, 585
- Pinney, J. B., 296
- Pitman, Wm. R., 508
- Platt, Henrietta Jane, 537
- Population Problems*, review of, 569-570
- Porter, William D., the interest of, in the reconstruction of South Carolina, 23
- Portsmouth, freedmen at, 139
- Portugal, treaty with, 609; slave trade negotiations with, 607-637
- Post, Amy, 519
- Post, Isaac, 519
- Post, Louis F., *A "Carpetbagger" in South Carolina* by, 10-79; sketch of, 10
- Post, Mrs. Louis F., interest of, 601
- Potter, A., 229
- Potts, J. C., of Trenton, 296
- Powell, William P., a letter from, 430-431, 471
- Powell, Mr., 558, 559, 560, 562, 563, 564, 566
- Prejudice in Canada, 6, 7, 362-363
- Price, Enoch, letter to, 397-400
- Prior, Thomas, 638
- Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History held at Richmond, Virginia, September 29 and 30, 1924*, 107-111
- Proceedings of the Spring Conference of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History held at Durham, North Carolina, April 1, and 2, 1925*, 579-581
- Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, the Celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, held in Washington, D. C., September 9 and 10, 1925*, 583-589
- Prudence, 502
- Prussia and the slave trade, 612
- Pugh, George, 554
- Pugh, Miss, 545
- Purcell, a colonizationist, 219
- Purdy, Edward, 302
- Purvis, Robert, letters from, 359-363, 379-380

Q

- Quarles, Saml., 271
- Quebec, registry at, 321, note
- Quincy, E., 501

R

- Race Problems in the New Africa*, a review of, 314-316
- Randolph, John, son of, 556
- Ransier, A. J., Lieutenant Governor of South Carolina, 16, 31, 37
- Ransom of Frederick Douglass, 712-722
- Ray, C. B., letter to, 481-482
- Raymond, Charles, a teacher, 138
- Remond, Charles L., mention of, 380, 384, 524, 537, 539, 648, 650, 669; in England, 356; letters of, 477-512
- Report of the Director, Annual*, 590-597
- Report of Secretary-Treasurer, 590
- Research, efforts of the Association in, 594-595; works thereby produced, 604
- Resolution of protest, against Elgin Settlement, 6, 7
- Reunion, 80
- Reuter, E. B., *Population Problems* by, reviewed, 569-570
- Reynolds, J. S., work of, on reconstruction cited, 19-20, 21, 24, 26, 31, 52, 54, 55, 58, 72, 77
- Rhodes, E. Washington, remarks of, 587
- Rice, Isaac J., a worker in Canada, 2, 3, 5
- Richardson, James, address of, 355
- Richardson, William, 495
- Richepanse, General, restoration of slavery by, in Guadeloupe, 85-86
- Richmond, Virginia, the situation as presented in the letters of B. W. Mann, 168-200
- Riddell, William Renwick, *Le Code Noir* by, 321-329
- Ring, George F., 558
- Rio de Janeiro, slaves brought to, 618, 621
- Robbins, Mr., 502
- Robertson, Ross, 375
- Robertson, Thomas J., U. S. Senator, 35, 39

- Robinson, W. A., remarks of, 577
- Rochambeau, General, in charge of troops in San Domingo, 86; surrender of, 87
- Rochelle, ships from, 326
- Rogers, N. P., mention of, 510, 511
- Roman, C. V., interest of, 601
- Roman Catholic religion taught slaves, 322, 323
- Rosenwald, Julius, support of, 601
- Rosetta, the slave case, 554
- Roundtree, Tom, murder of, 59
- Rouen, ships from, 326
- Roye, C. J., 270
- Ruffner, William H., an educator, 147
- Ruggles, David, letters of, 434-444
- Russia and the slave trade, 610
- Russwurm, John B., letters from, 156, 345

S

- Sample, Geo., letter from, 306
- Sanders, W. W., remarks by, 586
- Sanderson, J. B., 334, 650
- Sands, S., 229
- Sandusky, a point on the underground railroad, 4
- Santo Domingo, 80-98
- Sardinia and the slave trade, 612
- Sargent, T. B., 229
- Satterthwait, an Indian, 638
- Savannah, a letter from a free Negro in, 157
- Sawyer, Frederick A., U. S. Senator, 35
- Saxe, John G., 516
- Saxon, A., 310
- Saxton, Henry, letter of, 302
- "Scallawags," 38, 39, 40, 72
- Scoble, John, 353
- Scoble, Mr., 679, 680
- Schiff, Jacob H., support of, 601
- Schools attended by Negroes in Canada, 5-6
- Scotfield, Martha, a teacher of Negroes, 78
- Scotland, Frederick Douglass in, 677
- Scott, J. W., paper read by, 584

- Scott, Robert K., Governor of South Carolina, 18; brother-in-law of, 19, 20, 32, 37
- Sedgwick, Theodore, reliability of, 442
- Senegal in Africa, 80; trade to, 332
- Seymour, George L., 288-289
- Shadrach, the escape of, 524
- Shaftesbury, Earl of, 544
- Sharpe, James, 371, 374
- Shepard, James E., welcome of, 576
- Sherman, Anthony, letter from, 300-302
- Shropshire, Titus, letters from, 208-214
- Sierra Leone, slave traffic in, 322
- Simpson, G. R., *Toussaint Louverture* by, reviewed, 574
- Sims, Thomas, the arrest of, 524
- Slaughter, Philip, 284
- Slavery and the church, 754-758
- Smalls, Robert, a factor in the South Carolina Legislature, 15
- Smith, Anne Bustill, *The Bustill Family* by, 638-644; letter from, 645-647
- Smith, Edwards, letter from, 260
- Smith, E. E., remarks of, 576
- Smith, F. H., 310
- Smith, Gerritt, mention of, 28, 382
- Smith, J. B., of Rhode Island, 521
- Smith, James L., letter of, 444-446
- Smith, James, the situation of, 8
- Smith, Dr. J. McCune, letters of, 454-464; mention of, 532
- Smith, Joe, 562
- Smith, Thomas G., letters from, 234-236
- Smith, of Nashua, 510
- Smith, Mr., 511
- Somerville, James, 310
- Soule, of Duxbury, 506
- South America, emigration to, suggested, 761
- South Carolina, a "carpetbagger" in, 10-79; the Negro in, 595; the escape of Dr. Rufus Bratton from, 330-333
- "South Carolinian, A," letter from, 163-166
- Southern Pioneers*, review of, 776-778
- Southworth, 502
- Spaulding, C. C., 579
- Spear, J. M., 504, 506
- Speer, Robert H., *Of One Blood* by, reviewed, 102-103
- Spooner, Bourne, 506, 507
- St. Louis as shown in the letters of N. D. Artist, 250-259
- Stamps, J. E., 599
- Starkey, James R., letters from, 229-234
- Starr, Frederick, *Liberia after the World War* by, 113-130
- Statistics as to Negro population in Canada, 2, 3, 4; on Negroes, 454-464; on slave trade in Brazil, 632-633
- Stebbins, G. B., 534, 539
- Stetson, 506
- Stevens, Mat, the killing of, in South Carolina, 55, 56, 57
- Stevens, 507
- Steward, Austin, letters of, 364-365, 368-371, 372-373, 374-375; mention of, 365, 366
- Stewart, H. B., letters from, 237-241
- Stewart, Maria W., 518
- Stewart, Lord Dudley Coutts, M. P., 543
- Stokes, Dr. W. H., introductory remarks by, 108
- Stone, A. H., interest of, 604
- Stone, James W., 523
- Stone, William, partner of David T. Corbin, 37-38; statement of, 72, 74, 77
- Storer, Frederick, mention of, 370
- Storey, Moorfield, support of, 601
- Storrow, James J., interest of, 601
- Stowe, Professor, 544, 545
- Stowe, Mrs., 469
- Strother, Daniel, letters from, 244-246
- Stuart, Captain Charles, 496
- Sturge, Joseph, 471, 679, 682, 683

Sumner, Alphonso M., letter from, 228-229
 Sumner, Charles, 520
 Sumner, Sheriff, father of Charles Sumner, 523-524
 Surinam, question about, 334; description, 335
 Sutherland, the Duchess of, 544
 Swift, Harold H., interest of, 601

T

Talbot, A., 372
 Talbot, E. A., 374
 Tappan, Lewis, 297
 Tannenbaum, Frank, *Darker Phases of the South* by, reviewed, 99-100
 Taylor, A. A., address of, 108; research efforts of, 595
 Taylor, C. T., remarks of, 586
 Taylor, E. Duglas, 276-278
 Taylor, Godfrey, 310
 Taylor, Joseph, 313
 Taylor, R. H., address by, 580
 Taylor, Zachary, 727
 Taylor, Rev. Mr., remarks of, 586
 Teage, H., letter of, 268-269
Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro, 598-606
 Terrell, Mary Church, pledge of, 589
The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade, 607-637
The Kidnapping of Dr. Rufus Bratton, 330-333
The Negro and his Song, review of, 775-776
The Negro Policy of Christopher Codrington, 150-153
The Leclerc Instructions, 80-98
The Origin of Hampton Institute, 131-149
 Thomas, John, motion of, 475
 Thomas, William, 506
 Thompson, Alfred V., a letter from, 766-768; apprentice of Andrew Johnson, 767
 Thompson, George, address of, 485, 486, 487; mention of, 360, 490,

494, 517, 535, 542, 543, 678, 683, 684, 686, 752, 753
 Toledo, a point on the underground railroad, 4
 Tomlinson, Reuben, 74, 76, 77
 Tomlinson, Rev. Mr., 507
 Torrey, Charles T., 535
Toussaint Louverture, review of, 574
 Townsend, Milo A., 727
 Tracy, Miss, 750
 Traveling difficulties of Negroes, 722-725
 Treaty of Paris, 609
 Trigg, Frank, remarks by, 580
 True Bands, the organization of, 6
 Trumbull, Frank, support of, 601
 Truth, Sojourner, 556
 Tuscaloosa, Alabama, as reflected in letters of S. Wesley Jones, 216-227
 Tuscany and the slave trade, 612
 Turner, J. P., a colonizationist, 219
 Turner, S. A., 310
 Turner, W. S., address by, 580
 Turpin, J. F., 302

U

Underground railroad, 531, 554, 555
 Underhill, Edward F., a court stenographer, 13
 Underwood, Henri, letter from, 249
 Union Leagues, 29
 Union Republican party in South Carolina, 27, 29, 39-40
 Urgent need of research pointed out, 591
 Uruguay and the slave trade, 612

V

Van Buren, Martin, criticism of, 357; plight of, 483
 Vann, R. L., address by, 587
 Vashon, J. B., a letter of, 428-430
 Vaughan, Elijah, 310
 Venezuela and the slave trade, 612
 Verona, Congress of, 610
 Versailles, declaration at, 328
 Vienna, Congress of, 609
 Virdare, Daniel, 264, 265

W

- "W. J. W.," a letter from, 431-434
 Walker, Jonathan, 535
 Walker, Governor, 147
 Walsh, estimate of, 622
 Ward, S. R., mention of, 545; activity of, 470; letter of, 754-757
 Wardlaw, David L., 22
 Washburn, a member of Congress, speech of, 557
 Washington, Augustus, letter from, 286-297
 Washington, Booker T., quotation from, 149
 Watkins, Frances E., mention of, 530; letter of, to John Brown, 772-773
 Watkins, William J., 522
 Webb, Richard D., mention of, 540, 659, 653
 Webster, D., speech of, 284; policy of, 483; mention of, 753
 Webster, Stanton, 284
 Wesley, C. H., address by, 585
 West, John W., letter from, 299
 West Indies, emigration to, suggested, 758-768
 Weston, Gershon, 506
 Whig party, 519
 Whigs, the question of supporting, 739
 Whipper, W. J., a figure in South Carolina, 31, 32
 Whipple, George, a trustee of Hampton, 147
 White, George L., a singer, 148
 White, Noah, 649
 White, 501, 502
 Whitfield, J. M., letter from, 764-766
 Whitehead, John, 373
 Whiting, N., of Marshfield, 506
 Whiting, Rev. Mr., of Hanson, 505
 Whittemore, a factor in the reconstruction of South Carolina, 16, 31
 Whittemore, M., 506
 Wilberforce, William, the leadership of, 354, 608
 Wilberforce Colony in Canada, 363-375
 Wilcox, friend of Seth Marshall, 443, 444
 Willcox, William G., support of, 601
 Willoughby, W. C., *Race Problems in the New Africa* by, reviewed, 314-316
 Willoughby, Lord, relationship of, with father of Aphra Behn, 334
 Wilson, David, 310
 Wilson, Hiram, mention of, 438
 Wilson, Isaah T., letter from, 259
 Wilson, Jas. R., 259
 Wilson, Phillip, 310
 Wilson, President Woodrow, and Liberia, 115-116
 Williams, George W., an historian, 599
 Williams, Henry W., complaint of, 385
 Williams, "Jim," murder of, 59, 60, 61
 Williams, Peter, sermon of, 356
 Williams, Mr., of Providence, 498
 Windward Isles, slaves to, 329
 Wine Lisbon, communication from, 373-374
 Wing, George, 558
 Winn, James, letter of, 284-285
 Wood, Lairy, 302
 Woodruff, Joseph, a figure in the reconstruction of South Carolina, 18, 19
 Woods, R. C., address by, 578
 Woodson, Lewis, letter of, 757-758
 Woodson, C. G., address by, 580-581; the work of, praised, 583, 584; annual report of, as Director of the Association, 590-597; the works of, 605; *Ten Years of Collecting and Publishing the Records of the Negro* by, 598-606; *Negro Orators and Their Orations* by, reviewed, 779-780
 Woofter, T. J., *The Basis of Racial Adjustment* by, reviewed, 572-574
 Work, 535
 Wright, H. C., letter of, to Frederick Douglass, 712-715; reply to, 712-722

Wright, Irene A., work of, 596

Wright, J. J., a figure in South Carolina politics, 31

Wurts, W., 229

Wyatt, Simon, 365

Y

Young, Nathan B., interest of, 601

Youngman, W. B., 353

